GENDER AND ENLIGHTENMENT CULTURE IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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Abbreviations

ECA	Edinburgh City Archives
ECL	Edinburgh Central Library
EUL	Edinburgh University Library
GUL	Glasgow University Library
NLS	National Library of Scotland
NRS	National Records of Scotland

Introduction: Gender and Scottish Enlightenment Culture

If we limit our view of Enlightenment to a published canon and disregard its social contexts, we ignore the conditions in which ideas were formed and disseminated. We also forfeit the possibility of recognising and understanding the full scope of women's contribution. In this book the Scottish Enlightenment is understood as an often disparate ideological and cultural movement unified by a discourse of improvement.

Improvement should be understood as an imperative to achieve and maintain social progress. This imperative underpinned Scottish Enlightenment thought, not least the philosophy of two of its most influential protagonists, Adam Smith and David Hume. More than a philosophical movement, the epistemological changes wrought by Enlightenment cannot be separated from the economic and social developments that occurred in eighteenth-century Scotland, from the establishment of a theatre in Edinburgh to the building of planned villages in the Highlands.[1]

During the eighteenth century, Scotland experienced massive economic and demographic change. Agricultural modernisation and post-Union access to the markets of the British Empire increased urban commercial wealth and funded early industrialisation. This in turn encouraged urbanisation. In 1750, only one in eight people lived in towns with populations of 10,000 or more, but during the next century Scotland underwent urbanisation at one of the fastest rates in Europe, so that by 1850 one-third of the population lived in towns. These emerging urban centres were key sites for the enactment of a Scottish politics aimed at the economic and moral improvement of Scotland in the context of the country's membership in the British state.[2] Yet there were continuities too, and political culture in

[1] Christopher J. Berry, *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997); Anad C. Chitnis, *The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History* (London: Croom Helm, 1976); Bruce P. Lenman, *Enlightenment and Change: Scotland 1746–1832* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009).

[2] Bob Harris, 'The Scots, the Westminster Parliament and the British State in the eighteenth century', in Julian Hoppit (ed.), *Parliaments, Nations and Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1660–1850* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003), 124; Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700–2000* (London: Penguin, 1999), 106–8; Christopher A. Whatley, *Scottish Society 1707–1830: Beyond Jacobitism, Towards Industrialisation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000).

Scotland remained an elite culture. The landed aristocracy and gentry were keen participants in agricultural and urban improvement, and there were typically strong family connections between these groups and the professionals who achieved dominance in city political life.

The chapters that follow will examine the social impact of this emerging urban culture, and investigate its cyclical connections with Enlightenment thought. To do this, I focus on the performance of gender identities in the spaces most readily associated with the Scottish Enlightenment, namely, intellectual societies and convivial clubs, public debating societies, the theatre, and assemblies. With the aim of understanding the Scottish Enlightenment's place in broader urban culture, I also examine drunkenness and prostitution. Rejecting the idea of a monolithic Enlightenment that produced hegemonic gender identities, the final chapter will explore the relationship between Enlightenment thought and elite male violence, particularly the duel.

Taking my lead from Joan Scott's seminal essay on the practice of gender history, I am interested in women and femininity, and men and masculinity. I also adopt her poststructuralist approach, moving from 'ideas about appropriate roles for women and men', to an analysis of 'why these relationships [between the sexes] are constructed as they are, how they work, or how they change'.[3] Rather than using gender only to understand the construction of sexual difference and inequality, Scott implores historians to employ gender as an analytical category, as key to the signifying systems by which societies 'articulate the rules of social relationships or construct the meaning of experience'.[4]

Scott bases her definition of gender as an analytical category upon two integrally connected propositions: that 'gender is a constitutive element of social relations based upon perceived differences between the sexes and gender is a primary way of signifying relationships of power'.[5] This definition of gender and its application as an analytical category allows for an analysis of the articulation of power. This analysis concerns not only explicit ideologies of gender, but also the implicit use of gender as one of a number of discursive means by which power is signified. In this book I interrogate the processes by which ideas of masculine and feminine identity signified improvement and civility in Scotland.

I am also influenced by Judith Butler's theory of gender performativity. Butler defines performativity as 'the reiterative and citational practice by which discourse produces the effects that it names'.[6] By reiterative Butler is referring to a cyclical, self-referential process by which gender is articulated

[3] Joan W. Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), 32–3.

[4] Ibid., 38.

[5] Ibid., 42.

[6] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'* (London: Routledge, 1993), 2.

through its bodily performance; we are woman or man not because of a pre-existing sexual difference, but because this is signified through our performance of gender. As Butler states: 'That the gendered body is performative suggests that it has no ontological status apart from the various acts which constitute its reality.'[7] Performativity enables gender signification, and presents gender as naturalised (as originating in the body) via the repetitive and communal performance of gender identities. Gender therefore becomes culturally intelligible through performativity, which itself is understood 'as that reiterative power of discourse to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains'.[8] Gender was (and is) a crucial component of people's individual and communal identities, and therefore an examination of the performance of gender provides a means to address the impact of Scottish Enlightenment discourse on the lived experience of the eighteenth century.

A focus on performativity also draws attention to the various ways in which people negotiated the discourses that defined appropriate male and female roles. Although influenced by R. W. Connell's pioneering work on the history of masculinity, like other historians of the eighteenth century I am uncomfortable with his notion of hegemonic masculinity.[9] Most work on eighteenth-century masculinity has focused on the refined gentleman, presenting different takes on a well-founded argument that the interaction of economic, social, cultural, and epistemological changes during the eighteenth century, contained within the development of commercialism, Enlightenment ideology and polite society, led to the development of a masculine ideal of a man of sensibility, a refined gentleman.[10] This process did occur in Scotland, yet we should be wary of viewing this ideal of masculinity as hegemonic. Connell argues that hegemonic masculinity's power is achieved via its definition against not only its dichotomous opposite – femininity – but also subordinated and marginalised masculinities, for example, homosexuals within twentieth-century heteronormative culture.[11] The caricature of the effeminate Fop provides an eighteenth-century masculine identity that fits Connell's model of subordinate masculinities, existing as an oppositional and dangerous identity, and serving to define virtuous male refinement as the desirable norm. Yet other masculinities

[7] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (London: Routledge, 1999), 173.

[8] Butler, *Bodies that Matter*, 2.

[9] R. W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005).

[10] John Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse: Sensibility and Community in Late Eighteenth Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987); G. J Barker-Benfield, *The Culture of Sensibility: Sex and Society in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992); Michèle Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660–1800* (Harlow: Pearson Education, 2001).

[11] Connell, *Masculinities*, 77–81.

performed by men should not necessarily be understood as subordinate; more than anything, the Fop was a stereotype.

A significant problem with Connell's model is that, in Matthew McCormack's words, it is 'difficult to characterise masculinity at any point in British history as a single dominant norm'.[12] Rather than viewing one model of masculinity as hegemonic at various stages of history, McCormack contends that historically masculinity was not 'monolithic or stable', and we need to understand alternative masculinities to the dominant model on their own terms.[13] The problematic nature of focusing on male refinement in representations of eighteenth-century British masculinity was raised in 2005 by Karen Harvey. She argued for the cultural and geographical specificity of the culture of male politeness, asserting that it excluded certain groups of men (for example, the labouring poor), and ignored the relationship between masculinity and war.[14] As work on the masculinity of middling artisans has shown, masculine identity was class specific.[15] It was also space specific, and in the following chapters I will explore the changing characteristics of elite men's performance of manhood in different contexts, including tavern-based homosociality that will be explored in Chapter 3, and the ritual of the duel that is the focus on Chapter 4. These performances of elite masculinity stand in contrast to, but were not entirely separate from, the masculine ideal of the refined gentleman, whose crucial place in intellectual culture will be examined in Chapter 1. Overall, I will show that whilst Scottish Enlightenment ideology acted to construct new gender identities for men and women suited to a commercial 'civilised' age, there was far more fluidity in acceptable notions of masculinity than there were with regard to femininity.

Women's femininity symbolised improvement, yet this gender identity was formulated by male writers, who tended to share and develop their ideas in homosocial intellectual spaces. As I will discuss in Chapter 2, women did participate in Scottish Enlightenment intellectual culture, but their participation was restricted by the requirements of femininity. Developing on this, Chapter 3 will investigate the means by which urban culture facilitated female publicity in the form of attendance at the theatre and the governing of assemblies. As I will explain below, women's limited role in Scottish intellectual culture compared with other sites of Enlightenment, such as London and Paris, was produced by, and serves to signify, Scotland's distinctiveness in the European Enlightenment.

[12] Matthew McCormack, 'Men, "the public" and political history', in Matthew McCormack (ed.), *Public Men: Masculinity and Politics in Modern Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 16.

[13] McCormack, 'Men, "the public" and political history', 16.

[14] Karen Harvey, 'The history of masculinity, circa 1650–1800', *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005) 269–311.

[15] Hannah Barker, 'A grocer's tale: class, gender and family in early nineteenth-century Manchester', *Gender & History* 21(2) (2009) 340–57.

Chronologically this book focuses on the period when the cultural impact of the Enlightenment became most manifest, namely, the 1750s through to the 1790s. In the 1750s, key Enlightenment institutions such as the Select Society were formed, and in the following decades they were joined by other intellectual societies, both elite and popular. Simultaneously, during these decades assemblies and the theatre became regular and morally acceptable features of the cultural landscape (at least in Edinburgh). Yet a narrow focus on these decades might provide a false notion of sudden change with a clear start and end point. The first half of the eighteenth century, and the seventeenth century before it, laid the foundations for the growing epistemological power of Enlightenment, and in the decades after 1790 the Enlightenment remained relevant, changing form whilst embedding its intellectual dominance. By the early decades of the nineteenth century, women had begun to claim a place in the public printed culture of Enlightenment. This presence makes their prior absence particularly stark.

Although initially understood by feminist historians as the foundation of White men's power in the modern period, within the historiography of gender and the eighteenth century there is now a tendency to emphasise the means by which Enlightenment discourse challenged female subordination, and to assert women's cultural, intellectual, and political agency.[16] Refuting Joan Landes's thesis regarding the masculinisation of the French public sphere during the pre-revolutionary period, Margaret Jacob cites examples of women's public participation in Enlightenment in France, the Dutch Republic, England, Germany, and Scotland. Significantly, despite its inclusion, no evidence is provided for Scotland. This means that there is a weakness in Jacob's conclusion that 'in neither Edinburgh nor Paris should the burgeoning of the public sphere be construed as a defeat for women'.[17]

Jacob's desire to rescue the Enlightenment for women is shared by Karen Offen, who writes that 'we can – and must – reclaim the Enlightenment for feminism', emphasising Enlightenment discourse that 'openly critiqued the subordinate status of women'.[18] Offen also looks to the development of a notion of patriotic motherhood as an important means by which Enlightenment ideas regarding female domesticity were deployed to claim a female citizenship.[19] This line of argument is followed by Karen O'Brien,

[16] See, for example, Carla Hesse (ed.), 'Section 5: women in the enlightened republic of letters', in Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 259–347; Margaret C. Jacob, 'The mental landscape of the public sphere: a European perspective', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28(1) (1994) 95–113; Margaret C. Jacob, *Living the Enlightenment: Freemasonry and Politics in Eighteenth-Century Europe* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991); Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), 27–49.

[17] Jacob, 'Mental landscape', 108; Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1988).

[18] Offen, *European Feminisms*, 27–9.

[19] Ibid., 46–7.

who argues that Enlightenment discourse made nineteenth-century feminism possible. It did not do this by advancing a feminist ideology itself, but instead through creating a 'framework and language for understanding the gendered structures of society'.[20] O'Brien demonstrates how the importance of the feminine to Enlightenment (especially Scottish Enlightenment) conceptions of progress created a space for women's intellectual influence and enabled female writers, most notably Catherine Macaulay, to imagine a civic role for women.[21] Yet, significantly, it was the English women of the British Enlightenment who obtained a public intellectual role through writing.

The different character of women's involvement in the Scottish Enlightenment compared with France, England and elsewhere indicates this Enlightenment's specific national character. For decades debates have raged as to whether Scotland's Enlightenment was an off-shoot of an intellectual movement for which Paris formed the nucleus, if it formed a component of a British-wide phenomenon, or if it was distinctly Scottish.[22] In agreement with scholars such as Richard Sher, in this book I treat the Scottish Enlightenment as a specific geographical manifestation of a wider European movement that was a 'grand symphony with multiple variants'.[23] An emphasis on social- and self-improvement through knowledge acquisition and reason unified this disparate European Enlightenment, and the imperative of improvement also illustrates Scotland's close relationship with the rest of Britain. Although not culturally colonised by England, the development of Enlightenment thought, particularly moral philosophy, was informed by English cultural developments, especially politeness. The discourse of politeness was expressed and disseminated through English periodicals such as the *Tatler* (1709–11) and the *Spectator* (1711–12, 1714), which were reproduced in Edinburgh soon after their publication in London.[24]

Politeness was demonstrated by individual and social improvement, and it was manifested in new urban centres with paved streets, uniform neo-classical architecture, assembly and concert halls, and shops selling luxury goods.[25] A fluid concept, politeness encompassed much of

[20] Karen O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 2.

[21] O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment.*

[22] For a summary of this debate see Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment and the Book: Scottish Authors and their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland and America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 11–24.

[23] Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book*, 15.

[24] Nicholas Phillipson, 'Politics, politeness, and the Anglicisation of early eighteenth-century Scottish culture', in R. A. Mason. (ed.), *Scotland and England, 1286–1815* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), 235; Alexander Murdoch, 'Scotland and the idea of Britain in the eighteenth century', in Tom Devine and John R. Young (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland: New Perspectives* (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1999), 116; Berry, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 18.

[25] Rosemary H. Sweet, 'Topographies of politeness', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*

eighteenth-century culture. Yet, as Lawrence Klein contends, this fluidity increases rather than diminishes the usefulness of politeness in understanding eighteenth-century Britain. It was the language that many people used to explain their world, and it illuminates the cyclical relationship between discourse and culture.[26] Importantly, polite social interaction, consumption, and leisure activities in urban spaces such as coffeehouses and assemblies were principal conduits of self-improvement. The emphasis on social and self-improvement within Scottish Enlightenment thought was influenced by the ideology of politeness, and merged to create a discourse on sensibility and civility. This imperative to politeness and improvement in Scotland was manifested in the building of Edinburgh's New Town.

Designed in 1768 by James Craig, Edinburgh's New Town incorporated neo-classical architecture with orderly streets and promenades. It not only provided the spaces for the emerging urban culture, but was also forged by the discourses emanating from this culture. As R. A. Houston explains: 'The New Town was a monument to prosperity and to changing ideas about architecture, environment and social values.'[27] In this regard, the New Town was a physical manifestation of the Scottish Enlightenment. Proposing the building of a New Town in 1752, Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto declared: 'Among the several causes to which the prosperity of a nation may be ascribed, the situation, conveniency, and beauty of its capital are surely not the least considerable.'[28] Elliot cites London as the example to which they should aspire, and writes:

> The meanness of EDINBURGH has been too long an obstruction to our improvement, and a reproach to SCOTLAND. The increase of our people, the extension of our commerce, and the honour of the nation, are all concerned in the success of this project.[29]

Reflecting a desire for Edinburgh to be equal to London, Elliot's plans indicate a continuation of a Scottish identity within Britishness; an idea described by T. C. Smout as 'concentric loyalties'.[30] It also illustrates the connections between Scottish Enlightenment discourse and concrete political and social aims; moral and material improvement were inseparable. Yet, as will be discussed in Chapter 3, we should be wary of defining polite

12 (2002) 355–74; Helen Berry, 'Polite consumption: shopping in eighteenth-century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12 (2002) 375–94.

[26] Lawrence Klein, 'Politeness and the interpretation of the British eighteenth century', *Historical Journal* 45(4) (2002) 869–98.

[27] R. A. Houston, *Social Change in the Age of Enlightenment, Edinburgh, 1660–1760* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 8.

[28] Gilbert Elliot, *Proposals for Carrying on certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1752), 5.

[29] Ibid., 24.

[30] T. C. Smout, 'Problems of nationalism, identity and improvement in later Enlightenment Scotland', in Thomas M. Devine (ed.), *Improvement and Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1989), 1–21.

culture in opposition to other aspects of urban culture, and the building of the New Town did not signal an abandonment of the Old.[31]

The imperative to improvement was not limited to Britain, and the Scottish Enlightenment operated in a broader European context with many literati participating in a Republic of Letters, which also spread across the Atlantic.[32] The philosophy formulated in eighteenth-century Scotland dealt therefore with ideas originating in Britain, and with those emanating from France and elsewhere. Yet the Scottish Enlightenment had certain distinctive characteristics, and it was in the Scottish institutions that survived Union, namely, the universities, the Church, and the law that most of the literati forged their careers.

Although part of a broader European Enlightenment, the social and political context of the Scottish Enlightenment was different from that of other nations, especially the French. In comparison with France's monarchical system of government, Scotland had limited constitutional democracy, and Scots (along with other Britons) enjoyed greater intellectual freedom than the French, particularly with regard to publication.[33] Yet when examined in the context of women's access to public intellectual culture, Scotland was more restrictive and its intellectual scene looks distinctively homosocial in comparison with France. In Paris, women, normally of noble rank, took a leading role in hosting the intellectual salons of the philosophes and developing these spaces as principal institutions in the Republic of Letters.[34] The salon culture of Paris is perhaps atypical of the wider European Enlightenment, but elsewhere too there was more inclusion of women in formal and informal associational culture: for example, in London female intellectuals formed the Bluestocking circle, and in Madrid women convened the Junta de Damas, a relatively autonomous subgroup of the Royal Madrid Economic Society.[35] By contrast, Scottish women were totally excluded from the intellectual societies of the literati. This greater exclusion was not because Scotland was necessarily any more patriarchal than other European nations; rather, it was a consequence of manifold other factors that made the Scottish situation distinctive, including the links between intellectual culture and pre-existing male institutions

[31] Charles McKean, 'Improvement and modernisation in everyday Enlightenment Scotland', in Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley (eds), *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 65.

[32] Richard B. Sher and Jeffrey Smitten (eds), *Scotland and America in the Age of Enlightenment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990); Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book*, esp. chs 8 and 9.

[33] Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment: A Comparative Social History 1721–1794* (London: Arnold, 2000), 111–28.

[34] Dena Goodman, 'Enlightenment salons: the convergence of female and philosophic ambitions', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22(3) (1989) 329–50.

[35] Elizabeth Eger, *Bluestockings: Women of Reason from Enlightenment to Romanticism* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010); Teresa A. Smith, *The Emerging Female Citizen: Gender and Enlightenment in Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006).

(particularly the universities and the Church). Of crucial significance was the importance placed on refined masculinity and modest femininity as symbols of Scottish improvement.

Much of Scotland's political and cultural context was shared with England, but the Scottish Enlightenment remained distinctive from the English. This is apparent in the important role played by the universities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Aberdeen in the Enlightenment compared with the relatively peripheral participation of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The gendered composition of enlightened intellectual culture was also different in the two countries. Women were not equal participants with men in England's Enlightenment, but it is notable that two English women, Mary Wollstonecraft and Catherine Macaulay, could now vie for places in its published canon. No eighteenth-century Scotswoman holds this distinction.

A commitment to progress and the deployment of ideals of gendered behaviour as symbols of this progress was a common feature of Scottish Enlightenment writing, and the following sections of this Introduction will examine the development of gender ideals in this discourse. I begin with an analysis of discourses of progress and luxury, followed by a discussion of the relationship between civility and female domesticity. I then examine the concept of liberty and argue that an idea of manly liberty, combined with fears of male effeminacy, provided the ideological foundation for the formation of an exclusively male associational intellectual culture in Scotland.

Progress and luxury

The political and social developments of the eighteenth century, including urbanisation, the mechanisation of agriculture, the first stages of the Industrial Revolution, and a rise in the number and power of the professions, encouraged a re-conceptualisation of the world, which in Scotland was expressed within Enlightenment discourse. The moral philosophy of the Enlightenment centred upon debates concerning humans' innate moral sense, and discourses of progress typically asserted that this moral sense reached its greatest expression with commercial, self-proclaimed 'civilised' society.

In contrast to the philosophes of the French Enlightenment, the Scottish literati emphasised the passions (feelings) and social customs over reason as the factors that shape individual behaviour and social norms.[36] Rejecting the argument put forward by Thomas Hobbes in *Leviathan* (1651), Scottish Enlightenment discourse emphasised people's propensity to form social bonds over self-interest and brutish competition. Often referred to as Common Sense philosophy, the emphasis on humans' innate moral sense

[36] Berry, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 7.

originated in the moral philosophy of Francis Hutcheson. Whilst the notion that human actions are informed by emotion (or the passions) rather than rationality alone was common to Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, there were significant disagreements concerning human nature. Whereas Hutcheson and later Thomas Reid emphasised people's natural propensity to virtuous action based upon an inner moral sense, David Hume asserted that human emotions could encourage a person to act immorally or virtuously.[37] Adam Smith, too, famously argued for the importance of self-interest in motivating human action (most notably in economic exchange, as set out in *Wealth of Nations*, 1776), but his argument concerning humans' need for social approbation of their actions in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) critiqued Hobbes's notion of destructive individualism. Scholars of Smith now emphasise the need to understand *Wealth of Nations* in the context of his overall oeuvre, including *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and his *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1976 [1762–3]). Read together, it is apparent that Smith considered self-interest to be combined with an innate sympathy for others, and this underpinned an interdependency that encouraged social formation and motivated economic and social progress.[38]

In dominant Scottish Enlightenment discourse individual passions and behaviour, and community customs and habits, were deemed to be founded upon an innate moral sense, but their expression was dependent upon the mode of subsistence and the resulting political organisation and culture of different societies.[39] Although not believed to be inevitable, the idea that progress was a linear process, moving from the 'savage' state towards 'civilisation', was a universal principle within Scottish Enlightenment discourse. This process was typically understood to operate according to the Four Stages model, a stadialist conception of history. This vision of history defined human progress as a process of development through four distinct stages: hunting, shepherding, agricultural, and commercial. As forms of subsistence changed through these stages, so did social institutions and manners. Commercial society was depicted as the final stage, with strong government and material wealth providing the social structures necessary for the growth of the sciences, the liberal arts, and a moral culture premised on cooperation, or sociability.[40] Influenced by Montesquieu's *Spirit of the Laws* (1748), the stadialist approach to social and political progress was developed by Smith in his 'Lectures on Jurisprudence', delivered at the

[37] Luigi Turco, 'Moral sense and the foundation of morals', in Alexander Broadie (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 136–56.

[38] Gavin Kennedy, *Adam Smith* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2008); Knud Haakonssen (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Nicholas Phillipson, *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life* (London: Penguin, 2011).

[39] Berry, *Scottish Enlightenment*, 91–4.

[40] Ibid., 94–113.

University of Glasgow and extrapolated in *Wealth of Nations* (1776). Smith's ideas were further advanced by his student at Glasgow, John Millar in his *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1771, revised 1779).[41] Smith's and Millar's approach differed from that of Adam Ferguson, who interpreted progress in a three-stage model, moving from 'savage', to 'barbarous', and then 'polished', his terminology emphasising social rather than economic determinants.[42]

Though differing in specific approach, all these theories of progress applied an empirical and conjectural methodology to the study of human society. It was empirical in a Eurocentric sense, examining human behaviour in different societies. For instance, European ideas about Native Americans as a 'savage' society were deployed in order to depict these people as a living example of the earliest stage of human existence. This method was conjectural in that it looked for principles, or laws, that governed behaviour in different societies and applied them to topics for which there was little empirical evidence.[43] Gender provided a crucial category of analysis in this process; according to stadial history European women's femininity signified civility, and women's perceived lack of it in so-called 'savage' societies illustrated barbarity.[44] Commercial society was perceived to enable women's achievement of the ultimate expression of their 'natural' femininity by creating a society in which women existed as men's companions rather than as their slaves or idols.[45] Rather than investing women with agency, this hypothesis ideologically subordinated them, because women's status was dependent upon, and reflective of, the expressions of masculinity that represented man's economic, social, and moral progression. As Millar stated:

> When men begin to disuse their ancient barbarous practices, when their attention is not wholly engrossed by the pursuit of military reputation, when they have made some progress in arts and have attained to a proportional degree of refinement they are necessarily led to set a value upon those female accomplishments and virtues which have so much influence upon every species of improvement

[41] Ronald L. Meek, *Social Science and the Ignoble Savage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 99–127.

[42] Lisa Hill, *The Passionate Society: The Social, Political and Moral Thought of Adam Ferguson* (Dordrecht: Springer, 2006), 68.

[43] Harro M. Höpfl, 'From savage to Scotsman: conjectural history in the Scottish Enlightenment', *Journal of British Studies* 17(2) (1978) 24–34; Meek, *Ignoble Savage*.

[44] Silvia Sebastiani, '"Race", women and progress in the Scottish Enlightenment', in Knott and Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, 75–96.

[45] Jane Rendall, 'Clio, Mars and Minerva: the Scottish Enlightenment and the writing of women's history', in Devine and Young (eds), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, 135–41; see also Paul Bowles, 'John Millar, the four stages theory and women's position in society', *History of Political Economy* 16(4) (1984) 619–38; Chris Nyland, 'Adam Smith, stage theory and the status of women', *History of Political Economy* 25(4) (1993) 617–40.

and which in so many different ways serve to multiply the comforts of life.[46]

Stadial historiography represented a departure from a classical historiography focused on public politics and powerful men. Instead, subsistence, manners, familial relations, religion, legal and political associations were conceived as the engines of historical change. It was assumed that this process liberated women from the drudgery of 'savage' society. Sylvana Tomaselli illustrates how this led to an epistemological association between women and culture, and contends that this attributed to women an agency in history and in contemporary commercial society.[47] It is true that Scottish conjectural history included women within the historical narrative, but while men progressed from 'savage' to 'civilised', women were placed in an unchanging category of natural sensibility. Men's social progress enabled the proper expression of women's sensibility, and this sensibility then facilitated men's further progress. Women's agency was thus limited in Enlightenment conceptions of the civilising process; or as Mary Catherine Moran puts it, within Scottish Enlightenment historiography women are like commerce, they are 'the passive agents' of civilisation.[48]

Despite the passivity attributed to women when cast as symbolisers rather than as agents of progress, early English feminist writers such as Wollstonecraft drew upon conjectural history to formulate a theory that stressed the importance of women's liberation from subjugation in order to further social progress.[49] Wollstonecraft did this while refuting the social benefits of the twin signifiers of civility: feminine sensibility and male gallantry.[50] In Scotland, the importance of femininity to ideas of progress and civility informed the creation of a culture of urbanity in which women's performance of refined femininity was vital. There was no clear public–private division in this period, but, as I will demonstrate in Chapters 2 and 3, the performance of 'civilised' femininity placed significant restrictions on the character of women's public presence.

The conjectural history that was crucial in the development of the feminine ideal was popularised by the Scottish physician William Alexander in his *History of Women, From the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time* (1779). Although Alexander's work rejected misogynistic notions of men's natural

[46] John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (Bristol: Thoemmes Antiquarian Books, [1779] 1990), 80.

[47] Sylvana Tomaselli, 'The Enlightenment debate on women', *History Workshop Journal* 20(1) (1985) 101–24.

[48] Mary Catherine Moran, '"The commerce of the sexes": gender and the social sphere in Scottish Enlightenment accounts of civil society', in Frank Trentman (ed.), *Paradoxes of Civil Society: New Perspectives on Modern German and British History* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2003), 61–81.

[49] O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment*, 106.

[50] Barbara Taylor, 'Feminists versus gallants: manners and morals in Enlightenment Britain', *Representations* 87 (2004) 125–48.

superiority, he (and other Enlightenment historians) did not present an argument for gender equality. Instead, a society's achievement of commercial civilisation was proven by the existence of complementary gender identities, and this complementarity was dependent on women's ability to enact their 'natural' feminine identity.[51] Femininity in this context meant an emphasis on female emotional delicacy. In *Sermons to Young Women* (1766), the Presbyterian preacher James Fordyce wrote that: 'Virtuous women are the sweetners, the charm of human life.'[52] This virtue was displayed through women's performance of inferiority; as he asserted, 'any young woman of better rank, that throws off all the softness of her nature, and emulates the daring intrepid temper of man – how terrible!'[53] Female difference was essential to the complementary characteristics of male and female relations in 'civilised' society; as Fordyce's contemporary John Gregory wrote in *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (1774), women were 'designed to soften our [men's] hearts and polish our manners'.[54]

Feminine domesticity

Within Enlightenment ideology, women were defined as having a greater capacity for sympathy, a willingness to show emotion, and a natural aversion to conflict. Combined with the centrality of conversation to the cultivation of politeness, male conversation with feminine women came to seen as essential to men's achievement of refinement (an idea popularised in Joseph Addison's *Spectator* journal). These intertwined discursive developments shifted the gendered nature of public social space, emphasising women's important role in the development of civility, not in the same capacity as men, but as feminine, complementary beings.[55] The implication of this belief on Scottish Enlightenment culture was an acceptance of the importance of heterosocial spaces, such as assemblies, music concerts, and the theatre, as sites of improvement, with Alexander warning that 'rape, adultery, and every evil that follows them, are more common in countries where the sexes live separate'.[56] The development of this heterosocial culture was a crucial indicator of improvement in urban Scotland. It symbolised the power of urbanity and rational religion over conservative, evangelical Presbyterianism, and the complementary roles of men and women within it were essential to this symbolic function.

[51] William Alexander, *The History of Women, From the Earliest Antiquity to the Present Time; giving some account of almost every interesting particular concerning that sex among all nations, ancient and modern*, 2 vols, 3rd edn (London: C. Dilly and R. Christopher, [1779] 1781); Rendall, 'Clio, Mars and Minerva', 135–7.

[52] James Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, 2 vols (London: A. Millar & T. Caddell, 1766), i, 9.

[53] Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, i, 104.

[54] John Gregory, *A Father's Legacy to His Daughters* (Dublin: John Colles, 1774), 3.

[55] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, 117–18.

[56] Alexander, *History of Women*, i, 494.

The discourse of complementary and dichotomous gender difference required men's social exchange with women in order to instil the characteristics of sensibility in them; as Fordyce stated, men 'possess greater strength of mind in science, in council, in action, and in danger; let them acknowledge, however, that in generosity of soul and nobleness of attachment, they have often been surpassed by women'.[57] In the English context, Klein argues that the importance placed on gender complementarity and mixed-sex conversation within polite culture endorsed 'the female voice', and in the world of refined sociability 'women had an assured place'.[58] As the following chapters will demonstrate, this argument is not wholly applicable to Scottish Enlightenment culture. In Scotland, heterosociality was deemed to be an essential feature of 'civilised' commercial society, but homosociality was also crucial to men's maintenance of a polite, but not effeminate, masculinity. This homosociality lessened women's ability to participate fully in the Scottish Enlightenment project.

Significantly, it was feminine women rather than women in general, who were conceived as having a beneficial impact on moral and social progress. In *Character and Conduct of the Female Sex* (1776), Fordyce made a sharp distinction between 'giddy girls and insignificant women' and 'reputable women', and it was men's interactions with the latter that were deemed to encourage 'the decencies of life, the softness of love, the sweets of friendship, the nameless tender charities that pervade and unite the most virtuous form of cultivated society'.[59] As Fordyce asserted, 'the sons of Reason should converse only with the daughters of Virtue'.[60]

For Fordyce, women lacking virtue were those whose vanity had turned them into 'Indelicate and despicable creatures!', they were the woman 'who talks loud, contradicts bluntly, looks sullen, contests pertinaciously, and instead of yielding challenges submission'.[61] Contrasting this loud woman to the virtuous female, Fordyce writes: 'How different a figure! How forbidding an object! Feminality is gone: Nature is transformed: whatever makes the male character most rough and turbulent, is taken up by a creature that was designed to tranquilize and smooth it.'[62]

Women themselves were not entirely to blame for their loss of virtue. Fordyce believed that they were encouraged in this behaviour by male libertinism and superficial polite society, writing:

[57] James Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, 2 vols (London: T. Caddell, 1777), i, 262.

[58] Lawrence Klein, 'Gender, conversation and the public sphere in early eighteenth-century England', in Judith Still and Michael Worton (eds), *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 104, 111.

[59] James Fordyce, *The Character and Conduct of the Female Sex and the Advantages to be Derived by Young Men from the Society of Virtuous Women* (London: T. Caddell, 1776), 8, 12.

[60] Ibid., 19.

[61] Ibid., 83.

[62] Ibid.

> Can it excite surprise, if passions constitutionally ardent, unrestrained by authority, unenlightened by instruction, encouraged by habitual idleness and fashionable amusements, inflamed and instigated by flatterers, companions, books, occasions of the most dangerous kind, are frequently carried to an excess destructive of all sober thought and internal serenity, even when reputation and decorum are preserved?[63]

Women's weaker natures meant that men and improper social influences were largely responsible when they acted with impropriety. To combat this, female education that would turn women away from 'habitual idleness and fashionable amusements' was needed. As Fordyce asserted in response to criticisms of women, 'we have found, in some ladies of fashion, not only much brilliancy of fancy, but equal solidity of judgement and acuteness of penetration'.[64] This virtuous character, Fordyce argued, was primarily due to the liberal education obtained by these women.

In Scottish Enlightenment conduct literature, women were deemed to possess intellect, but they were also represented as naturally modest. As Gregory declared in *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters*, 'ONE of the chief beauties in a female character is that modest reserve, that retiring delicacy, which avoids the public eye, and is disconcerted even at the gaze of admiration'.[65] Moran points out that in Gregory's *Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man Compared with Those of the Animal World* (1765) he proffered similar advice to men, writing that 'Men of great abilities' who prefer social life and friendship rather than admiration and vanity, 'ought carefully to conceal their superiority'.[66] This was in accordance with the precepts of polite social interaction, which required men to listen as well as to speak. Yet it was women who were effectively silenced by this discourse. Like Gregory, Fordyce asserted that feminine virtue existed in 'those private scenes where show and noise are excluded, the flutter of fashion is forgotten in the silent discharge of domestic duties, and where females of real value are more solicitous to be amiable and accomplished, than alluring and admired'.[67]

The importance of the feminine to the development of sensibility in men denied women's equal participation in Scottish Enlightenment intellectual culture, and by the end of the century it had led to the positioning of female virtue within the domestic sphere, where complementary and companionate femininity was defended against the corrupting influence of competitive and fashionable society.[68] Yet, as Pam Perkin's has revealed,

[63] Ibid., 47–8.

[64] Ibid., 80.

[65] Gregory, *Father's Legacy*, 13.

[66] Quoted in Mary Catherine Moran, 'Between the savage and the civil: Dr John Gregory's natural history of femininity', in Knott and Taylor (eds), *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, 23

[67] Fordyce, *Character and Conduct*, 19–20.

[68] Jane Rendall, 'Virtue and commerce in the making of Adam Smith's political economy', in Ellen Kennedy and Susan Mendus (eds), *Women in Western Political Philosophy: Kant to Nietzsche* (Brighton: Wheatsheaf Books, 1987), 56–71

rather than further negate women's public intellectual participation, this ideology of domesticity provided a framework for it.[69]

Providing an important Scottish-specific context to historians' debates on eighteenth-century women's negotiation of Enlightenment domesticity, Katie Barclay has recently demonstrated that elite Scotswomen adopted discourses of femininity and domesticity in order to negotiate patriarchal power hierarchies in marital relationships.[70] Taking a European-wide perspective, in 1987 Elizabeth Fox-Genovese surveyed Enlightenment conceptions of female gender and their impact upon women, and argued that many women adopted a discourse of feminine domestic morality as a means to include women in the advances of Enlightenment, an idea that is apparent in Mary Wollstonecraft's *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792).[71] Wollstonecraft deployed the theoretical framework of Scottish Enlightenment historiography in order to formulate a feminist argument for progress. She contended that sensibility and the norms of polite society threatened feminine virtue, asserting that progress would be stunted if women continued to be cast as inferior and denied a civil existence.[72] Believing in the importance of common education to form women as well as men into rational people, Wollstonecraft sought both the breakdown of the gender dichotomy and the recognition of women's important role as mothers in the domestic sphere, a role that, if it was to be properly fulfilled, required that women were educated into rational creatures.[73]

Domesticity was an important consideration in Scottish Enlightenment ideas of society, virtue, and progress. It gained increasing importance during the eighteenth century due to perceptions of the domestic sphere as being the primary source of moral strength in a commercial society where older social bonds, such as those held by tribes or clans, had disappeared. The home was a space where women were deemed to employ their feminine affection and inculcate children and husbands with the virtues of sensibility and sociability. For men, the domestic space was not only a space in which to develop refinement, but also a space to display self-control through participation in harmonious, loving family life.[74]

In a debate held by the Pantheon Society in Edinburgh in June 1776 on

[69] Pam Perkins, *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010).

[70] Katie Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).

[71] Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, 'Women and the Enlightenment', in Renate Bridenthal, Claudia Koonz and Susan Stuard (eds), *Becoming Visible: Women in European History* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1987), 251–72.

[72] O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment*, 181–7.

[73] For an analysis of some of the apparent paradoxes in Wollstonecraft's thought, see Barbara Taylor, 'Mary Wollstonecraft and the wild wish of early Feminism', *History Workshop Journal* 33(1) (1992) 197–219.

[74] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, 95–110.

the question, 'Whether does the Happiness of the Marriage State depend most on the Husband or Wife?', the men and women present voted in favour of the wife.[75] This suggests a dominant conception of marriage and the domestic realm as a space of female influence, and the debate itself reflects the importance of marriage as a social institution, and its place as a topic of public discourse. As Gregory maintained: 'The domestic oeconomy of a family is entirely a woman's province, and furnishes a variety of subjects for the exertion of both good sense and good taste.'[76] Gregory did not believe that all women must be married, but that they would be happier if they were, writing, 'I am of the opinion, that a married state, if entered into from proper motives of esteem and affection, will be the happiest for yourselves, make you the most respectable in the eyes of the world, and the most useful members of society.'[77]

That the domestic sphere was considered to be a microcosm of civil society is reflected in Fordyce's assertion that virtuous motherhood involved 'diffusing virtue and happiness through the human race'.[78] However, the importance of domesticity relied upon clearly defined notions of gender dichotomy, and women's adherence to a specifically female moral code, primarily chastity. Despite their differing approaches to moral philosophy, Hutcheson and Hume both emphasised the importance of female chastity to the maintenance of morality and society. The argument for what was accepted as a double standard was centred upon the need for male parental assurance regarding the family's children, for men to develop affection in the domestic sphere, and to commit financially to their family's upkeep.[79] For Hume, female sexuality posed risks to society which male sexuality did not. He accepted that male sexual infidelity might increase in polite, commercial society, but in defence of progress he asserted that by comparison drunkenness 'is much less common. A vice more odious and more pernicious to both mind and body.'[80] Like most of the literati, Hume reinforced rather than challenged hierarchical concepts of dichotomous gender identity. This represents a departure from Hutcheson's philosophy of marriage, which he believed should be founded on equality and reciprocity, and this

[75] Pantheon Debating Society Minutes, 20/6/1776, Glasgow University Library [GUL] Sp Coll MS Gen. 1283.

[76] Gregory, *Father's Legacy*, 24.

[77] Ibid., 48–9.

[78] Fordyce, *Sermons to Young Women*, i, 37; Mary Catherine Moran, 'From Rudeness to Refinement: Gender, Genre and Scottish Enlightenment Discourse', unpublished PhD thesis (Johns Hopkins University, 1999).

[79] Moran, 'Rudeness to refinement', 6–14; Steven A. Macleod Burns, 'The humean female', in Lorenne M. G. Clark and Lynda Lange (eds), *The Sexism of Social and Political Theory: Women and Reproduction from Plato to Nietzsche* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1979), 55–7; Louise Marcil-Lacoste, 'Hume's method in moral reasoning', in Clark and Lange (eds), *Social and Political Theory*, 67.

[80] David Hume, 'Of refinement in the arts' [1752], in David Hume, *Essays: Moral, Political and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, [1777] 1987), 272.

equality was to be underpinned by mutual sexual fidelity. Yet, as O'Brien points out, this was a theoretical ideal, and Hutcheson did not extend his analysis to include 'the disparity between the equality which nature requires in marriage and the state of affairs in his own times'.[81]

Ideas of female modesty and domesticity did not negate women's participation in the social spaces of polite improvement, such as assemblies and spa resorts. Katharine Glover has established that female participation in polite sociability was not an adjunct to the project of social and moral improvement; rather, it was a crucial component of it.[82] As well as recognising the various public spaces in which women were present, it is important not to confuse the domestic with the private. The domestic sphere had a public function, whether that be the social function of dinners and tea parties held in domestic space, as a place to read the products of an expanding print culture, and particularly amongst the elites, as a space in which the politics of patronage could be enacted. As John Brewer explains, the public function of the eighteenth-century home is evident in the design of Georgian houses, which were configured with large windows encouraging people to 'look out and look in'.[83] Rather than being separate, public and private coexisted, and the domestic sphere was a space in which the discourses of the public sphere were acted out. In turn, perceptions of domesticity informed the ideas formulated in civic society. This can be seen in the numerous discussions of marriage in Enlightenment discourse, which reflecting Scottish philosophy's emphases on liberty and sympathy critiqued male tyranny in marriage.[84]

Domestic, civic, and social space was integrated, but remained demarcated according to gender (as well as social class). This is most apparent when we compare the importance placed on women's domesticity in the home with the homosocial composition of the associational world of clubs and societies that formed a crucial component of Enlightenment culture, and which will be explored in the next chapter. This associational world emerged as exclusively male largely because it was interconnected with the male realm of the professions, and it developed in a largely patriarchal culture where women's subordination was not only customary but set out in law.[85] However, that Enlightenment culture did not challenge these norms

[81] O'Brien, *Women and Enlightenment*, 73.

[82] Katharine Glover, *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Woodbridge: Boydel, 2011).

[83] John Brewer, 'This, that and the other: public, social and private in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', in Dario Castiglione and Lesley Sharpe (eds), *Shifting the Boundaries: Transformation of the Languages of Public and Private in the Eighteenth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1995), 16–17.

[84] Barclay, *Love, Intimacy and Power*, 59–62.

[85] Jane Rendall and Sue Innes, 'Women, gender, politics', in Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Debbi Simonton, and Eileen J. Yeo (eds), *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 50

also needs to be understood as partly a result of fears of male effeminacy. Feminine influence was needed to civilise men's manners, but too much exposure to women could cause the loss of manly liberty and a descent into a morally corrupting, selfish effeminacy.

Manly liberty

Liberty of thought was a foundational characteristic of the Enlightenment. As Alexander Broadie argues, the Enlightenment should be thought of as an age of toleration where the ultimate authority was the 'tribunal of human reason'.[86] Authority was not rejected (the social stability necessary for the 'enlightened' thought of the elite relied upon authority), but authority, including religious doctrine, was declared to be subject to reason. Freedom in this context was, to quote Broadie, 'the freedom of a man of letters to put his ideas into the public domain for public discussion'.[87] Central to Immanuel Kant's 'What is Enlightenment?' (1784) was the idea that Enlightenment was defined by people's possession of reason and their ability to employ it, or in his words, to 'dare to know'.[88] Liberty was integral to this core Enlightenment practice of daring to know, and the development of a principle of liberty in men was deemed to be strengthened through exposure to the arts, a growth in scientific knowledge, and an individual's sympathetic exchange with other individuals, which was itself enhanced through what can be defined as polite interaction, or sociability.

In his study of virtue and morality in Scottish Enlightenment discourse, John Dwyer investigated the means by which three discursive models – civic humanism (or Classical Republicanism), stoicism, and sensibility – were interconnected within Enlightenment discourse. Civic humanist discourse sought to challenge the perceived corrupting influence of the wealthy and powerful imperial state through the maintenance of elite allegiance to the community (public spirit) and the maintenance of 'independence'. Stoicism informed notions of 'independence', because to be stoic was to maintain the ability for independent moral decision-making. Both civic humanism and stoicism were intertwined with notions of sensibility.[89]

Developed in its most complete form by Smith in *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, the ideology of sensibility redefined virtue. Rather than being forged through public acts of virtue, such as courage on the battlefield, virtue was determined to be located in sympathetic interactions between individuals. These interactions were performed in public and domestic settings, and they offered a defence against the corruption of luxury. The

[86] Alexander Broadie, 'Introduction: what was the Scottish Enlightenment?', in Alexander Broadie (ed.), *The Scottish Enlightenment: An Anthology* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2008), 8.

[87] Broadie, 'Scottish Enlightenment', 4.

[88] Immanuel Kant, 'What is Enlightenment?' [1784], available at: http://www.columbia.edu/acis/ets/CCREAD/etscc/kant.html, accessed 27 February 2013.

[89] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, 38–51.

operation of sympathy, what Smith refers to as 'fellow-feeling', was founded upon people's inner moral sense. As Dwyer states, sensibility emphasised the emotional over the rational character of man, but self-command was also vital.[90] Critiquing his teacher, Francis Hutcheson's belief in a God-given benevolent moral sense, Smith argued for the importance of laws and social interaction to control men's passions. Demonstrating the influence of Classical Stoic philosophy on Smith's thought, self-command was deemed to be essential to the practice of virtue and the achievement of happiness.[91] According to Smith, men's natural sympathetic capability governed morality. Using self-judgement by viewing themselves through the gaze of the 'impartial spectator', men were encouraged to avoid self-interest and instead act virtuously in favour of the common (or public) good.[92] As Jane Rendall has argued, in Smith's philosophy self-command is represented as a male virtue, with women perceived to have a natural tendency towards the virtues of sensibility, kindness, and friendship, which were suited to domestic and social interaction.[93] While Smith allows for various levels of self-command, with children showing little and men's violent passions sometimes undermining it, the moral ideal is the total adoption of self-command, and this total adoption is explicitly defined as a characteristic of manhood:

> The man of real constancy and firmness, the wise and just man who has been thoroughly bred in the great school of self-command, in the bustle and business of the world, exposed, perhaps, to the violence and injustice of faction, and to the hardships and hazards of war, maintains this control of his passive feelings upon all occasions; and whether in solitude or in society, wears nearly the same countenance, and is affected very nearly in the same manner. In success and in disappointment, in prosperity and in adversity, before friends and before enemies, he has often been under the necessity of supporting this manhood . . . He does not merely affect the sentiments of the impartial spectator. He really adopts them.[94]

Male sensibility (Smith's 'inward sentiments and feelings'[95]) that enabled the development of self-command and unaffected virtue was deemed to be fostered by sociable interaction with virtuous women. This sensibility then encouraged a greater level of sociability and cooperation amongst men. Considered necessary in the maintenance of community, sensibility

[90] Ibid., 51–65.
[91] Phillipson, *Adam Smith*, 19–23, 45–55.
[92] Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759, revised 1790), available at: http://www.econlib.org/library/Smith/smMS.html, accessed 5 January 2013.
[93] Rendall, 'Virtue and commerce', 59–60.
[94] Smith, *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, III.II.67.
[95] Ibid.

contributed to the overall stability of society and government.[96] Sociability was therefore central to the maintenance of liberty in commercial society. In *Wealth of Nations*, Smith argued that commercial society encouraged liberty because it was based upon a system of interdependence and social stability through law. For Smith, commercial civilisation fully develops when 'Every man thus lives by exchanging, or becomes in some measure a merchant.'[97] The development of the moral and social virtues encompassed by sensibility and sociability were necessary aspects of the development of commercial society. Merchants, Smith believed, often tended towards selfish actions, placing their private economic interests above the social interest.[98] In order to recognise the interconnection between self-interest and social-interest and to combat selfishness, men's economic interdependence needed to be matched by the development of their 'natural' sociability.

As Christopher Berry suggests, Smith's emphasis on the mercantile basis of liberty rejects narrow Classical Republican notions of independence and the practice of citizenship. Rather than social virtue being founded upon property ownership (a prerequisite of classical independence), and thus reliant upon another man's dependence, within an ideal commercial society each man has the private liberty to participate in trade and improve his material condition. In this economic system all men can acquire independence because all men are dependent upon each other to keep the system functioning, and so their self-interest informs the public interest.[99] In his analysis of gender and citizenship during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, McCormack explores the means by which the idea of the 'independent man' came to represent the 'epitome of manliness, citizenship and national character'.[100] In this context, independence symbolised political virtue and stood as the criteria for electoral citizenship. Although the focus of McCormack's study is England, many of his conclusions can be applied to Scotland. A fundamental feature of improvement in Scotland was a desire amongst the Scottish elite to distance their political culture from what they perceived to be Scotland's corrupt feudal past. Although it did not challenge the political stranglehold of the landed elite, nor encourage the reformation of a politics run by systems of patronage, this desire did involve the adoption of a discourse of constitutional

[96] John Dwyer, R. A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch, 'Introduction', in John Dwyer, R. A. Mason and Alexander Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives on the Politics and Culture of Early Modern Scotland* (John Donald: Edinburgh, 1982), 6.

[97] Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*, 2 vols, eds Roy H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner (Indianapolis: Liberty Classics, [1776] 1981), i, 37.

[98] Richard Sher, 'Commerce, religion and Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Glasgow', in Thomas Devine and Gordon Jackson (eds), *Glasgow, vol. 1: Beginnings to 1830* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 315–16.

[99] Christopher Berry, *The Idea of Luxury: A Conceptual and Historical Investigation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 154–63.

[100] Matthew McCormack, *The Independent Man: Citizenship and Gender Politics in Georgian England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 1–2.

liberty and a belief in the progressive and democratic character of English institutions.[101]

These discourses of constitutional liberty informed gendered notions of independence and citizenship.[102] The adoption of this discourse is apparent in the autobiography of the Reverend Dr Alexander Carlyle, a Church of Scotland minister and member of the literati. For Carlyle, independence was an important marker of manhood. Discussing his abhorrence at the idea of becoming a tutor to the son of a nobleman, Carlyle explains that he later changed his mind 'for I knew many afterwards who had passed through that station yet retained a manly independency in both mind and manner'.[103]

Eighteenth-century conceptions of independence were largely informed by interpretations of Classical Republican notions of liberty and virtue that emphasised the need for independence from influence and obligation in the practice of citizenship.[104] In this discourse, the 'independent man' was embodied by the country gentleman. However, manly independence could be performed in urban society, and in the urban context independence was mainly performed within a culture of politeness. The polite gentleman symbolised the overall independence of this culture, which was manifested through its practice within the urban public sphere. In spaces such as coffeehouses and clubs, men could assert their manly independence as members of a 'politicised public'.[105] Chapter 1 will explore the role of urban intellectual societies in facilitating men's performance of refinement and intellectual independence, yet, as I will explain in Chapters 3 and 4, the urban context also allowed for the performance of masculine independence that transgressed the ideological ideal of male refinement, including the free expression of the passions in taverns and the maintenance of honour and social credit via the ritual of the duel. To a degree these reflected the continued adoption of pre-Enlightenment signifiers of manhood, but they did not represent an abandonment of politeness among gentlemen.

The influential philosophy of both Smith and Hume asserted that participation in polite society, exposure to the liberal arts, and the sharing of knowledge promoted interpersonal refinement and enabled men to establish an ease of communication, or sociability, with others.[106] Smith considered the increased wealth from commerce generally to have a

[101] Colin Kidd, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotisms', *Historical Journal* 39(2) (1996) 374.

[102] McCormack, *Independent Man*.

[103] Alexander Carlyle, *The Autobiography of the Rev Dr Alexander Carlyle Minister of Inveresk* (Blackwood: Edinburgh, 1861), 63.

[104] Carlyle, *Autobiography*, 4–6; Anna Clark, 'The Chevalier d'Eon and Wilkes: masculinity and politics in the eighteenth century', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 32(1) (1998) 20.

[105] McCormack, *Independent Man*, 6, 57, 65.

[106] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, 27.

positive impact, providing people with the necessaries and conveniences of life, but he remained critical of those who squandered their wealth on the frivolous consumption of luxury items instead of investing it to provide further growth or disseminating it in the form of fair wages.[107]

To a greater extent than Smith, Hume argued that commercial progress and resultant luxury was a product of positive progress. For Hume, by encouraging refinement in tastes and manners luxury lent itself to an increase in human happiness. In his essay 'Of refinement in the arts' (1752), Hume implores his readers to realise the cultural relativity of luxury as a concept, stressing that luxury is a 'word of uncertain signification . . . and any degree of it may be innocent or blameable, according to the age, or country, or condition of the person'.[108] Despite considering ages of refinement to be the 'happiest and most virtuous', Hume accepted that luxury could have a negative impact upon society when it 'ceases to be innocent', for instance, when it is pursued at the expense of virtuous actions such as charitable benevolence, or when 'for them a man ruins his fortune, and reduces himself to want and beggary'.[109]

Hume's defence of luxury needs to be understood in the context of his argument that progress in the arts and refinement of manners were conducive to political liberty, asserting that: 'a progress in the arts is rather favourable to liberty, and has a natural tendency to preserve, if not produce a free government'.[110] This was linked to a critique of aristocratic corruption and an emphasis on the importance of the 'independent' manhood of the middling sorts. As Hume argued:

> where luxury nourishes commerce and industry, the peasants by a proper cultivation of the land become rich and independent: while the tradesmen and merchants acquire a share of the property, and draw authority and consideration to the middling rank of men, who are the best and firmest basis of liberty.[111]

Like Smith, Hume's ideas employ an ideal of a masculinity as a bulwark against self-interest, which is not entirely dependent upon noble status; instead of the nobility, it is the 'middling rank of men' who embody liberty in commercial society. However, as Dwyer has noted, we need to be wary of viewing the middling classes as a merchant-dominated middle class. Smith was critical of mercantile wealth not connected to land, and when the Scottish literati wrote of the 'middling sorts' they were normally referring to the gentry and small proprietors, and the professional classes who often

[107] Emma Rothschild and Amartya Sen, 'Adam Smith's economics', in Haakonssen (ed.), *Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*, 319–65.
[108] Hume, 'Of refinement', 268.
[109] Ibid., 269.
[110] Ibid., 277.
[111] Ibid.

shared bloodlines as well as a collective polite culture with the gentry.[112] Also, any rejection of aristocratic values by Smith and Hume focused upon a critique of aristocratic manners rather than the social hierarchy itself. Aristocrats such as the Duke of Hamilton and the Duchess of Gordon were participants in Enlightenment culture. Yet this was not a court culture, and the aristocracy did not dominate the Scottish Enlightenment, instead they were integrated into this culture alongside the gentry and professional classes.

Rather than a claiming of power by a middle class, what Smith and Hume wanted to see was an integration of the various levels of the social elite. This integration would allow for interdependency in place of relationships of dependence and control. There is also a sense that this would include a trickle-down mechanism. Within commercial society, Hume argued, all men had the opportunity to gain economic independence and thus develop the political moral virtues necessary for the enactment of citizenship, which would in turn increase liberty.[113] The poorer classes occupy an ambiguous place in Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, and, as I will explore in Chapter 3, this was reflected in Enlightenment culture where, for instance, their participation in the improving cultural medium of the theatre could signify the possibility of disorder in that space.

Excessive luxury, including the adoption of the accoutrements of polite society by the poorer classes, such as servants, could signify disorder, while aristocratic libertinism could undermine the moral community. These fears concerning the corrupting force of luxury draw attention to the different strands of thought present in Scottish Enlightenment discourse. Many writers did not share Hume's positive outlook on luxury; for some, wealth and luxury encouraged individualistic, egotistical behaviour that threatened to undermine progress. This discourse is apparent in the moderate Presbyterian ideology that formed a significant component of Scottish Enlightenment thought. Although often facing opposition and condemnation from the evangelical wing of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, many members of the literati were Church of Scotland ministers, and they espoused a religious policy of toleration and rejection of superstition. Central to this enlightened Presbyterian discourse was the desire to preserve people's morality within a wealthy, commercial society and to combat the selfishness that was perceived to be encouraged by luxury.[114] This fear of luxury's destructive impact is illustrated in the best-selling sermons of the Reverend Hugh Blair.

A leading member of the Moderate faction in the Church of Scotland,

[112] John Dwyer, 'Ethics and economics: bridging Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Wealth of Nations*', *Journal of British Studies* 44(4) (2005) 669–72.

[113] John Robertson, 'The Scottish Enlightenment at the limits of the civic tradition', in Ivan Hont and Michael Ignatieff (eds), *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of the Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 138–59.

[114] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, pp. 18–19.

Blair was minister of St Giles', High Kirk of Edinburgh, an active member of the Select Society, and professor of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres at Edinburgh University. In his sermon 'On Luxury and Licentiousness', Blair used the example of the Israelites to present an argument common to Scottish Enlightenment critiques of luxury, namely the idea of cyclical corruption.[115] The people of Israel are depicted as 'a sober and religious nation', but 'after they had enlarged their territories by conquest, and acquired wealth by commerce, they gradually contracted habits of luxury; and luxury soon introduced its usual train of attending evils'.[116] For Blair, the Israelites are a synonym for current British society. To stop the cycle whereby wealth leads to luxury, which leads to licentiousness, which results in a loss of wealth, that then leads to virtue and industry and the acquirement of wealth, Blair implores men to enjoy opulence, but to avoid 'intemperate enjoyment of it which wholly absorbs the time and attention of men'.[117] To defend against licentiousness Blair argued, 'all our pleasures ought to be tempered with a serious sense of God', and this sense of God was presented as 'the surest guard of innocence and virtue, amidst the allurements of pleasure'.[118] Blair also exhorted his readers to remember that God will reward virtue and punish vice, stating that by God's hand the 'sober and industrious' will 'rise to reputation and influence', whilst the 'licentious and intemperate' will be 'checked by some dark reserve either in their health or their fortune'.[119] Blair's combination of Scottish Enlightenment moral discourse and Presbyterian theology earned him celebration in polite society and censure from evangelical Presbyterians.[120]

The destructive effect of luxury is also a significant theme in Lord Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man* (1778). Discussing patriotism, Kames asserted that 'where it is the ruling passion: it triumphs over every selfish motive, and is a firm support to every virtue'.[121] Patriotism defended against luxury; as 'the head of the social affections', and as the 'great bulwark of civil liberty' it enabled a nation to flourish.[122] However, in a cyclical fashion, the nation's success brought increased wealth, and resultant luxury could destroy the patriotic public spirit and, by extension, the nation. Kames depicts the destructive impact of luxury in terms of bodily weakness and disease; the voluptuousness of luxury weakened men in mind and body, and this in turn weakened society. Although Kames cited France

[115] Rev. Hugh Blair, 'Sermon VI: on luxury and licentiousness', in *Sermons, by Hugh Blair . . . Volume the Fourth* (Edinburgh: William Creech, 1794).
[116] Blair, *Sermons*, 113–14.
[117] Ibid., 115–16.
[118] Ibid., 120.
[119] Ibid., 128–9.
[120] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, 18–19.
[121] John Home, Lord Kames, 'Sketch VII: rise and fall of patriotism', in *Sketches of the History of Man*, 4 vols, ed. J. V. Price (London: Thoemmes Press, [1778] 1993), ii, 314.
[122] Ibid., 317.

as more afflicted by the disease of luxury than Britain, he considered Britain to be at great risk due to its increased wealth, writing: 'It grieves me that the epidemic distempers of luxury and selfishness are spreading wide in Britain.'[123]

The connection between male sensibility and sociability and the patriotic imperative was most strongly put by Fordyce. Unlike nations such as France, the Enlightenment in Scotland was integrated with, rather than antithetical to, the national church, and like Blair, Fordyce's ideas on luxury, society, and patriotism represent a combination of Presbyterian religious morality and Scottish Enlightenment ideas. His arguments were founded upon a desire to maintain community morality, patriotic sentiment, and therefore British national power. The pursuit of luxury and pleasure, Fordyce argued, promoted pride and vanity, encouraging men to 'sneer at the names of Chastity, Temperance and Religion'.[124] Luxury negated the self-control and sobriety necessary to act in the interests of society rather than the self. Fordyce asked his readers:

> Does not such general and extraordinary corruption carry a portentous aspect with regard to the religious, moral and political community? Are these not intimately connected in every nation? And has it not been universally found that they advanced and prospered, or declined and perished together?[125]

Here, the correct expression of masculinity was inseparable from the national project. It is significant that Fordyce's *Addresses to Young Men* was published in 1777, a year after the 'Declaration of Independence' was signed in the American colonies. Like the Seven Years War (1756–63), the American Revolutionary War (1775–83) led to widespread public debate in Britain over issues of wealth, liberty, and corruption.[126] Fordyce's text needs to be read in the context of this debate. The address in Fordyce's *Addresses to Young Men* that most frequently invokes the cause of the nation is also the one most concerned with effeminacy. Entitled 'On a Manly Spirit as Opposed to Effeminacy', Fordyce writes at the beginning that Britain 'is in imminent danger from the prodigality, profligacy, and unfeeling luxury of her inhabitants'.[127] Later, he calls on young men to 'oppose against effeminate manners as a masculine virtue'.[128] In Scottish Enlightenment thought this masculine virtue was primarily defined by male refinement, which encompassed sensibility and sociability. Sensibility for the Scottish literati

[123] Ibid., 333.
[124] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, ii, 154.
[125] Ibid., 138.
[126] Katherine Wilson, 'Empire of virtue: the imperial project and Hanoverian culture *c.* 1720–1785', in Lawrence Stone (ed.), *An Imperial State at War: Britain from 1689 to 1815* (London: Routledge, 1994), 152–4.
[127] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, ii, 137.
[128] Ibid., 186.

represented a moral code, which, if adopted, could control behaviour and maintain community over individual selfishness within a system of political liberty and 'civilised' society.[129] As Hume wrote on the subject of morality: 'We fancy the peace of society to be at stake in every decision concerning it.'[130]

The emphasis within Enlightenment discourse upon men's development of inner sensibility and engagement in true (non-self-interested) sociability and the performance of patriotic manhood was a response to the perceived threat posed by rapid increases in wealth. As Fordyce warned, a massive influx of wealth could cause men to prostitute the public good for luxury and pleasure, producing, 'softness, idleness, sensuality, debauchery' in men's behaviour, and generating 'an effeminate age'.[131] On effeminate men, Fordyce asked: 'Say, my Country, are these the young men whom thou hast destined to protect thy daughters, to educate thy posterity, to execute thy plans, to assert thy cause, and to perpetuate thy honour?'[132]

Within Scottish Enlightenment thought there was not a consensus concerning the risks posed by luxury to social morality, but there was an agreement that different performances of masculinity could be either destructive or conducive to social morality and progress. The debate within Enlightenment discourse concerning refinement and luxury is apparent in Henry Mackenzie's novel *The Man of Feeling* (1771). In this novel the principal character, Mr Harley, embodies male sensibility; he acts according to his inner emotional responses and frequently engages in benevolent actions (such as giving charity to beggars). He also often cries openly in reaction to others' suffering, a behaviour used by Mackenzie to indicate Harley's virtue.[133] As Philip Carter discusses, in representations of male refinement the expression of emotion in men, such as a shudder or a sympathetic tear was not only acceptable, but was an indication of inner sensibility.[134] After Emily Atkins (a middling girl from the country who had been betrayed into a life of prostitution in London by Winbrooke, a man of false refinement) is saved by Harley, her father, an army captain, on hearing of the reasons for her loss of virtue, 'looked on her [the daughter] for some time in silence; the pride of a soldier's honour checked for a while the yearnings of his heart; but nature at last prevailed, he fell on her neck, and mingled his tears with hers'.[135] In the context of a father's sympathy for his daughter, male sensibility expressed through crying is represented by Mackenzie as natural.

[129] Philip Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland: A Study and Selection of Scottish Philosophical Prose from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1992), 116.
[130] Hume, *A Treatise of Human Nature* [1739], in Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland*, 140.
[131] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, i, 140, ii, 292–3.
[132] Ibid., ii, 157–8.
[133] Henry Mackenzie, *The Man of Feeling* (Peterborough, ON: Broadview, [1771] 2005).
[134] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, 89
[135] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, 93–4.

The notion of artificial refinement, or outward politeness without inner virtue, is also a key theme in the text. Harley represents refinement, and his character serves to differentiate the practice of politeness founded upon inner sensibility to that of artificial politeness. In London, Harley (who is from the countryside) meets a man who on the basis of his appearance and behaviour is recognised by Harley as a 'gentleman'. The 'gentleman' is first described as 'coming out, dressed in a white frock, and a red laced waistcoat, with a small switch in his hand, which he seemed to manage with a particularly good grace'.[136] Harley then engaged in a sociable exchange with this 'gentleman' that was firmly located in polite culture:

> The conversation as they walked was brilliant on the side of his companion. The playhouse, the opera, with every occurrence in high life, he seemed perfectly master of; and talked of some reigning beauties of quality, in a manner the most feeling in the world.[137]

Harley initially views this person as a man of sensibility, one who spoke with 'feeling', however, he is soon informed that this 'gentleman' was assuming this identity under false pretences in order to take advantage of Harley.[138]

Despite the prevalence of arguments for the naturalness of sensibility in the text (implicitly in agreement with the argument proposed by Smith in *Theory of Moral Sentiments*), Mackenzie also uses the character of Harley to question whether sensibility and refinement really are innate. On his way to London, Harley stops outside an inn, and sitting down to remove a pebble from his shoe he sees a barefoot beggar. Observing the beggar, Harley states to himself:

> Our delicacies are fantastic; they are not in nature! that beggar walks over the sharpest of these stones barefooted, whilst I have lost the most delightful dream in the world, from the smallest of them happening to get into my shoe.[139]

Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* is a sentimental novel that places ideas of male refinement in a literary context. Although the novel is set in England, Mackenzie was a lawyer in Edinburgh, and his novel was an important literary contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment. As Dwyer has shown, Mackenzie was a key figure of the late eighteenth-century Enlightenment, and extracts from *Man of Feeling* (which achieved a cult following) were published in the *Caledonian Mercury* newspaper.[140]

Carter alerts us to certain problems in using the fictional character of Harley as 'synonymous with expressions of idealised male conduct', citing

[136] Ibid., 62.
[137] Ibid., 63.
[138] Ibid., 66.
[139] Ibid., 59.
[140] Dwyer, *Virtuous Discourse*, 12–24.

studies that consider Harley's 'marginalisation, weakness and ineffectiveness' within the text and highlight these as characteristics that Mackenzie criticised in his journalistic writing in *The Mirror* (1779–80) and *The Lounger* (1785–7).[141] However, when read as reflective of the debate over male refinement rather than as conduct literature in literary form, *Man of Feeling* offers a useful insight into Scottish Enlightenment debates on masculinity and virtue.

The French, the Fop and female power

The ideological connection between refinement and male virtue was enabled by the oppositional image of the effeminate, Frenchified Fop. Effeminate men's perceived focus on wealth and fashion and their lack of inner virtues, such as sympathy and benevolence, was depicted as a source of corruption and societal degeneracy, while defining the Fop in terms of French influence allowed the transgression of dominant ideas of masculinity to be represented as a threat to Britain.[142]

On eighteenth-century English fears of French influence and the undermining of national character, Michèle Cohen cites French fashions, luxury goods, manners, and language as the main ways in which French culture was seen to be undermining English culture. When the Earl of Chesterfield's 'Letters to his Son' were published in 1774, they were accused of promoting artificial politeness, of focusing (as French polite society was perceived to) on the public display of politeness through conversation and bodily control. Centred upon self-representation rather than on a refined politeness founded upon inner sensibility, Chesterfield's advice was deemed by some to encourage effeminacy. By the end of the eighteenth century, these connections between effeminacy and politeness led to a rejection of conversation, particularly conversational French (the language of politeness), as the foundation of English polite society.[143]

Within some strands of Scottish Enlightenment discourse the French were presented as effeminate in opposition to refined manhood founded on liberty. Discussing the French language, Kames wrote that its tone was 'well suited to the nature of its government: every man is politely submissive to those above him'. Political liberty formed the manners of the British people, and so 'the English language is accordingly more manly'.[144] In Scottish Enlightenment discourse, in addition to security of private property, material improvement, and the diffusion of knowledge, civil liberty was represented as essential to the development of a 'civilised', virtuous

[141] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, 101–4.
[142] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, 156.
[143] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 3–7, 42–50.
[144] Kames, 'Sketch V: manners', in *Sketches*, i, 333.

society.[145] The idea that effeminacy was caused by men's exposure to wealth without corresponding civil liberty enabled the representation of British masculinity as directly associated with liberty. It was also connected to the idea that luxury was a threat to British civilisation. In his argument that luxury weakened the mind and made it 'so effeminate as to be subdued by every distress', Kames claimed that, 'The French are far gone in that disease.'[146]

The moral corruption and male effeminacy caused by the lack of liberty in France was highlighted by the perceived gender transgressions of French women. Politeness, with its emphasis on mixed-sex interaction, had, it was believed, been taken to an extreme degree in France, with men adopting feminine characteristics to the extent that they had lost their 'natural' authority over women.[147] French men had become enslaved to the affections of women, and Alexander wrote of the French woman: 'her sole joy is the number of her admirers . . . over the whole of them she exercises the most absolute power'.[148] This weakening of men's authority was not limited to social intercourse, but extended to all aspects of society. French women were represented as having undue political influence and as rejecting feminine propriety to engage in intellectual debates and licentious sexual activity. As Cohen discusses, the heterosociality of polite culture was represented as a primary cause of French gender failings and related artificial politeness, and it was on this issue that, as patriotic gendered identities were conceptualised and asserted, British polite culture gradually distanced itself from the French.[149]

Discourses of French artificial politeness (and consequent inferiority to British civility) appear to conflict with ideas of a European Gothic heritage that were also central to Scottish Enlightenment ideas of nationhood. However, Colin Kidd has argued that ideas of French inferiority and a shared ancestral heritage between them and Britons were not necessarily incompatible. French inferiority was not considered to be innate, it was figured in the same way as many Enlightenment ideas of race; just as Native Americans would one day progress to be like Europeans, their supposed savagery only a result of their current mode of subsistence, so too was French inferiority due to structural differences between France and Britain. The despotism of their government, their Catholic faith, and the corresponding servility of the French people, all evidence of their inferiority, were seen to be the result of historical circumstance. They were a corrupted version of the 'libertarian Goth', while, as Kidd contends, because of their perceived exceptional history in establishing constitutional democracy, the British

[145] Flynn, *Enlightened Scotland*, 271.
[146] Kames, 'Sketch VII: progress and effects of luxury', in *Sketches*, ii, 146.
[147] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 76–7.
[148] Alexander, *History of Women*, i, 448.
[149] Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity*, 43–78.

were depicted as a purer product of Gothic heritage, and thus the epitome of civilisation.[150]

The idea of French corruption as a product of historical circumstance, caused by the resulting structures and norms of French society, can also be applied to ideas regarding French men's effeminacy, and definitions of effeminacy in general. In his study of the emergence of a homosexual 'Molly' subculture, Randolph Trumbach argues that by the mid-eighteenth century, foppish effeminacy was increasingly identified with the exclusive adult sodomite. For Trumbach, the rejection of the sexual identity of the libertine rake who had intercourse with boys and women represents the development of a masculine ideal that stressed men's exclusive heterosexual desire.[151] However, within eighteenth-century discourses of masculinity, effeminacy was rarely used to refer to homosexuality. Effeminacy as it was invoked within the discourse of eighteenth-century polite society should not be read in the terminology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[152] The eighteenth-century effeminate Fop was often depicted as a failed heterosexual.

In Fordyce's address on love, he stressed to his young male audience that men who lack 'a masculine virtue and firm deportment', and instead contract an 'effeminate turn and fantastic manners', will never engage in an 'honourable passion'.[153] The dishonourable passion is not homosexual sex or love, but a relationship with a woman that is based on sexual gratification, one that seeks to possess her body rather than her soul. Fordyce calls the aims of this selfish love, fed by luxury and a desire for praise, 'foppish'.[154] Within this model the character of Winbrooke, who leads Emily Atkins into prostitution in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, can be defined as a Fop.[155] It was not on the basis of his sexual identity that the Fop embodied a failure of masculinity, instead, as Carter argues, he represented a social gender failing; he embodied the opposite of the new refined man, and highlighted the dangers inherent in the growth of commercial wealth and the luxury and fashions of polite society.[156] A lack of political liberty in a nation whose politics were dominated by the institution of absolute monarchy and not a predilection for sodomy was perceived as the main cause of effeminacy among French men.

It is important to note that not all members of the literati considered

[150] Kidd, *British Identities*, 229–36

[151] Randolph Trumbach, 'The birth of the queen: sodomy and the emergence of gender equality in modern culture, 1660–1750', in Martin Duberman, Martha Vicinus and George Chauncey Jr (eds), *Hidden from History: Reclaiming the Gay and Lesbian Past* (London: Penguin, 1991), 129–40.

[152] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, 139–47.

[153] Fordyce, *Addresses to Young Men*, i, 185–6.

[154] Ibid., i, 244.

[155] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, 86–90.

[156] Carter, *Men and the Emergence*, 137–9.

French politeness to be a symbol of moral corruption. In his short autobiography, written shortly before his death in 1776, David Hume reflected on his time in France, that:

> The more I resiled [recoiled] from their excessive civilities, the more I was loaded with them. There is, however, a real satisfaction in living at Paris, from the great number of sensible, knowing and polite company with which that city abounds above all places in the universe.[157]

For Hume, the excessive politeness of the French was evidence of their sensibility not their artificiality. The fact that he made specific mention of his attitude to French politeness suggests that he was countering a popular viewpoint.

Refinement and North Britishness

The desire to avoid French-influenced foppish effeminacy and instead embody refined manhood, and by extension assert a 'civilised' patriotic masculine identity, would have been important for the aristocrats, gentry, professionals, clergymen, and wealthy merchants who formed the Scottish elite. This desire to assert Scotland's place within the Union and distance their culture from Jacobitism was keenly felt by the literati, and, as Sher has revealed, they were 'engaged in a self-conscious attempt to bring fame and glory to themselves and the Scottish nation by means of their intellectual accomplishments'.[158]

The 1745 Jacobite rebellion, which had seen Scottish (mainly Highland) Jacobite soldiers march as far as Derby in England, had encouraged Scottophobia in England. In Scottophobic discourse, ideas of Highland barbarity and a tendency among the landed elites towards despotism were applied to Scots as a whole, and patriotic acts in favour of the Hanoverian establishment during the 1745 rebellion (such as the forming of volunteer forces in Glasgow and Edinburgh) were largely ignored. Anti-Scottish attitudes in England were further increased during the short and unpopular prime ministership of James Stuart, earl of Bute (a favourite of George III), following the end of the Seven Years War.[159]

Imperial expansion following British victory in the Seven Years War led to a critique of Empire and its impact on virtue. In *History of Women*, Alexander used the example of Rome to highlight the moral corruption that commercial wealth and imperial power could cause. He depicted Rome as a virtuous nation until it plundered Asia, after which the great wealth and the licentious manners of conquered countries corrupted the

[157] Hume, *The Life of David Hume, Esq. Written by Himself*, in *Essays*, p. xxxix.
[158] Sher, *Enlightenment and the Book*, 44.
[159] Bob Harris, *Politics and the Nation: Britain in the Mid-Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 159–90.

Romans. This corruption, according to Alexander, resulted in the loss of patriotism in men in favour of venality, and the preference for fashion over chastity in women.[160] Millar also expressed this idea, stating that 'the excessive opulence of Rome, and after the establishment of the despotism, gave rise to a degree of debauchery of which we have no example in any other European nation'.[161]

It is unsurprising that there was a concern in Scottish Enlightenment thought about the impact of imperial wealth and power on society. Scots were deeply involved in Empire, fighting in regiments posted overseas, or for the upper classes, gaining overseas posts through patronage networks fostered and controlled by influential Scots in London, such as the Earl of Bute, the Duke of Argyll, and later Henry Dundas. Participation in Empire spurred economic growth in Scotland, cemented the Union, and, as Linda Colley has argued, encouraged the development of a British national identity.[162] Asserting their equal place within Britain, and desiring to combat anti-Scottish sentiment, the Scottish elite proclaimed their place within the Union via their urban enlightened culture, and commercial and agricultural improvement. In addition to sitting somewhat uncomfortably with the importance of the institution of slavery (particularly the trade in slave-grown tobacco and sugar) to Scottish economic growth, this assertion of Scottish civility and also involved an erroneous contention that Scottish urbane civility was free from (or at least less tainted by) the moral corruption of wealth seemingly evident in London polite society.[163]

In the pamphlet *A North Briton Extraordinary* (1756) the author, 'A citizen of Edinburgh', expressed dismay that 'our southern brethren rail at us for the lead we take in war and in commerce, in the arts and in the sciences'.[164] Acknowledging that the English were superior in wealth, the author claimed that 'their superiority in this, is the true cause of their inferiority in everything else'.[165] The English are represented as possessing debauched principles and having private lives of 'tasteless riot and indelicate gluttony mistaken for luxury'.[166] Here luxury is not a problem, but wealth without refinement is, and this is what the English are deemed to possess. Illustrating this lack of refinement, the author cites the 'filth,

[160] Alexander, *History of Women*, i, 377–81.

[161] Millar, *Origin of the Distinction*, 125.

[162] Linda Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707–1837* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), 105–17.

[163] John Dwyer and Alexander Murdoch, 'Paradigms and politics: manners, morals and the rise of Henry Dundas', in Dywer, Mason and Murdoch (eds), *New Perspectives*, 216–18.

[164] Anon., *A North Briton Extraordinary. Published at Edinburgh* (London: W. Nicoll, 1765), 6.

[165] Ibid., 7.

[166] Ibid., 6, 9.

danger and inconveniency in every street' in London.[167] Although critical of the 1707 Union where in his view, Scotland had become England's 'most valuable colony', the author did not seek Scottish independence. Rather, he aimed to assert Scotland's equality within the Union.[168]

London as a place of civility and corruption is also apparent in Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*. It is in London that Harley confronts artificial politeness, is exposed to gambling and prostitution, and is made acutely aware of men's selfishness.[169] Published in the same year as *Man of Feeling*, Tobias Smollett's novel *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771) also offers a meditation on commerce, improvement, and luxury. Various perspectives are represented, but ultimately the virtue of the country, embodied by the gentleman following good oeconomy, is upheld as superior to the extravagances of fashionable society. In this text, in the words of the young male character James Melford, Edinburgh is depicted as having 'all the diversions of London', such as concerts, the theatre, assemblies, and races. Yet it is free from the profligacy of Bath and London, which is despised by Melford's uncle, Matthew Bramble.[170] In this text, Edinburgh's superiority is attributed to the fact that its polite culture is closely conjoined with the beneficial public institutions of the College of Justice and the universities, and with so many leading intellectuals occupying its urban streets it is 'a hot-bed of genius'.[171]

Representations of Edinburgh as distinct from London and other English centres of politeness are important in understanding the gendering of the Enlightenment in Scotland. The idea that Edinburgh's urbanity embodied civility and refinement suggests that the desire to avoid effeminacy and assert refined manhood was acutely felt in Scotland. That many of the distinctions used to portray Edinburgh as morally superior to London were only fiction will be illustrated in Chapter 3.

Conclusion

Concepts of appropriate masculinity and femininity were central features of Scottish Enlightenment discourses of luxury and refinement, and the dominant gender identities that emerged were the polite, refined gentleman motivated by an inner sensibility, and the emotional woman governed by modesty. These were not the only identities available to men and women of eighteenth-century Scotland, but they determined the socially dominant public gender performance among the urban elite. Yet, as the following chapters will show, the exact boundaries of these identities (especially

[167] Ibid., 9
[168] Ibid., 14.
[169] Mackenzie, *Man of Feeling*, 62–98.
[170] Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1771] 2009).
[171] Ibid., 233.

for men) were fluid. Improvement was the unifying thread that held the Enlightenment together, and that enables us to see it as a coherent epistemological and social development. However, in neither thought nor culture was it uniform.