

# ***EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND***

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

## **MONTPELLIER UPON US**

ECSSS's "Conference within the Congress" is nearly upon us. The Society will hold its annual conference within the Twelfth International Enlightenment Congress that takes place in Montpellier, France, from 8 to 15 July 2007. Our program will run from Tuesday 10 July through Thursday 12 July. There will be nine ECSSS sessions, covering Smollett; art, architecture, and music; John Home's *Douglas*; Scottish poetry; union and empire; Scottish philosophy; Adam Smith and the French Enlightenment; the concept of the Scottish Enlightenment; and Adam Ferguson. It is an enticing program, featuring ECSSS members from eight different academic disciplines and many areas of the world, including Australia, Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, and Turkey.

The Society will also sponsor two other events at Montpellier. On Tuesday 10 July there will be an ECSSS dinner at a local restaurant, where Ian Simpson Ross will present the Society's Lifetime Achievement Award to Andrew Hook, Bradley Professor of Literature Emeritus at the University of Glasgow. The following day the Society will hold its annual membership meeting with lunch. ECSSS members will receive additional details on these events, which will also be posted on the Society's website ([www.ecsss.org](http://www.ecsss.org)). If all else fails, contact the executive secretary ([sher@njit.edu](mailto:sher@njit.edu)) for further information and reservations.

We are very grateful to our hardworking liaison in Montpellier, Clotilde Prunier of Université Paul-Valéry, for organizing our conference arrangements.

## **TO HALIFAX WE GO**

Although ECSSS has met in Canada before, we have never held a conference in the land of New Scotland itself: Nova Scotia. All that will change in 2008, however, when the Society convenes in Halifax, NS, from 26 to 29 June. The conference organizer, Fiona Black,

has reserved space for the conference at Dalhousie University (founded by the Scottish Earl of Dalhousie in 1818), where she is Director of the School of Information Management. Fiona is planning some exciting performances of Scottish music, a library exhibit, and a post-conference excursion to Pictou, where there is a reconstruction of an eighteenth-century immigrant ship, the *Hector*, which landed in 1773 bearing Highlanders. In addition to the usual ECSSS sessions on any and all subjects having to do with eighteenth-century Scotland, this conference will focus on the theme of "The Scottish Cultural Diaspora." Panels on the Scottish presence in Nova Scotia, Canada, and the New World generally will be particularly welcome, and the conference dates have been extended until 1830 to encourage papers on Canada.

A Call for Papers accompanies this mailing and will also be available on the ECSSS website. For further information about the conference, contact Fiona Black ([fiona.black@dal.ca](mailto:fiona.black@dal.ca)). For program information, contact Richard Sher ([sher@njit.edu](mailto:sher@njit.edu)).

## **FUTURE PLANS**

In early July 2009 ECSSS will meet in St. Andrews, Scotland (the spring 2009 issue will contain more information and a Call for Papers). In June 2010 we expect to celebrate the 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the birth of Thomas Reid at a conference in Princeton, NJ, co-sponsored by the Center for Scottish Philosophy at Princeton Theological Seminar. Tentative plans have been made to celebrate David Hume's 300<sup>th</sup> birthday at the University of Aberdeen in summer 2011. Mark your calendars!

## **DAVID DALE BICENTENARY**

To mark the bicentenary of the death of David Dale (1739–1806), The Friends of New Lanark hosted a one-day conference at Glasgow Caledonian University on 4 November 2006. The legacy of Dale was approached under the themes of Industry, Philanthropy,

and Heritage.

David McLaren, author of Dale's biography, called Dale "a pivotal man in a pivotal time." He described Dale's "mill paternalism" in the fields of housing, education, and social provision, his philanthropy being influenced by business success and religious conviction. John Hume expanded on Dale's religious convictions, his aversion for patronage, and his involvement in setting up Glasgow's first Scotch Independent church in 1768. As a businessman, Dale believed in "moral merchandising." Ruth Reed, archivist for the Royal Bank of Scotland, described how the "Royal" gained a foothold in Glasgow with the appointment of Dale as its agent in 1783. The bank's interests were handled on a daily basis by Scott Moncrieff, trading from Dale's linen shop, where he gave advice to clients in what he called his "sweating room."

Ian Baxter began the afternoon session with a presentation on New Lanark, which has World Heritage Site status, by considering the varied expectations of visitors. As well as visual engagement, they seek physical engagement and wish to experience emotion, urged Baxter. Lorna Davidson gave focus for that emotional experience with her description of how "pauper apprentices" were brought by Dale to New Lanark from charity workhouses. The children were a solution to a labor shortage in the mill's rural location, and they were given food, clothing, accommodation, and education, but not wages. Although the children worked a thirteen-hour day, followed by two hours of education, Davidson reminded the audience that the children had come to New Lanark not from comfortable homes but from city workhouses where conditions were considerably harder. Life in New Lanark was better and healthier, but by 1798 Dale was aware that younger children should be spared long hours of labor. Mark Watson rounded off the proceedings by considering the influence of the mills at New Lanark and Catrine, not only on other planned mill villages in Scotland but also on the Lowell boarding houses and mills in Massachusetts and Manchester, New Hampshire, and also on mill villages in Catalonia.

The conference recognized that David Dale has often been underrated, not least because of the later role of Robert Owen. A plan to erect a memorial to Dale in Glasgow was announced to the audience as one way to give him greater acknowledgment.

**Iain C. Hutchison, University of Stirling**

### **BURNS AT THE MITCHELL**

The Burns International Conference, held annually since 2005 at Glasgow's Mitchell Library, returned to its familiar one-day format on 13 January 2007. Well over 130 Burns enthusiasts and scholars enjoyed a

packed program presented by speakers and performers from a range of disciplines.

The morning session began with two very different papers addressing the theme of Burns and the nation. David Goldie revealed how Burns's Scottish patriotism was hijacked for propaganda purposes during the drive to recruit men for active service on the battlefields of World War I. By contrast, Margery Palmer McCulloch considered Burns's poems and songs within the context of romantic nationalism, emphasizing that for him the heart of the national tradition lay in the folk tune. Next, Ralph R. McLean focused on Burns the man and demonstrated how his drive for self-improvement, his love of conviviality, and his appreciation of sexual pleasure all found fulfillment within eighteenth-century male club culture. As in former years, the language issue proved provocative: Eileen Bremner kindled much discussion when she argued that Burns wrote over one hundred poems entirely in English. Several speakers revealed new directions in the study of Burns and imaginative plans for his commemoration. Zashem Ahmed explained the mission of the Nazrul-Burns Centre, which aims to celebrate Burns's work while promoting a multicultural Scotland. Michael Moss disclosed the NTS vision for The Burns National Heritage Park, located in Ayrshire and incorporating the well-known sites. In a fascinating overview of the work of an archaeologist, Derek Alexander described preliminary excavations behind Burns's Cottage. He also treated his audience to some black humor that Burns himself would surely have appreciated.

Before the traditional lunch of haggis, tatties, and neeps, a musical feast was provided in the magnificent Jeffrey Room. Here Alison McNeill, accompanied on piano by Anne MacGregor, gave a memorable performance that offered modern, often haunting and beautiful, settings of familiar songs by Burns. Love of song was also at the heart of Fred Freeman's passionate discussion of Robert Burns and Robert Tannahill, in which he pointed out that both poets recognized the song as a high literary form and that both died as martyrs to their art. The final papers of the day delved into matters philosophical and historical. Ronnie Young argued that Scottish Enlightenment conceptions of genius induced his contemporaries to construct the myth of Burns as uneducated "genius." Christopher Whatley's 300-anniversary lecture on the Union of 1707 challenged simplistic, one-sided views of this period and provided a fitting conclusion to a thoroughly stimulating day. Throughout the conference, the Burns Room was open and items from the superb collection of Colin Hunter McQueen were on view. A particularly fascinating display of postcards was mounted in the Reading Room, where the confer-

ence took place.

Conference organizers Gerry Carruthers and Ken Simpson are to be congratulated for once again demonstrating the dynamic nature of Burns studies in the twenty-first century, and for staging such an effective tribute to Scotland's national bard.

Carol Baraniuk, University of Glasgow

### BURNS CENTRE AT GLASGOW

The University of Glasgow has announced the establishment of the Robert Burns Centre, with Ken Simpson as its first director. The inaugural lecture for the centre will be on Saturday 21 July 2007 at 2 PM, in the Burns Room in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Fiona Stafford of Somerville College, Oxford, will speak on "A Centre in the Breast: Burns and Happiness." There will also be an exhibition from the collection of Burnsiana of Colin Hunter McQueen. Tickets are free but limited, and Ken says he will be happy to provide them to any ECSSS members who write to [gec@arts.gla.ac.uk](mailto:gec@arts.gla.ac.uk).

### BURNS RESTORATION

The sorry state of the material legacy of Robert Burns has been a sensitive subject in Scotland of late (see "Managing Burns Artifacts" in our Spring 2005 issue). In a recent article in *BooksfromScotland.com*, Corey Andrews has documented the controversy relating to Burns Cottage in particular and joined the call for immediate action. Fortunately, the Heritage Lottery Fund has announced a grant of nearly six million pounds to the Burns National Heritage Park in Alloway, to restore Burns Cottage and create a new Burns Museum nearby. The cottage, where Burns was born in 1759, will be repaired and conserved, and the new museum will house the world's largest and most important collection of Burns memorabilia. The project will include a walkway connecting the cottage and museum to Brig O Doon and Alloway Auld Kirk. The fast-track schedule calls for work to be completed in time for Burns's 250th birthday in 2009 (see p. 5).

### SYMBIOSIS REACHES OUT

*Symbiosis: A Journal of Anglo-American Literary and Cultural Studies* has reached out to ECSSS members for participation. On 12–15 July 2007 the journal will sponsor its sixth annual conference at Brunel University in West London. The headline theme is "Anglo-American Aesthetics: Innovations and Economies of Influence." In addition, Prof. Philip Tew of Brunel U., the new joint managing editor of *Symbiosis*, has invited ECSSS members to submit articles for publication in the journal. Further information about *Symbiosis* and its upcoming conference can be found at [www.symbiosisonline.org.uk](http://www.symbiosisonline.org.uk).

### HUME SOCIETY CONFERENCES

The Hume Society holds its 2007 meeting on 7–12 August at Boston University. In 2008 the society will meet at the University of Akureyri in Iceland, 6–10 August. For further information about the society and its journal, *Hume Studies*, visit the society's website at [www.humesociety.org](http://www.humesociety.org).

### THE UNION AT 300

The 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Union of 1707 is generating much activity in Scotland and elsewhere. Here are some of the highlights (besides the ECSSS session on "Scotland, the Union, and Empire" at the Enlightenment Congress in Montpellier):

#### ECSSS at ASECS

For the second straight year, David Radcliffe of Virginia Institute of Technology organized and chaired an outstanding ECSSS session at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, this time held in Atlanta, Georgia, on 23 March 2007. Titled "England, Scotland, and the Union of 1707," the panel featured talks by Juliet Shields (Binghamton U.) on "A Union of Affections: Paradigms of Nationhood in Pro- and Anti-Union Pamphlets"; William Levine (Middle Tennessee State U.) on "Concepts of Union in the Poetry of James Thomson and William Collins"; Rivka Swenson (U. of Virginia) on "Revising the Scottish Plot in *Roderick Random*;" and Corey E. Andrews (Youngstown State U.) on "'Vive la Bagatelle': Robert Burns and the Union of 1707."

At the 2008 ASECS meeting in Portland, Oregon, ECSSS will sponsor a panel on "Material Culture and the Object in 18th-Century Scotland," organized by Maureen Harkin of Reed College.

#### Debating the Union at Edinburgh

As part of a program of activities commemorating the Union, the University of Edinburgh sponsored a debate on the subject on 10 January 2007. Chaired by Christopher Smout, Historiographer Royal in Scotland, the panel consisted of Karin Bowie of Glasgow U., Allan Macinnes of Aberdeen U., Alex Murdoch of Edinburgh U., and Chris Whatley of U. of Dundee.

#### Events at Aberdeen

On 1 May 2007 the U. of Aberdeen mounted an exhibition of Union artifacts in special collections at Marischal College as part of its Anglo-Scottish Union 1707 Tercentenary Conference. The keynote speech was delivered by Allan Macinnes, who was introduced by the principal of the university, C. Duncan Rice.

On 7–9 September 2007, the University of Aberdeen will host a major conference on "Unions:



Past-Present-Future.” Constituting the Fourth Irish–Scottish Academic Initiative Conference, the event will include papers on any aspects of Irish, Scottish, or Irish–Scottish affairs. More information can be obtained from Michael Brown ([m.brown@abdn.ac.uk](mailto:m.brown@abdn.ac.uk)).

#### **Parliamentary Exhibit**

A special exhibition on the Union—co-sponsored by the Scottish Parliament, the House of Commons, the House of Lords, and the National Archives of Scotland—will be on display at the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh from 21 September to 18 November 2007. It will feature the English and Scottish copies of the Treaty of Union that have not appeared together since 1707 and an illuminated copy signed by Queen Anne.

#### **CSSP REID SYMPOSIUM**

The 4<sup>th</sup> International Reid Symposium will be sponsored by the Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton, New Jersey, on 7–9 September 2007. The theme of the symposium is “Philosophy, Theology, Education: Scottish Foundations of American Tradition.” Plenary talks will be given by Nicholas Wolterstorff of Yale U. on “Moral Sentiments and Emotions” and Rachel Zuckert of Northwestern U. on “Naturalism, Education and Aesthetics in the Scottish Enlightenment.” ECSSS members scheduled to speak at the conference include Roger Fechner, Colin Heydt, Tom Kennedy, James Moore, Mark Spencer, and Matthew Eddy. For more information, visit the CSSP website at [www.ptsem.edu/cssp](http://www.ptsem.edu/cssp).

#### **NEWLANDS SEMINAR**

The Newlands Centenary Seminar at the University of Glasgow was devoted to the theme of “Ideas and Contexts in the Scottish and European Enlightenment.” The seminar was held in the first half of 2007 to mark the centenary of the Newlands Visitor Scheme, established in 1907 to bring an Oxford scholar to Glasgow (paralleling the Snell Exhibition that has enabled Glasgow scholars—including Adam Smith—to study at Balliol College, Oxford). The program was organized by this year’s Newlands Visitor, Neven Leddy, who spoke on 21 February on “The Scottish Enlightenment in Geneva.” Other speakers included Daniel Carey (NUI-Galway), “Hutcheson, Race and Slavery in the Eighteenth Century” on 17 January; James Harris (St. Andrews U.), “Early Responses to Hume on Justice” on 14 March; Catherine Wilson (City U. of New York), “The Philosopher as Social Critic in the Eighteenth Century” on 18 April; and Kathleen Wilson (Stony Brook U.), “Re-Thinking the Colonial State: Gender and Governmentality in the Long Eighteenth Century” on 23 May.

#### **RECLAIMING ADAM SMITH**

A two-day conference on “Reclaiming Adam Smith” was held at Columbia University on 22 and 23 September 2006. The conference featured many leading scholars of Smith and eighteenth-century thought, including ECSSS members Istvan Hont and Nicholas Phillipson, who delivered papers, and Chris Berry, Knud Haakonssen, David Armitage, and Carl Wennerlind, who served as respondents and moderators.

#### **CELEBRATING TMS**

The 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication of Adam Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) will be marked by at least two important conferences in 2009:

##### **Smith in Oxford: 6–8 January 2009**

The International Adam Smith Society and its journal, *The Adam Smith Review*, will sponsor a major conference on 6–8 January 2009 at Balliol College, Oxford—the college that Smith himself attended during the 1740s. Plenary speakers will include Stephen Darwall (U. of Michigan), Charles Griswold (Boston U.), Knud Haakonssen (U. of Sussex), David Raphael (Imperial College), Emma Rothschild (King’s College Cambridge), and Geoffrey Sayre-McCord (U. of North Carolina).

Titled “The Philosophy of Adam Smith,” the conference is intended as an opportunity to reevaluate the significance of Smith’s moral philosophy and moral psychology; the relationship between them and his other writings on economics, politics, jurisprudence, history, and rhetoric and *belles lettres*; and the relevance of his thought to current research in these areas. Papers on any of these topics, and from any discipline, are welcome. Please send detailed abstracts (500–800 words) prepared for blind review by 15 September 2007 to: Samuel Fleischacker, Philosophy Department (M/C 267), 601 South Morgan Street, University of Illinois at Chicago, Chicago, IL 60607-7114, USA; email: [sfleisch@uic.edu](mailto:sfleisch@uic.edu). Participants will be notified that their proposals have been accepted for the conference by 1 December 2007. A selection of conference papers will be published in a special commemorative volume of *The Adam Smith Review* (Routledge), entitled *The Philosophy of Adam Smith*, edited by Vivienne Brown and Sam Fleischacker. To meet the publication schedule of the volume, participants who would like their papers to be considered for it should submit complete drafts of their papers to the editors by 15 September 2008. Only new, previously unpublished work will be included in the volume.

##### **TMS in Glasgow: 31 March–2 April 2009**

The University of Glasgow, where Adam Smith lectured on the topics that resulted in the *Theory of Moral*



*Sentiments*, will also host a major Smith conference in spring 2009 (tentatively scheduled for 31 March–2 April). It will be held under the auspices of the university's interdisciplinary Adam Smith Research Foundation ([www.gla.ac.uk/lbss/asrf](http://www.gla.ac.uk/lbss/asrf)) and will aim to cover the range of issues generated by *TMS*, including its historical significance and antecedents, its place and impact on literary and cultural scholarship as well as social psychology and, of course, moral philosophy and economics. Among the participants at this point are Tom Campbell, Ryan Hanley, Jim Otteson, Nicholas Phillipson, Andrew Skinner, and Craig Smith. Those interested in participating in this conference should contact the conference organizer, Chris Berry ([c.berry@lbss.gla.ac.uk](mailto:c.berry@lbss.gla.ac.uk)).

### BURNS AT 250

Like Smith's *TMS*, Robert Burns (1759–1796) will turn 250 in 2009, and the event will not go unnoticed. Here are the first two events that have come to our attention:

#### Global Burns in Prague: 6–8 March 2009

Charles University in Prague will host a conference on "Robert Burns in European Culture" on 6–8 March 2009. The purpose of the conference is to discuss and celebrate the impact of Burns on European culture by drawing attention to him as a writer of European significance who has been widely neglected since 1945. There are three main conference themes: the European reception of Burns; the effect his reception has had on images of Scotland; and the material performance of Burns in culture. Those wishing to give papers on any of these themes are asked to send a title and an abstract of 150 words by 30 September 2007 to Murray Pittock ([murray.g.pittock@manchester.ac.uk](mailto:murray.g.pittock@manchester.ac.uk)).

The conference at Charles U. is part of a larger project, funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council, on Robert Burns in Global Culture, which is directed from the University of Manchester, in partnership with Glasgow University and Charles University. There are a number of European Union contributors, and Leith Davis is contributing from Canada; there are also close links to the Scottish Executive's Year of Homecoming 2009. The major research questions being addressed are: 1. Why has the critical standing of Burns (as measured by articles published, space devoted in literary histories, companions, period bibliographies, and so on) declined so catastrophically since 1945? 2. Is there a disparity between the reputation of Burns in Anglo-American criticism and his reception in a European context since 1945? 3. What are the key periods, countries, and literatures worthy of further research in the context of Burns's European and global reception? 4. What im-

pact has Burns had on the image of Scotland in those cultures where he has had a significant reception? 5. What is the continuing cultural and social presence of Burns globally, and what are the links between this and the presence of a Scottish diaspora?

The first of five meetings of the project team is scheduled for autumn 2007, with the Prague conference and a conference at the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 2009. Publication in all these areas is expected in 2009–2011. For more details on Global Burns, contact Murray Pittock of Manchester University at the email address given above.

#### Burns in South Carolina: 12–15 March 2009

The University of South Carolina in Columbia, SC, which houses the world-renowned G. Ross Roy Collection of Robert Burns and Scottish Poetry in its Thomas Cooper Library, is planning a multidisciplinary, international conference on 12–15 March 2009 to assess Burns's achievement. Titled "Robert Burns: Contemporaries, Contexts, and Cultural Forms," the conference is being touted as the premier event in North America for the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary and a landmark in Scottish literary studies in the United States. Although a formal call for papers will not appear until 2008, those who wish to receive details are asked to contact Patrick Scott ([scottp@gwm.sc.edu](mailto:scottp@gwm.sc.edu)) with their name, address, and email address.

### BOOKSfromSCOTLAND.COM

ECSSS members are invited to visit a new website dedicated to Scottish books: [BooksfromScotland.com](http://BooksfromScotland.com). The Scottish Publishers Association established the site (with support from the Scottish Arts Council) to serve as a showcase for Scottish books, especially those published by its members. But the website is also an information resource for anyone interested in Scottish literature, writing, publishing, or books and aims to provide specialized information gathered from experts like the members of ECSSS. A number of ECSSS members have already become involved or expressed interest, and others are encouraged to participate as well.

### BEATTIE BIO AVAILABLE

J. Martin Stafford ([ismeron99@aol.com](mailto:ismeron99@aol.com)) has informed us that a few copies of his 1990 reprint edition of Margaret Forbes's classic biography of James Beattie, *James Beattie and His Friends* (1904), which includes a color print of Sir Joshua Reynolds's famous allegorical portrait "The Triumph of Truth," are available to ECSSS members at the special price of £5 postpaid within the UK and £7 (or US\$15) postpaid elsewhere. Other Scottish philosophy titles are on sale at his website: [www.members.aol.com/ismeron99](http://www.members.aol.com/ismeron99).

## SCOTTISH LIT AT THE MLA

In January 2007 a petition was launched by members of the Scottish Literature Discussion Group of the Modern Language Association to raise their status to that of a Division. Divisional status in the MLA marks the existence of a critical mass of interest in a subject area and confers practical benefits as well as increased visibility within the North American academy. The petition made the case that "Scottish literary scholarship has been transformed in recent years" by a spate of scholarship that has "(a) recognized the wealth and distinctiveness of the Scottish literary tradition and (b) sought to address the anglo-centric bias in earlier treatments of Scottish writing." It urged the MLA to formally recognize this surge of interest by granting Divisional status.

Established in 1999 by Ian Duncan, Cairns Craig, and Charles Snodgrass, the Scottish Literature Discussion Group has recently organized panels at the annual MLA convention on balladry and oral narrative; periodicals and print culture; the criticism of David Daiches; and the gendering of the nation in Scottish literature. It has sponsored readings by contemporary Scottish writers and worked with the Association of Scottish Literary Studies to promote an annual book exhibit. MLA volumes on teaching Walter Scott and Robert Louis Stevenson are in the works, and an online publication, the *International Journal of Scottish Literature*, has just been announced. The group hopes to expand on the dynamism of current scholarship on Scottish culture, bringing together scholars in different disciplines on both sides of the Atlantic. Information on the success of the petition should be available around the time that this issue appears. For further information on the *IJSL*, readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* are invited to consult the journal's website at [www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk](http://www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk)

Fiona Wilson, Fordham University

## NEW GU SCHOLARSHIP

A new scholarship of £1000 will be offered by the Centre for Scottish and Celtic Studies for postgraduate study at the University of Glasgow in 2007–8. The Ross Scholarship is designed to encourage masters-level dissertation research on Scottish subjects using archival material from outside Scotland. The funds will be awarded competitively to one student in the Centre's MLitt in Scottish Studies, or Medieval Scottish Studies, or the Department of History's MLitt in History. These taught one-year MLitt programs offer a core course and optional modules taken over two terms, followed by a 15,000-word dissertation. Teaching in Scottish Studies at Glasgow draws together medieval and modern expertise in the Departments of History, Scottish Literature, and Celtic. Applications

for the scholarship are now invited. For more information about the scholarship, please contact Christelle LeRiguer at [c.leriguer@arts.gla.ac.uk](mailto:c.leriguer@arts.gla.ac.uk).

## DISCOUNTED EUP JOURNALS

Edinburgh University Press is offering ECSSS members 25% discounts on three relevant journals: *The Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, *The Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, and *The Scottish Historical Review*. For further information, see the enclosed leaflet or contact the journals publishing manager, Diana Spencer, at [diana.spencer@eup.ed.ac.uk](mailto:diana.spencer@eup.ed.ac.uk).

## NEW IN THE ARCHIVES

The availability of the following manuscripts relating to eighteenth-century Scotland was announced in the spring 2006, autumn 2006, and spring 2007 issues of *Retour*, the newsletter of the Scottish Records Association:

*National Archives of Scotland*: papers of the Caw family of Crieff, 1750–1883 (GD1/1288); papers of the Maclaine family of Lochbuie, 1493–1742 (GD1/1365); papers of the Earls of Dalhousie, 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century (GD45)—see p. 7; diary of Charles Bailie-Hamilton, Archdeacon of Cleveland, 1789–99 (GD1/1390); kirk session records of Canonbie Parish Church, 1694–1984 (CH2/1582), Kilbride Parish Church, 1704–1975 (CH2/1043), St. Clement's Parish Church, Dingwall, 1674–1909 (CH2/269); papers relating to James Cornwall of Banton, 1691–1742 (GD1/1364); legal papers and correspondence of the Griersons family of Larbbreck, c.1600–1799 (GD1/1394).

*Ayrshire Archives Centre*: inventory of the negroes, stock, etc. on the Hamilton family estate at Rozelle, Jamaica, 1792 (Acc. II12); kirk session records of Dreghorn Parish Church, 1656–1982 (CH2/1577).

*Mitchell Library, Glasgow*: family papers of Andrew Hosie, weaver in Gorbals, 1749–1825 (TD1464); records of St. Mark's Masonic Lodge No. 102, Glasgow, 1766–1977 (TD1497).

*AK Bell Library, Perth*: legal and family papers of the Stewart family of Balnakeilly, c.1565–1880 (Accno04/04).

*Stirling Council Archive Service*: records of the Buchlyvie Parish Church, 1785–1945 (1236).

*Scottish Catholic Archives, Edinburgh*: records of the Aberdeen Roman Catholic Diocese, 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century (Dab/)

*Kirkcaldy Museum & Art Gallery*: records of the Linktown Weavers Society, 1748–1867; records of the Incorporation of Tailors of Linktown of Abbotshall, c.1678–1878; records of the Tailors Society of Pittenweem, c.1687–1768; East Wemyss village regis-

ter, 1765–1858; funeral register of Pathhead Feuars, 1714–1847; records of Dunnikier Feuars, 1684–1962; manuscripts of Professor George S. Pryde, c.1612–1859.

### NAS TO GET DALHOUSIE PAPERS

According to the spring 2007 issue of *Retour*, the Dalhousie Papers, one of the most important collections of Scottish historical documents still in private hands, is being purchased by the National Archives of Scotland. The collection is rich with manuscripts relating to 900 years of Scottish history, including papers on the Darien expeditions of the 1690s and the Jacobite rebellion of 1715 and the papers of American War veteran Gen. John Forbes (with seven letters from George Washington).

### DAICHES TO BE HONORED

The late David Daiches, the first recipient of the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award, will be commemorated in a forthcoming volume of essays titled *David Daiches: A Celebration of His Life and Work*, edited by William Baker and Michael Lister. The volume will include essays by Ian Simpson Ross, Caroline McCracken-Flesher, Asa Briggs, Owen Dudley Edwards, and Jenni Calder, among others, and will include a complete bibliography of David's writings. Publication is scheduled for the autumn, and we expect the book to be reviewed in next year's issue.

### IN MEMORIAM: GEORGE DAVIE

Scottish philosophy lost one of its giants when George Elder Davie (1912–2007) passed away on 20 March 2007, two days after his 95th birthday. From the late 1950s through the early 1980s, Davie taught philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. Throughout his academic career, and long after, his principal project was "The Scotch Metaphysics"—the title of his 1953 DLitt thesis at Edinburgh, finally published in 2000. But his career was launched by a book about modern Scottish university education that he began as the introduction to his magnum opus; it was separately published in 1961 as *The Democratic Intellect* and remained his most famous book. There Davie argued that the distinctive feature of what he called "the Scottish pedagogical tradition" was its "humanistic bias," based on the priority of philosophy dating back to Scotland's "Presbyterian inheritance" from the early modern period. Although his emphasis remained on post-Enlightenment Scotland, he occasionally published on eighteenth-century thought and culture, including *The Scottish Enlightenment*, a diffuse and somewhat eccentric, though occasionally brilliantly perceptive, pamphlet that was published by The Historical Association in 1981.

To students, George was kind and helpful. Glaucoma took his eyesight many years before his death, but he continued his scholarly activity and in 2003 published a little book on the nineteenth-century philosopher J. F. Ferrier.

### SCOTTISH STUDIES AT GUELPH

Scottish Studies has been one of the most distinct parts of the University of Guelph since the very early days of its inception in 1964. Scottish Studies was once home to the incomparable Ted Cowan and many other well-kent faces hard to forget. More recently, it is where the first privately endowed chair of Scottish Studies in North America became a reality. Following a nineteen-year campaign by the Toronto-based *Scottish Studies Foundation* ([www.scottishstudies.com](http://www.scottishstudies.com)) to raise and pledge over CAN\$1m, the chair was established in 2004. Guelph, about an hour west of Toronto, was founded in 1827 by the Scottish novelist John Galt (1779–1839) when mapping out land in Ontario as first superintendent of the Canada Company. Yet this fast-growing city of over 120,000 people is not a "Scottish town" like the nearby settlements of Fergus or Elora, and despite all the local clan gatherings to be found on summer weekends, it is not situated in an especially strong Scottish area like Glengarry in eastern Ontario or Nova Scotia. But Guelph is like many parts of North America in that its Scottish heritage has been more noticeable, more vocal, than numbers alone would indicate. It is a reality that makes outreach an important part of life for the Scottish Studies Program, a group located in the History Department but with contributions from the departments of Literature and Land Resource Science. An outreach office is staffed part-time by graduate students to help answer historical and genealogical inquiries but also to assist in organizing two colloquia each year, editing the *International Review of Scottish Studies* (back issues shortly to be available online), and facilitating a steady stream of speakers at gatherings and events throughout Ontario and elsewhere.

Serendipity had much to do with the creation of Scottish Studies at Guelph. Its origins lie with its first chair of history, Stanford Reid, a Presbyterian minister as well as historian of John Knox who arrived from McGill University to set up the new department. When asked to create a graduate program that avoided overlap with those at the University of Toronto, then validating degrees for the fledgling university, Reid chose his own research interest. Quick action also enabled him to secure more books from the college library budget than might otherwise have been expected, and it is its archival collection that secures Guelph's place in the field of Scottish Studies. Supplemented by federal grants and donations from the



Macdonald Stewart Foundation, the Guelph librarians conducted what are now regarded as legendary tours of the antiquarian booksellers of Scotland. Armed with the first ever completely digitized university library catalogue on CD, transported on a just-about portable computer, they managed to avoid duplicate purchases. The collection today has a number of notable strengths in the area of Jacobite history, the Disruption in the Church of Scotland, and books printed by Robert and Andrew Foulis, official printers to the University of Glasgow in the mid-eighteenth century and publishers of fine editions of Latin and Greek classics. One of the most widely consulted parts of the archive is its eighteenth- and nineteenth-century chapbook collection, encompassing stories, histories, ballads, and religious tracts. Recently the university has been gifted a most singular collection of the works of John Galt by its retired librarian, Tim Sauer. Sauer was heavily involved in those book-buying tours of Scotland with Ted Cowan, but his personal fascination was always with Galt. The whole collection can be found in the university library's on-line catalogue, and increasingly these sources are being digitized, with the Galt texts leading the way and with many others available through the excellent Internet Archive ([www.archive.org](http://www.archive.org)), including the publications of the Scottish bibliographical clubs of the nineteenth century.

Teaching in Scottish history and literature is done at the undergraduate level, but the main focus falls on the graduate program, with M.A., Ph.D., and post-doctoral supervision being conducted. The current crop of Ph.D. students is split equally between Scots and North Americans, making for a lively interchange of ideas and cultures. Research travel scholarships are available for most students in the program, and merit scholarships are available for the highest quality students. The research interests of the four Scottish historians who form the core of the program focus on urbanization, women's history, migration, crime, hand-loom weaving, tourism, feminism, and national identity, with emphasis on the early modern period and the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Frank Watson Book Prize is awarded to the best book on Scottish History published in the previous two years, with the winner receiving a cash prize and an invitation to address the annual Scottish Studies Fall Colloquium. Visiting speakers are remarkably frequent and make for a superb research atmosphere, although it would be nothing without the program's pride and joy: the largest specialized collection of Scottish books and archives outside of the UK.

Further information may be obtained at the following websites: [www.uoguelph.ca/scottish](http://www.uoguelph.ca/scottish) and [www.lib.uoguelph.ca/resources/archives/Scottish/](http://www.lib.uoguelph.ca/resources/archives/Scottish/)

[index.html](#).

Graeme Morton, Scottish Studies Foundation  
Chair, University of Guelph

### INTELLECTUAL HIST RESURGENT

Just a few years ago, it was difficult for eighteenth-century scholars to find a reputable journal in the field of intellectual history. In 2007, however, there are several fine journals competing for our attention. Here is a rundown of the most prominent:

*Journal of the History of Ideas.* A move to the University of Pennsylvania has rejuvenated the *JHI*, which used to be confined to the history of ideas proper but now solicits articles in all intellectual disciplines, as well "scholarship at the intersections of cultural and intellectual history—for example, the history of the book and of visual culture." Four issues per year. Go to <http://jhi.pennpress.org>.

*Intellectual History Review.* This is the new journal of the International Society for Intellectual History ([www.history.upenn.edu/isih/main.htm](http://www.history.upenn.edu/isih/main.htm)), which has about 400 members worldwide. *IHR* (which subsumes the society's earlier publication, *Intellectual News*) is published by Routledge and will appear three times per year. This journal is defined on its website as "a forum for the Anglo-American and European intellectual history community, promoting the work and aims of the ISIH as well as the study of intellectual history more generally." The first issue had articles on Hobbes and Spinoza that would have been at home in the *JHI*, and it is not yet clear exactly how this journal will distinguish itself from the rest of the pack. Go to [www.tandf.co.uk](http://www.tandf.co.uk).

*Modern Intellectual History.* Launched by Cambridge University Press with much fanfare in 1994, *MIH* is a high-powered journal that is limited to the post-1650 period. Originally focused on Europe and the United States, it has just made a move to expand its geographical range by publishing a fascinating special issue on "An Intellectual History for India." Past ECSSS president Nicholas Phillipson is one of the three founding editors, and the distinguished editorial board includes David Armitage, Knud Haakonssen, and Susan Manning. Three issues per year. Go to <http://journals.cambridge.org>

*Eighteenth-Century Thought.* Unlike the titles above, this one is dedicated to the eighteenth century (albeit the long century: the latest issue is devoted to John Locke). A number of veteran ECSSS members sit on the editorial board (Barbara Benedict, Mark Goldie, David Lieberman, and Lisa Rosner), and some of them have indicated the journal's interest in encouraging contributions having to do with Scottish thought in our period. Published by AMS, *ECS* is theoretically an annual, but only three volumes have actually ap-

peared since its foundation in 2003. Go to [www.amspressinc.com](http://www.amspressinc.com).

*1650–1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiry in the Early Modern Era*. Here is another AMS annual with a focus on the long eighteenth century, though one that keeps closer to schedule. Founded (and still edited) by Kevin Cope in the mid-1990s, it sometimes looks more like a journal of Eng Lit than of intellectual history. But lately an attempt has been made to expand coverage by offering “special features,” such as the group of six articles on “Ideas and Institutions in an Age of Atlantic Revolution” in vol. 11 (2005) and the group of five articles on “Hume and the Interaction of Ideas in the Long Eighteenth Century” in vol. 12 (2006). Go to [www.amspressinc.com](http://www.amspressinc.com).

### MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

**Yasuo Amoh** is now professor emeritus at Kochi U. . . **Brian Bonnyman** is tutoring in the distance learning course on modern Scottish history at U. of Dundee . . . **Karin Bowie**, who completed her Ph.D. at Glasgow U. (under **Colin Kidd** and Ted Cowan) with a thesis on “Scottish Public Opinion and the Making of the Union of 1707,” is now a lecturer in early modern Scottish history at Glasgow U. . . **Michael Brown** is now lecturer in Irish and Scottish history at the U. of Aberdeen, where he heads the Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies project on Irish and Scottish diasporas since the 1600s . . . **Adam Budd** is the proud father of Sadie Dahlia Budd, who appeared last September, to the delight of her older sister Ellie . . . **Paul deGatigno** is now dean of arts and sciences and professor of English at Wesley College in Dover, Delaware, where he continues work on his edition of James Macpherson’s correspondence . . . **Matthew Eddy** has received fellowships to spend the 2007–8 academic year at the Clark Library, UCLA, and California Institute of Technology, preparing for publication his important book on Scottish natural history, *The Reordering of Things* . . . **Katherine Haldane Grenier** has been promoted to professor at The Citadel . . . on 9 February 2007 **Knud Haakonssen** gave a keynote address on “18<sup>th</sup>-Century Natural Law in Scottish, British and European Perspective” at the tercentenary celebration of the Edinburgh U. School of Law . . . **Gary Hatch** has taken over supervision of the undergraduate writing program at Brigham Young U. with the title associate dean . . . **Andrew Hook** spent the fall 2006 semester as a visiting professor of English at Dartmouth College and returns for his third stint in autumn 2007 . . . **Neven Leddy** was the Newlands Visitor at Glasgow U. for 2006–7 . . . **Bruce Lerman** made research excursions to the Caribbean and Guatemala while also completing an expanded edition of his popular survey of Scotland in the period 1746–1832,

*Integration, Enlightenment, and Industrialization* . . .

**Anthony Lewis** received his Ph.D. in architecture from Edinburgh U. and is now curator of Scottish History at the Glasgow Museum . . . **Annette Meyer** is now assistant professor of history at the U. of Munich . . . **Alex Murdoch** has taken over as head of Scottish history at Edinburgh U. . . **Jim Otteson** has announced a move from the U. of Alabama to Yeshiva U. in New York City, where he will be professor of philosophy & economics and director of the undergraduate honors program . . . **Murray Pittock’s** 1994 book *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in 18th-Century Britain and Ireland* is now available in a new Cambridge UP paperback edition . . . **Adam Potkay** enjoyed an NEH fellowship in 2006–7; he has finished a new book for Cambridge U.P. called *The Story of Joy* and has accepted the position of review editor of *Eighteenth-Century Life* . . . **Dave Radcliffe’s** “English Poetry 1579–1830” (<http://englishpoetry.org>) contains texts and information by and about a number of 18<sup>th</sup>- and 19-century Scottish poets . . . **John Robertson’s** magnum opus, *The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760* (2005), has just been released in paperback by Cambridge U. Press (watch for a review of this title in our next issue) . . . **Philipp Rössner** received his Ph.D. from the U. of Edinburgh with a thesis on 18<sup>th</sup>-century Scottish trade and is now a lecturer in the Department of Social and Economic History at the U. of Leipzig . . . in May 2007 **Ian Ross** spoke in Victoria, BC, on the influences of Adam Smith’s parents on the philosopher . . . **Silvia Sebastiani** continued her exciting research on women, race, and progress in the Scottish Enlightenment, first as a fellow at the Max Planck Institute in Göttingen and then as a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at Edinburgh U. . . in April **Richard Sher** spoke to the delightful Connecticut 18<sup>th</sup>-Century Scholars Seminar organized by **Barbara Benedict** of Trinity College in Hartford, CT . . . **Ken Simpson**—now honorary professor and senior research fellow at Glasgow U.—returned to the U. of Connecticut to give a plenary lecture . . . **Jeff Suderman** now teaches at Mount Royal College in Calgary, Alberta, Canada . . . **Daniel Szechi** has accepted a position as professor of history at the U. of Manchester . . . **Mark Wallace** has received his Ph.D. from the U. of St. Andrews with a thesis on “Scottish Freemasonry, 1725–1810: Progress, Power and Politics” and is now chair of the History Department at Danville Community College in Danville, Virginia . . . **Jack Russell Weinstein** is now a tenured associate professor of philosophy at the U. of North Dakota . . . **Christ Whatley** is now a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh as well as vice-principal and professor of history at the University of Dundee.

## Robert Fergusson and *The Gentleman and Lady's Weekly Magazine*

by Rhona Brown and Gerard Carruthers, University of Glasgow

Robert Fergusson's lifetime reception for long remained rather opaque. Recent work in eighteenth-century poetry has allowed us to see him in his proper contemporary ideological context as a Jacobite sympathizer and Tory, part of the circle of Walter Ruddiman, rather than, as was often the case in much earlier twentieth-century criticism, a poet essentially to be associated with rather nebulous "demotic" energies in the Old Town of Edinburgh. Robert Burns, perhaps as much marking out plaintive space for himself as for Fergusson, inscribed the myth of the neglected Fergusson:

O thou, my elder brother in Misfortune,  
By far my elder brother in the muse,  
With tears I pity thy unhappy fate!  
(Burns: *Complete Poems and Songs*, ed. James Kinsley, 1971, no. 143)

Without any actual evidence, Burns promulgated the idea that Enlightenment Scotland had neglected Fergusson (a notion subsequently parroted by legions of Scottish critics), when in fact the extent to which Fergusson was fully known to Enlightenment thinkers is somewhat doubtful. It is notable that Dugald Stewart, writing on 31 August 1799 to James Currie, Burns's first editor and biographer, belatedly affirmed Fergusson's place in the pantheon, even as his explanatory tone also revealed the poet's ongoing obscurity: "Burns while in Edinburgh was at the expense of a monument in the Canongate Church yard to the memory of *Robert Fergusson* who published about Twenty years ago some pieces of considerable merit, in the Scotch dialect" (Mitchell Library, MS 101c-197c, fol. 2). Fergusson's downtrodden status, a natural energy amid a Scottish Enlightenment that is seen as all too synthetic in its cultural outlook, became even more prominent in the post-Romantic period. Alexander Balloch Grosart, Fergusson's principal nineteenth-century biographer, over-invested in a "parable" of the poet's life, depicting a "rare fern ... dainty and delicate and green" (*Robert Fergusson*, 1898, p. 160). At the same time, it is simply not true, as Robert Crawford's recent treatment implies, that the decline and death of Fergusson in 1774 was met largely with silence (Introduction to "*Heaven-Taught Fergusson*": *Robert Burns's Favourite Scottish Poet*, 2003, p. 15).

One has to excavate among what are today rather more obscure periodicals and among seemingly less "mainstream" Scottish Enlightenment impetuses to locate Fergusson's reputation beyond the Tory/Jacobite-leaning Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*, which did the most to broadcast the poet's work in his lifetime. The present article reprints two poems on Fergusson from *The Gentleman and Lady's Weekly Magazine*, a journal edited, and largely written, by James "Balloon" Tytler (1745-1804). Tytler's chief claim to fame, even as one of the more dissonant energies of the Scottish Enlightenment, was as the main mover behind the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. M. E. Craig claimed that Tytler's magazine, which ran from January 1774 to March 1775, "was one of the less important weeklies of the period" (*The Scottish Periodical Press, 1750-1789*, 1931, p. 32). However, W. J. Couper took it more seriously "as a rival to *Ruddiman's Weekly Magazine*" (*The Edinburgh Periodical Press*, 1908, 2:136). Tytler's biography as a religious and political iconoclast, outlawed to America in the wake of his seditious behavior in the 1790s, marks him out as one of the more unusual Scottish Enlightenment activists. Pioneer of balloon flights, party in a particularly messy divorce case, biblical critic and poet, among his other activities, Tytler is surely one of the most mentally adventurous people in late eighteenth-century Scotland, and it is perhaps no surprise, then, that this Protestant dissenter should be receptive to a man of Fergusson's very different cultural profile. At the same time, more work is needed to explore the periodical culture in Enlightenment Scotland, which represents one of the most promising avenues for potential revisionist readings of Scottish literary relations. It is only in very recent times, for instance, that Tytler has emerged as an important literary mediator on the strength of his editorial and journalistic endeavors, which were either overlooked or badly served by previous biographers (see Stephen W. Brown, "Wrapping the News: *The Historical Register* and the Use of Blue Paper Covers on Eighteenth-Century Scottish Magazines" in *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 1 [2006]: 49-70). Completely unquarried as a biographical source for Fergusson—even by someone as acute as Matthew MacDiarmid, editor of the Scottish Text Society edition of Fergusson—Tytler's periodical provides interesting information on the poet's final year.

Tytler's magazine for Wednesday 14 September 1774 contains the following letter and poem.



To the editor:

Sir,

The following poetical address was wrote some time ago, by a country acquaintance of mine, who intended to have presented it to our elegant Scots poet, Mr. R. F., but for obvious reasons has hitherto delayed it. — Happening lately to see it in his possession, I insisted upon permission to send you a copy for preservation in your useful miscellany, (as I think it a pity so good a poem should be lost) to which he at last consented, tho' with much reluctance, alledging that it was not fit for the public eye. But as I doubt not, you'll be of a different opinion, I hope you'll give it ready admittance. And as the ingenious author has often corresponded with your brethren both in town and country, under various signatures, the insertion may probably induce him to impart to you a further share of the fruits of his studies, and will, at the same time, oblige your constant reader, PHILANTHROPOS. Edin., Aug. 3, 1774.

To R. F.

Delightful Bard! Chief of the tuneful throng,  
Without thy aid, what are the pow'rs of song?  
To thee fiend ENVY can't the palm refuse,  
Thou art the darling child of ev'ry Muse;  
Their various notes swell in thy varied strains,  
And in each line immortal PHOEBUS reigns.  
O cou'd thy Lire but reach the Royal Ear,  
You, and not WHITEHEAD, would the Laurel wear:  
Had'st thou but liv'd in POPE's and DRYDEN's days,  
They'd seen themselves reflected in thy lays,  
They'd joy'd to think that thy all pow'rful quill,  
Should lash invaders from PARNASSUS hill,  
They'd joy'd to see another sun arise,  
To light and vivify poetic skies,  
The damps and fogs of genius to dispel,  
And nurse the plants where its fair op'nings dwell.  
Of late mankind beheld that blissful night,  
Strengthner, not dazzler, of the mental Sight,  
Whose all-inspiring, purifying beams,  
Warm'd and refin'd sweet HELICONIAN streams.  
Since that bright orb forsook the hemiphere,  
Winter and frosts eternal chill the air.  
Here I'll no more similitude pursue,  
But, tuneful Bard, address myself to you:  
How sweet to me — to all — thy manly strains,  
Thou joy, thou boast of Caledonian swains!  
Oh ev'ry theme you show'd a matchless ease,  
Thy lays harmonious never fail'd to please.  
'Twas thine to teach the shepherds on the plain,  
To breathe their souls in polish'd past'ral  
With these, and flocks and streams, you took delight,  
And tun'd thy reed to MORNING, NOON, AND NIGHT.  
You felt, lov'd Bard, a momentary death  
When Scotia's Music sigh'd her parting breath;  
When you reviv'd, her dying eyes you clos'd,  
And then her melting elegy compos'd.  
When thy dear WILKIE bade the world adieu,  
MELPOMENE herself was found in you.  
The *Mortmain Bill* no sooner reach'd thine ear,  
Than you the honest Patriot did appear;  
WATSON and HERRIOT from the tomb you brought,  
In reason's native energy of thought;

Their feeling hearts were fir'd with manly rage,  
 The image of their souls adorn'd thy page.  
 When *Caledonian Rivers* grac'd thy song,  
 Thy verse, like them, ran murmuring along:  
 When thy soft, pleasing, gliding strains we hear,  
 Their gentle undulating catch the ear.  
 When CUNNINGHAM dear swain! was snatch'd away,  
 How ravishing thy sympathetic lay!  
 The plaintive notes he pour'd at SHENSTONE's urn,  
 Your tender Muse did o'er his tomb return;  
 She made great Nature's self to drop a tear,  
 And blast the rising honours of the year.  
 Tho' those the brightest glories of thy Muse,  
 Enough remains unsung to grace thy brows  
 With laurel, and to prove thy birth divine,  
 True son of Phoebus and the sacred Nine:  
 While other bards in quest of subjects dream,  
 Thy muse prolific can beget a theme.  
 Admired Bard, haste resume the lay,  
 And all Parnassus' choicest stores display,  
 Thy *Orphean* pipe enchanted Albion's shore,  
 Forbid, *ye pow'rs!* that pipe should charm no more!

Montrose

MERCATOR.

In his letter dated 3 August 1774 Philanthropos points out that the author of "To R. F." "delayed" publication of his piece for "obvious reasons." His euphemistic tone both shrouds and illuminates (for a grouping clearly in the know at the time) Fergusson's circumstances: by August 1774 the poet was imprisoned in Edinburgh's Bedlam. Although many Edinburgh periodicals printed obituaries on Fergusson's death, none was willing to engage with the realities of his mental illness and incarceration, and even the records of the Cape Club contain an appeal, rather euphemistically couched, to relieve Fergusson's impoverished circumstances (Sydney Goodsir Smith, ed., *Robert Fergusson, 1750–1774*, 1952, p. 27).

Mercator is almost certainly James Anderson (1739–1808), who later used this pseudonym in his periodical *The Bee*, and who was resident until 1783 in Aberdeenshire (where Montrose was sometimes placed). He signals only Fergusson's strengths and elegance as a "Delightful bard." Significantly, the poem appears in stylish neo-classical English and Augustan heroic couplets, revealing the poet's respect for Fergusson's mainstream literary achievements. The poet makes the boast for Fergusson that, had the king heard Fergusson's poetic "Lire," then he and not William Whitehead would wear the "Laurel" of poet laureate. Mercator's grouping of Fergusson with Pope and Dryden demonstrates an understanding of Fergusson's accomplishments in neoclassical, Augustan poetry, so often seemingly unavailable to post-Burnsian critics of Burns's "elder brother." Mercator continues with a poetic biography of Fergusson, making reference to his debut poems for Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*—the trio of pastorals on "Morning," "Noon," and "Night"—as well as to "The Ghaists" and "The Rivers of Scotland." Although Fergusson has been seen in traditional Scottish criticism as standing (often in rude good expression) opposed to the contemporary vogue for sentimental literature (read as the province of Henry Mackenzie and an Enlightenment taste generally at odds with the mainspring of Fergusson's poetic vitality), Mercator asserts that Fergusson's Muse "made great Nature's self to drop a tear."

*The Gentleman and Lady's Weekly Magazine* for Wednesday 26 October 1774 contained Fergusson's obituary, a reprint of Walter Ruddiman's piece, which had appeared six days earlier in Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement*. Less than a month later, on 16 November 1774, the poem below appeared in *The Gentleman and Lady's Weekly Magazine*, signed "P. H."

The Spectre: A Vision  
 Occasioned by the premature Death of a late elegant bard

As late I lay, by Fancy's airy pow'r,  
 Musing in bed, my mind with care oppress,

I felt the weight of sleep soothe me all o'er;  
And down I sunk in th'arms of gentle rest.

My body slept, but still my wakeful mind  
Disdaining rest, by sportive Fancy led,  
Happy to leave retarding care behind;  
Aloft on airy pinions, swiftly fled.

Me thought I often heard my CLIO cry,  
"Dull nature! why so very far behind?  
"Why I so gayly thus do soar on high;  
"So far below, what pleasure can'st thou find?"

NATURE at last made an answer: "Foolish thing!  
"Few words will turn your joy to grief and *moan*;  
"And make you shake with dire surprize each wing:  
"Know, FERGUSON your favourite is gone."

She heard, and struck with horror shiv'ring droop'd,  
Her now-numbed pinions, and at once her speed  
Was stop'd, while down to th'earth again she swoop'd,  
Repeating, "Ah! is FERGUSON then dead!

"And shall he then no more attune the lyre?  
"Shall I no more inspire him in his sleep,  
"And fill his mind with Phæbus' keenest fire?  
"Ah never more, alas! my sisters! weep!"

She said, and straight a rattling din I heard,  
Anon a Spectre, wither'd, pale and shrunk,  
With aspect awful in my view appear'd:  
On which methought my soul within me sunk.

"Why thus in tears?" he to the Muse did say:  
"Nor tears, nor hopes, nor wishes could him shield  
The blow I strike, doth deadly prove alway:-  
The old, the young, the strong, the weak must yield."

Thus spoke, the Spectre vanish'd from my sight,  
But still I thought I heard each word he spoke;  
Said I, perhaps ere Phæbus send forth light,  
Myself may fall the victim of his stroke.

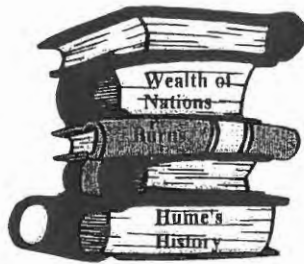
Edinburgh, Oct. 26 1774.

P. H.

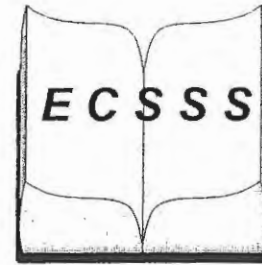
Although less accomplished than Mercator's "To R. F.," P. H.'s poem is in a similar neoclassical vein. It provides a version of Fergusson's own "spectre" poem, "The Ghaists" (a tour de force in Scots), which has Fergusson himself appear in a vision to the poet. The "spectre" appears, "wither'd, pale and shrunk," reminding the poet of his own mortality, much as the appearance of the funeral cortege does for Fergusson in "Auld Reikie." With both poems published in *The Gentleman and Lady's Weekly Magazine*, we become aware of Robert Fergusson as someone who had a keen audience beyond the circle of Walter Ruddiman—a poet whose sheer energy was beginning to have an impact in and beyond Edinburgh, though all too sadly at the moment of his death.

The authors wish to thank Stephen W. Brown for his very helpful reading of an earlier draft. They invite comments on the subject of this article, sent to Gerry Carruthers at [gec@arts.gla.ac.uk](mailto:gec@arts.gla.ac.uk).





## BOOKS in REVIEW



Christopher A. Whatley, with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Pp. xv + 424.

Michael Fry, *The Union: England, Scotland and the Treaty of 1707*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2006. Pp. viii + 342.

Since the 1990s, the historiography of the Union of 1707 has begun to break free of the sterile “politics v. economics” debate in which it was stuck for several decades. Under the influence of the new British history and studies of political thought and culture, scholars have begun to identify the complex web of factors that together determined the individual voting decisions of the members of the Scottish Parliament in the 1706–7 session (see, most notably, John Robertson, ed., *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the British Union of 1707* [1995]). The appearance in 2006 of two new monographs on the Union allows us to see how far these trends have shaped thinking on this seminal event. Both of the books reviewed here seek to provide comprehensive accounts of the making of the Union to mark its 300<sup>th</sup> anniversary.

Christopher Whatley—professor of Scottish history and vice principal at the University of Dundee, and a leading scholar of the Union—has produced a major monograph with the assistance of Derek Patrick, a research fellow at Dundee. While densely researched and footnoted, *The Scots and the Union* is intended for general readers as well as students and academics, with an accessible price and extensive illustrations. Also targeting the general reader is Michael Fry, journalist and independent scholar, with his similarly priced and illustrated study *The Union: England, Scotland and the Treaty of 1707*.

Refreshingly, the authors make clear their own views on the Anglo–Scottish union today while eschewing obviously unionist or nationalist interpretations of its making. Both works reject simplistic readings of the Union as “bought and sold,” whether by English bribery or the appeal of free trade. Key political figures are not celebrated as statesmanlike angels or castigated as corrupt devils but rather presented in the context of their circumstances and contemporary culture. In both books, for example, Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun emerges as a complex and not always admirable character, while Whatley and Patrick indicate the Revolution principles as well as the power-broking behind the *squadron volante’s* shift toward incorporating union in 1706–7. Together, both books, though differing in style and coverage, provide a sense of the Union as an evolving and negotiated deal accepted by a majority of the Scottish Parliament for reasons of principle as well as patronage, party loyalties, or personal gain. Within this framework, however, the particular approach taken in each book leads the authors to stress differing factors in the matrix of influences leading to ratification of the union treaty.

In search of fresh perspectives, Whatley and Patrick have combed the archives for sources that allow them to explore what they term the “political climate” of the day: the combination of loyalties, events, and debate that influenced the opinions of Scots inside and outside parliament (p. 23). Their book shows how early eighteenth-century Scottish political culture was fractured by the clashing worldviews of Episcopalian Jacobites and Presbyterian supporters of the Revolution of 1688–89, with the latter in turn riven by differences between moderates and covenanting extremists. Yet across these divisions, many Scots shared a sense of national malaise arising from years of economic calamity, linked to rising patriotic resentment at the apparent interference of the English in Scottish trade and politics.

Tracing the evolution of these attitudes through the events of the 1690s to 1707, *The Scots and the Union* shows how many supporters of the Revolution could, in the circumstances of 1706–7, see the treaty of incorporation as a justifiable response to deep crisis. By securing the Hanoverian Succession and a communication of trade with England, the treaty confirmed the Revolution and reformed the failing union of crowns, though many members required further concessions, gained with the help of extra-parliamentary agitation, to firm up their acceptance

of the treaty. These included an act confirming the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, plus amendments to the treaty to reduce Scotland's tax burden after the union. Crucially, new research by Whatley and Patrick has turned up the correspondence of followers as well as leaders in the Union Parliament (such as that of William Bennet of Grubbet, a member of the *squadron volante*), showing the reasoned basis on which some individuals chose to support the Union treaty. By drawing attention to the ways in which events, experiences, and arguments influenced members of Parliament, these findings help to revise a historiography that has strongly emphasized the management of votes by noble leaders armed with tempting incentives.

Michael Fry focuses on the twists and turns of the parliamentary sessions of 1702 to 1707, providing more on the political actors and tactical votes of these action-packed days but less on the public debates and cultural attitudes surrounding these events. Fry has drawn on a range of primary sources to recreate parliamentary contests and divisions, providing welcome detail on the complex series of steps by which the Scottish Parliament ended up debating a treaty of incorporation.

In his narrative of the 1706–7 session, Fry joins Whatley and Patrick in noting the importance of the act securing the church and economic amendments to the treaty. Fry sees these concessions as a key government tactic allowing ministers to carry the factions making up its majority. He focuses on the wrangling over the articles in Parliament, with less attention to wider public debates and protests and the potential influence these had on parliamentarians. As a result, factional loyalties and calculated concessions appear to account for the unionism of the estates. Rather than seeing Scottish politics as shaped primarily by ideology, Fry prioritizes social divisions, portraying a Parliament firmly in the grip of the Scottish nobility.

The contrasting approaches of these two books make them a useful pair for teaching on the Union: together they provide political narrative and cultural context, while offering sufficient points of difference to spur discussion. Of the two books, students will find Fry's more straightforward, but study of Whatley and Patrick's will pay dividends in an understanding of the wider political environment. Both books make clear that the Union must be understood as the product of a particular series of events from the Revolution of 1688–89 to January 1707, at no point in which was incorporation certain or inevitable. As events moved, political risks and options changed, and attitudes and opinions shifted. The factors highlighted in past accounts of the Union—such as political jobbery or the appeal of colonial trade—were each important in their own way but cannot provide an adequate account of the making of the Union. The books reviewed here have taken a significant step toward a more sophisticated analysis of the Union, based on fresh research and new perspectives, though their differences indicate that a new hegemonic view is still under construction.

**Karin Bowie, University of Glasgow**

T. C. Smout, ed., *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1603 to 1900*. Proceedings of the British Academy, 127. Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. xi + 281.

We are in the midst of Union fever here in Scotland in spring 2007. With a Holyrood election about to take place and the nationalists tipped to have their best result since devolution, the anniversary of the Act of Union has gripped the popular imagination and given rise to a raft of scholarly studies. In striking contrast, the 2003 anniversary of the Union of the Crowns evoked little interest in academic circles and even less in the popular media. (Keith Brown, in this collection, provides a witty account of this.) But the British historical establishment deemed the occasion to be worthy of celebration and organized a series of invited lectures and symposia at the British Academy in London and at the Royal Society of Edinburgh that has given rise to the present volume and a companion titled *Anglo-Scottish Relations from 1900 to Devolution and Beyond*, edited by William L. Miller.

There are twelve essays in total, plus an introduction by T. C. Smout, comprising broad analyses interspersed with detailed studies of specific situations or problems. Half are concerned with the long eighteenth century. The first three, all workmanlike surveys—by Jenny Wormald, Keith Brown, and John Morrill—explore the essentially problematic political character of the settlement of 1603, but stress that in real terms the impact on Scotland was limited. In Wormald's assessment, the only reason it survived was because it was "so ramshackle." But the way forward to a more "perfect" union was clearly under discussion during the troubled war years of the 1640s, which—in Morrill's clear exposition—may have fragmented political communities in England and Scotland but also gave rise to new visions for the future. This is the theme that Colin Kidd later develops in a fascinating essay on "Eighteenth-Century Scotland and the Three Unions." Based on the writings of historians, jurists, and political commentators, Kidd contrasts the mostly negative Scottish interpretations of the impact of 1603 with the almost universal enthusiasm for 1707. For eighteenth-century writers, the brief Cromwellian Union was an era of peace and plenty, and a welcome respite from the "feudal oppression" that was the consequence of 1603. Some sense of what that feudal oppression might have comprised is offered in Clare Jackson's fine essay titled "Judicial Torture, the Liberties of the Subject and Anglo-Scottish Relations 1660–1690," which underlines the ways in

which torture was used as a technique of extra-judicial political and religious control in Restoration Scotland, giving rise to the term the "Killing Times" in subsequent Presbyterian martyrologies.

Against this background, the collection proceeds to "Taking Stock: Scotland at the End of the Seventeenth Century" in the capable hands of Chris Whatley, who outlines the economic and social background to the Scottish need to enter into an incorporated union in 1707. Of course, the "perfect" union still had to work around significant legal distinctions between the two countries, as detailed by John Ford in "The Law of the Sea and the Two Unions." Moreover, as Paul Langford describes in a lively essay titled "South Briton's Reception of North Britons, 1707–1820," parliamentary union did not mean that the English were happy to see so many "Scots on the make" south of the border. Langford uses visual sources such as the many anti-Scottish print satires that were produced in London, along with other popular commentaries including plays, to outline the familiar theme of rampant Scotophobia in mid-eighteenth century England. But he tempers these media commentaries with useful details on the real lives of successful Scots to demonstrate that anti-Scottish sentiments did not deter anyone heading south in search of the opportunities that union offered. Nor, if you look at London residence patterns, did Scots live in ethnic ghettos. Scots were better integrated than most migrant groups and, by the early nineteenth century, as shown in Rosemary Ashton's essay on Thomas and Jane Carlyle, they figured prominently as literary celebrities in the drawing rooms of the London elite.

T. M. Devine takes up the "elites" theme in a useful survey of Scottish elites and the Indian Empire from 1707 to 1815, which makes the point that long before the interventions of Henry Dundas, East India patronage was being managed by Walpole in London and Islay in Scotland as a political device for bringing stability to Scotland through forging a stronger Union. The strength of Union in the later eighteenth century also underpins Bob Harris's essay on Scottish–English connections in British radicalism in the 1790s. This reveals the easy and frequent cross-border communications, particularly in print, that made radicalism a truly British phenomenon. Political coordination is charted in the final essay by I.G.C. Hutchison, who takes the story of Anglo–Scottish political relations from 1815 to 1914.

This is a handsome volume, beautifully produced, though the quality of the illustrations that accompany the Langford essay is disappointing. Aimed at the library market, it furnishes much of interest for historians of eighteenth-century Scotland, and some of the individual essays provide readable surveys that will doubtless grace many an undergraduate reading list.

Stana Nenadic, University of Edinburgh

Daniel Szechi, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion*. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 351

Margaret Sankey, *Jacobite Prisoners of the 1715 Rebellion: Preventing and Punishing Insurrection in Early Hanoverian Britain*. Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2005. Pp. xix + 176.

The two volumes reviewed here are mutually complementary. Each gives the other the comprehension and depth it deserves, though each book alone represents a significant contribution in its own right. Daniel Szechi provides an exhaustive, authoritative analysis of the abortive 1715 insurrection—a work needed for some time—while Margaret Sankey places the punitive repercussions of that rebellion in the broader context of Anglo–Scottish political and social realities.

Though (contrary to the publisher's claim) the "1715" has hardly been neglected by scholars (e.g., books by J. Baynes, 1970; B. Lenman, 1980; J. Roberts, 2002), Szechi's work constitutes a significant advance on earlier studies for three major reasons. It breaks fresh ground in its deft exegesis of largely untapped primary sources in England, Scotland, and France; it places the larger rebellion alongside the smaller risings that took place throughout Scotland and Northern England, whose impact has traditionally been ignored; and it illuminates the deeper dynamics of the Jacobite phenomenon by viewing its manifestations in relation to contemporary Scottish ideological and cultural norms. This is an approach that Szechi deployed with great success in his *George Lockhart of Carnwarth, 1689–1727* (see my review in *International Review of Scottish Studies* 28 [2003]:143–45) and will assuredly be adapted in future writings on the topic. Challenging the view that sees the 1715 rising as a "damp squib" (p. 2)—marginal compared to the more sensationalized 1745 rebellion—Szechi argues that the former constituted a greater threat to the British state. Jacobitism here emerges as an attempt to reverse the spatial process of state formation that had characterized recent (as well as earlier) British history. As such, it posed a question mark not only against the dynastic changes of 1689 but also against the changes in relations among England, Ireland, and Scotland that had occurred in this period, and against the definitive establishment of a parliamentary monarchy.

Weaving a lively narrative, impressive for its extensive research, characterizations, and insightful analysis, the author seeks to answer the following critical questions: Why did the Jacobites rebel without the pretender's



personal leadership? Why was their insurrection poorly timed? And why did they achieve so little militarily—the rebellion finally collapsing despite the extensive (though poorly coordinated) preparations underpinning it?

The book opens with a meticulous examination (chaps. 1 and 2) of the intertwined social, cultural, and above all economic exigencies that uniquely converged in time and place to provide the vital preconditions for political insurrection. Szechi excels at illustrating how chronic economic stagnation, combined with the clan-based social structure of the Highlands, created powerful grievances that cut across traditional kinship bonds and offered fertile breeding ground for dissent. This, in turn, undermined support for the Union (except in some isolated areas on religious grounds) among many Scots, regardless of social status or position. Further tension was provided by divisions along sectarian lines between the established Presbyterian Kirk and defiant Episcopalians. Episcopalian meeting houses became “nurseries of rebellion” (p. 23) and were feared as such by their rivals, if not by the central authorities who in times of crisis were only too ready to equate Episcopalianism with Jacobite advocacy and initiate persecution accordingly. In offending loyalist sentiments, repressive actions of this sort “boosted the regionalist patriotic aspects of the Episcopalians’ perception of themselves, and by invoking what was in effect overwhelming force in the form of government intervention, kept the Episcopalian community in a mirror-image siege-like state of hostility and tension with its Presbyterian neighbors” (p. 24). Here the fresh evidence tends to confirm Murray Pittock’s contention in *Inventing and Resisting Britain* (1997) that throughout Georgian Britain, there were marginalized and dissenting cultural enclaves whose contending ideologies and allegiances rendered the country’s emerging identity uncertain and provisional at best. Hence, among these sectors there was intense resistance to the sociopolitical developments of the day and concomitant resistance to the Whig establishment. This disaffection helped foster schismatic movements whose concerns, rhetoric, and idioms reflected to a marked degree the priorities of the alienated entities who adopted them—a further clue to the *mentalité* of the Jacobite syndrome. Additionally complicating matters was an atmosphere of civil disorder and uncertainty in early 1715 engendered by Whig/Tory hostilities—an atmosphere in which Scottish antagonism to post-Union arrangements could find a ready and volatile outlet through the formation of insurrectionary networks.

Due attention is also given to the international, as opposed to purely Anglo-centric, dimension of the Jacobite phenomenon. Szechi astutely links the events of 1715 to the wider trans-European projects of the Stuart court, as well as the ever shifting patterns of Continental dynastic agendas. Stuart claims to the throne gave foreign powers an opportunity to intervene in domestic British politics. Indeed, the Jacobite challenge acquired its international dimension precisely because of its potential for foreign exploitation, most often by Britain’s colonial rivals, France and Spain. For these powers, support of Jacobitism represented a chance not merely to assert the principle of legitimacy but also to create combinations and distractions that might counter the weight of British naval superiority. It is only within this broader geopolitical context, as the author demonstrates convincingly, that the chances of Jacobite intrigues, in 1715 and beyond, can be properly understood.

This raises the question why the Jacobites took up arms in September 1715 when the chances of substantive foreign support were practically nil. Minimizing the motivational force of dynastic loyalty alone, the author develops a more sophisticated explanation for popular disaffection throughout the British Isles in economic, social, and political developments as a whole since the Revolution Settlement of 1688. Szechi astutely analyzes these currents of discord but warns against seeing them as monolithic, stressing that Scottish Jacobitism was essentially a proto-nationalist movement that envisaged “a whole-scale transformation of the relations between England and Scotland” (p. 61)—something hardly acceptable to English, Welsh, or even Irish Jacobites. Amid such contention, combined with ethnic and sectarian divisions, collective cooperative measures were all but impossible.

That Scotland became the epicenter of the 1715 rebellion is commonly explained by the fact that disaffected Scottish Tories were almost uniformly Jacobite in sympathy, their disaffection rooted in growing bitterness about the detrimental consequences of the Union for Scottish economic and political interests. Influential too were widespread predictions of James’s imminent arrival, with French support; reports of Tory rioting in London to protest the Hanoverian succession; and deluded expectations of French or even Swedish support. The third chapter, exploring Scotland’s movement toward open secession, is one of the best accounts we have on the subject, not least because of its synthesis of previously neglected source materials, here used to unravel the complex interplay of motives, personalities, and international variables that determined the form and direction of critical policy decisions. One is surprised, therefore, to note the omission in Szechi’s otherwise up-to-date bibliography of Rebecca Wills’s *The Jacobites and Russia, 1715–1750* (2002), since this work is essential for understanding the varied links between Jacobite enclaves abroad and successive rulers in St. Petersburg and the potential significance of this cooperation for British diplomatic interests—a topic of critical importance practically ignored in the book under review. Still, in clarifying the casual synergy between outside factors and the indigenous social pathology of contemporary Scotland—its local mores, traditions and clan-based loyalties—Szechi uniquely deepens the reader’s insights into the elusive complexities behind the variegated phenomenon that was Jacobitism.

The succeeding and central portions of the book (chaps. 5–8) illuminate the immense, practical difficulties facing the Jacobite leadership in trying to coordinate a national uprising with attempts to secure foreign intervention and mobilize a serious military force. While the course of the major battles, desultory and indecisive for the most part, will be familiar to specialists, the author provides new evidence showing how the Earl of Mar, despite formidable resource problems, still managed to put a rudimentary army into the field by January 1716. This army, alas, always under strength and poorly led, was no match for the government's forces who, better equipped, mostly professionalized, and supported by the navy, had little difficulty in bringing Scotland again under control. Also interesting is Szechi's finding that, contrary to general belief, the Jacobites and Whigs were remarkably restrained throughout the conflict, doing what they could "to minimize its impact on the general population and each other and none more so than the supposedly ferocious and bloodthirsty highlanders" (pp. 197–98). Szechi sees this as a conscious attempt to preserve civil relations throughout Scottish society amid adverse conditions—a factor that was to shape the course of post-war retribution pressed by George I and the Whig ministry.

In his discussion of that process, Szechi broadly follows the interpretation put forward in Margaret Sankey's book which, incidentally, originated as a dissertation written under his supervision. Her *Jacobite Prisoners of the 1715 Rebellion* breaks new ground by placing English punitive measures in the context of earlier, geographically diverse insurrections which, especially in Catholic countries, were customarily suppressed and punished with harsh, if not gruesome, severity. Similar practices in Britain would have created unpleasant associations with continental absolutism—something British authorities were anxious to avoid. Also, as the author perceptively demonstrates, the exigencies of British domestic politics were such that highly placed and influential Scottish magnates, themselves plotters or interceding on behalf of captured rebels, had to be appeased and so, hopefully, reintegrated by gestures of royal clemency. At the same time, however, the government had to tailor its response in such a way "that it effectively discouraged further participation in Jacobite insurgency, undercut the rebels' ability to challenge the state and made clear the regime's intention to use a firm hand at preventing future rebellions" (p. xiii). How the Hanoverian regime developed a calculated strategy that subtly combined principle with expediency and largely met these objectives is the central theme of Sankey's book—a theme explored in eight balanced, soundly researched chapters which collectively fill a critical historiographical gap since (except for Bruce Lenman's work) the rebellion's aftermath has never been analyzed in detail. After an opening section that traces the prelude to rebellion, Sankey highlights how the government's initial impulse toward vindictive revenge was tempered by the socio-political realities of England, not to mention the indigenous family/clan networks and patronage systems available to Jacobites in Scotland, resulting in remarkably limited judicial reprisals. Amusing too are the vignettes accompanying the trials, which resulted in numerous escapes by rebels dressed in smuggled women's clothes that served as widely publicized screens of obstruction and prevarication. Even the haphazard program of transportation to overseas plantations proved less successful than intended in view of standing legal restrictions, difficult to sustain or justify, and the negligence of colonial governments in enforcing the letter of their instructions, "especially when the needs of the colony and the wishes of its leading citizens intervened" (p. 74).

Further undermining the crown's attempts to exact retribution was the Scottish elite's efforts to shield relatives, tenants, and landlords by means of petitions to the Lord advocate or other notable government officials. Indeed, the administration in London itself compounded the problem by making impromptu deals with, or on behalf of, leading Jacobites such as Sir John Erskine of Alva, the Duke of Atholl, and the Marquis of Huntley (pp. 110–11). Attempts to try remaining prisoners in an English court under English law proved no more effective, as exemplified by the proceedings in Carlisle, where widespread sympathy for the prisoners resulted in substantial cash gifts for legal defense and even subscriptions raised by two officers of the Bank of Scotland and the corporation of Glasgow, ordinarily considered a Whig stronghold. This was followed by delaying tactics orchestrated by the defense, including various motions questioning the venue of the trial and its very judicial status under the Treaty of Union (p. 124). When these were overruled, many prisoners confessed, requesting and receiving royal mercy, while others were eventually released on oath of future good behavior and returned home, though at their own expense. Ultimately, according to Sankey, the failure to punish most leading Jacobites legally left the government with one remaining option of penalization: the forfeiture of estates, which would impair the fiscal power of Jacobite landowners and sympathizers. But here again, passive local obstruction, intractability, and even fraud—much of it among the appointed commissioners themselves—compromised the envisaged results of forfeiture. Yet ironically these measures—compelling Scotland's elite to close ranks and submit—"entangled the Jacobites in obligations of duty and respect more likely to prevent their future misbehavior than any of the state's punitive measures" (p. 149).

Read together or singly, these books are impressive specimens of scholarship and superb introductions to the fascinating and multifaceted world of Jacobite activity.

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Steve Murdoch, *Network North: Scottish Kin, Commercial and Covert Associations in Northern Europe, 1603–1746*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2006. Pp. xii + 425.

Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, eds., *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005). Pp. xiii + 417.

Angela McCarthy, ed., *A Global Clan: Scottish Migrant Networks and Identities since the Eighteenth Century*. International Library of Historical Studies, vol. 36. London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006. Pp. ix + 242.

The three books under review can successfully claim to belong among a fairly recent academic tradition: placing Scottish history into a European perspective. In terms of analytical scale and scope, they far outpace the heuristic value of popular history books flooding the shelves of Edinburgh's major booksellers, usually commissioned in order to still the demand of the non-academic public for myths in an era of life after God (such as the myth that Scotland created "the Enlightenment," industrialized particularly fast, and dominated British policy, London life, and the rest of the planet). Furthermore, they examine a topic of equally high historical and contemporary relevance: migration, that is out-migration from Scotland since 1600. In the French team playing Italy in the final of the Football World Cup 2006, for instance, nine of eleven players had an Afro-Caribbean, i.e. *migrant*, background. Other classical "immigration societies," which could not have built their modern economic and social success stories during the "Golden Age" that stretched from 1945 to 1965 without the help of immigrant labor and human capital, include the USA, Germany, and Britain. The story of migrating Scots thus fits into global patterns of history during recent centuries.

In fact the Scottish propensity to migrate and engage in foreign economies/societies was probably higher than the European average. Steve Murdoch's *Network North* demonstrates in a fascinating way that Scots were particularly active in setting up commercial and industrial ventures (such as linen weaving, iron manufacturing, and timber processing) in the Swedish empire, providing valuable inputs of human and financial capital to the rather under-developed Swedish economy between 1600 and 1750. Scots became burgesses of the major Swedish towns, members of the larger chambers of commerce, even of the Swedish parliament. They controlled important customs posts as well as parts of Sweden's industrial sector. Robert Kinnemond, for instance, rose from secretary to chairman of the *Bergsråd*, the board overseeing Swedish iron production. He ranged among the largest iron exporters to Scotland. Controlling Sweden's iron production (the most important source of Scottish iron imports at that time) meant imposing favorable terms for Scotland on a most profitable trade. Murdoch's volume abounds with other examples of similar career trajectories. In order to facilitate these activities and rise to economic wealth and power, Scots used networks of "kith and kin," commercial acquaintances and other social ties, such as religion or geographical provenance (chaps. 1, 2, 8, 9). In these ways, Scots successfully infiltrated the Swedish economy and society.

Unfortunately, the obvious question arising from this analysis—why were Scottish resources of human and financial capital drawn abroad, rather than invested at home?—has not been addressed. Instead, Murdoch states that the "interest of the Scots in the [*Swedish*] iron industry in particular alerts us to previously limited interpretations of Scottish industrial development" (p. 202), implying that these Scots greatly contributed to the economic development of Sweden and Scotland alike. This is a deliberately pointed exaggeration servicing an honorable cause: to raise attention about a previously neglected research topic. The assumption that trade profits, accruing to Scots active in multilateral trade under the Swedish flag, greatly contributed to Scottish national income and economic development (p. 207) is likewise almost certainly not historically warranted. As most Scots concerned were Swedish denizens, they contributed to *Swedish* (not *Scottish*) national income. Moreover, vis-à-vis the Scottish population or trade profits over total Scottish national income, the commercial activities of Scots active in Sweden, as well as their more general contribution to Scottish economic development, can safely be ignored. Nevertheless, it is to Murdoch's credit that *Network North* has, in a most enjoyable manner, drawn attention to an under-appreciated historical topic: the international contingency matrix of early modern Scottish psychological and socio-economic reality.

*Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, which Murdoch co-edited with Alexia Grosjean, extends the analysis of the Scottish migration experience to the Baltic, Atlantic, and North Sea in general. Again a common thread uniting the chapters is that, within a cross-sectional panel of early modern countries, Scots were over-proportionately likely to migrate and usually invested human and social capital in order to smooth out this process: that is, they "networked." Starting the book with a discussion of Scots migrating to Ireland, Patrick Fitzgerald draws attention to the starting place of the process under consideration. Unsurprisingly, this development reached peaks during times of macro-economic depressions, such as the 1690s. Then Waldemar Kowalski,



examining Scots in Poland, shows that, although Scottish merchants had been notorious in Danzig since the 1400s, the outward migration pattern caught momentum during the 1600s. By that time it already comprised a large number of poor hucksters and petty traders. These were conceived as a threat to economic stability for several reasons (which are quite similar to modern issues relating to unemployment and the welfare state). "This nation [the Scots], having come to loathe their poor and infertile fatherland, flee overseas because of poverty, looking for livelihood with us", as contemporary Polish sources put it (p. 65). In fact, Scots were among the largest minority in seventeenth-century Poland. David Dobson discusses the links with America, which, in comparison to the Baltic, had been forged fairly recently. He shows that Scots could rise to significant rank, such as governor, in pre-1707 English colonial administration. Nina Østby Pedersen shows that, in some early seventeenth-century Norwegian towns, Scots formed a significant ethnic minority. Being mostly involved in large-scale commerce, they outpaced their English counterparts, whose numbers were small. As was the case in Poland-Lithuania, the presence and economic competition of Scots had been frowned upon in Norwegian law since medieval times. Douglas Catterall, studying Scottish residents in the larger Dutch port of Rotterdam, proves how economic and socio-cultural factors interlinked in explaining the phenomenon. Grosjean and Murdoch show that in seventeenth-century Gothenburg Scots formed a significant ethnic minority. As in Norway and Danzig, the presence of English merchants was negligible, putting Scots at the forefront of Gothenburg's upper-middle classes with a migratory background. Rimantas Žirgulis observes a similar phenomenon for Lithuania. Interestingly, this was a "derived" migration process, since most Scots migrating to Lithuania in the period had initially settled in Polish-Prussian realms. While the latter usually flocked to the lower socio-economic strata (peddlers, hucksters, etc.), in Lithuania Scots rose straight into the middle ranks of society. Even though they formed a coherent community in terms of outlook and customs, Scots were usually granted full rights of citizenship. Kathrin Zickermann connects with the Lithuanian story by asking whether Scots resident in seventeenth-century Hamburg acted as a coherent community or just as offspring of a "pan-British" commercial and diplomatic presence in northern Germany. She could trace little evidence of Scots acting as a "community" in northern Germany after 1618, as they are hard to filter out of the contemporary records that were mostly English. The cultural links of Scotland with the Netherlands are discussed in chapters by Ginny Gardner, Esther Mijers, and Andrew Little. The existence of fairly close-knit intellectual and religious Scottish communities in Holland emerges quite clearly. Scottish students went to the Netherlands in great numbers, too. In fact, Dutch universities were appropriately labeled Scotland's "sixth university."

Overall, *Scottish Communities Abroad* is a fine collection of essays on a fascinating and under-explored topic. Accordingly, it makes us wish for more. The general question underlying the currently discussed topic as a heuristic parameter is: is there a common denominator that can explain *all* of the phenomena reported here? By placing emphasis on economics, the conclusion to the volume (as well as Kowalski's paper) partly addresses this question without really answering it (especially pp. 377–81). *Scottish Communities Abroad* – a fascinating descriptive account of Scots migration – would have gained from examining the underlying causal "push" (the Scottish economy) along with the European "pull." Clearly, Scots were driven out of Scotland by declining living standards, reoccurring harvest failures, and reductions in the natural level of output (national income), processes that repeated themselves over time. Thus, the great achievement of *Network North* and *Scottish Communities Abroad* is to point out a vast future research agenda.

Angela McCarthy's edited volume, *A Global Clan*, carries the story into the present. Based entirely on anecdotal evidence (letters, personal papers, and after the 1950s, taped interviews), it does not claim to be statistically representative. Once again, the most common element in the separate articles, whether examining Scots moving to India in the eighteenth century or to America and Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, appears to be economics. Another common element is that frequently emigrants (at least of the first generation) retained the illusion that their migration was temporary. This may be why they almost unanimously retained a distinctive Scottish accent and outlook for years to come, even though they normally integrated fully into their adopted society. When migrating, Scots tended to cope with an initially alien environment by founding or joining societies that cultivated Scottish nostalgia and customs.

Generally, these books suggest that between 1600 and 2000 (1) Scots moved abroad in increasing numbers; (2) they did so chiefly in order to increase their economic opportunities; (3) during this process they tended to congregate, using private, institutional, conceived, and constructed meta-structures, such as confession, kith and kin, religion, and commercial relations. These patterns remained remarkably constant over time: being psychological predispositions, they are what humans usually do. Scots moved because their economic situation in Scotland was bleak (push) or because the chances of raising their lifetime income were decisively higher abroad (pull). Because Scotland between 1700 and 2000 remained hampered by lower incomes and living standards relative to England and most of the rest of the world, the observable Scottish migration patterns are anything but surprising. It is no coincidence that out-migration from Scotland gained momentum during downturns in the business cycle, such



as the 1690s, 1919–39, or after the 1960s. And since any time British incomes and living standards declined or stagnated over time, or relative to other European economies, average incomes in Scotland decreased overproportionally (compared to England in the period 1600–2000), Scots remained particularly prone to migrate during that period.

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T. M. Devine, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland: Social Change and the Agrarian Economy 1660–1815*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 1999. Pp. xi + 275.

T. M. Devine, *Clearance and Improvement: Land, Power and People in Scotland 1700–1900*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2006. Pp. xi + 284.

Although the concept of “improvement” lies at the center of much of the intellectual activity of eighteenth-century Scotland, perhaps nowhere were the practical implications of this preoccupation more widely and deeply felt than in the drive to reform Scottish agriculture. The two works by T. M. Devine under review here offer the most comprehensive and challenging account to date of the changes and consequences of this process.

First published in 1994, *The Transformation of Rural Scotland* sets out to examine the nature and consequences of agrarian change in Lowland Scotland between 1660 and 1815. In the process, it attempts to settle the long-running debate between two rival conceptions of agricultural improvement: on the one hand, the traditional concept of an “agricultural revolution” dating from the later eighteenth century, which rapidly transformed a relatively backward, subsistence-based rural economy into one of the most efficient systems of commercial agriculture in the world; on the other, a revisionist model suggesting a much more drawn-out and uneven process of change dating back to the later seventeenth century—a case of evolution rather than revolution. Utilizing a wide range of sources drawn from four representative counties, Devine’s account painstakingly reconstructs the rate and extent of agrarian change from the later seventeenth to the early nineteenth century, including the largely unexamined first half of the eighteenth century. Although Devine identifies some significant developments prior to 1750 that suggest a gradual shift toward more commercially orientated farming, he argues that these early reforms took place *within* the existing system of agriculture rather than radically altering the system itself. Outside of some areas in the more advanced southeast, rural society, agrarian practice, and the landscape itself remained essentially “unimproved,” dominated by patterns of land management and husbandry largely recognizable from medieval times. All this was to change in the four decades beginning about 1760, when Devine’s research confirms the concept of a revolution in the economy and society of Lowland rural Scotland—a process, he argues, that was unparalleled in speed and extent in eighteenth-century Europe.

Devine stresses that this transition involved not only a revolution in land management techniques—the consolidation of farms, enclosure of fields, and introduction of new crops and rotations—but also a similarly radical social transformation. Although the concentration of land into the hands of fewer tenants seems to have taken place gradually over the course of several generations, the displacement of the cottar class—the lowest rung of rural society and perhaps the single most numerous group of pre-improvement society—seems to have happened much more rapidly; their dispossession, as Devine notes, was “more reminiscent of the patterns of clearance in the Highlands than any other aspect of lowland social change in this period” (p. 140).

Devine’s study also presents a significant reassessment of the role of the landed classes in the process of improvement. Although rising prices dating from about 1760 formed the essential economic context, Devine argues that landowner responses to the new opportunities were crucial, particularly during the early stages of reform. Unlike the situation south of the border, where the current historical consensus suggests that substantial landowners played a relatively minor role in improvement, Devine argues that to a large extent the Scottish agrarian revolution was directed and imposed from above. The concentrated nature of land ownership in Scotland, combined with the particular social, legal, and political authority enjoyed by landowners, gave them the power to push through their reforms on an often reluctant tenantry. And while this “extraordinary faith” in improvement was driven largely by the expectation of huge profits, Devine points out that ideas were also important in shaping the landowning class’s response. Although Devine’s own discussion of the ideas behind this “ideological mission to ‘improve’ and modernise Scottish society” (p. 65) is limited to a single paragraph on the influence of the Enlightenment, his findings do raise several interesting questions about the role of non-economic concerns in the shaping of landowner attitudes and responses, an area that has yet to be fully explored.

Although the concept of an agricultural revolution in the last quarter of the eighteenth century is far from new, this is the first study to back up such conclusions with such a wide range of quantitative evidence. It is to Devine’s credit as a writer that his analysis of this data (much of which is reproduced in twelve appendices running to almost 100 pages) is presented throughout in such a lucid and readable manner, and a testament to the ground-

breaking nature of his scholarship that his approach has become both a model and a benchmark for research in this area.

*Clearance and Improvement*, a collection of twelve essays that Devine published between 1971 and 2005, shares many of the themes and concerns of *Transformation*, but here the scope is widened to include Highland as well as Lowland Scotland. Indeed, at its core are the contrasting fortunes of these two regions and the seeming paradox of why the agricultural and social reforms in the Lowlands are regarded essentially as a success story, whereas those in the Highlands are seen as a dismal failure, leading eventually to economic collapse, depopulation, and famine. Over the course of twelve chapters (five on the Lowlands, four on the Highlands, and three examining both), Devine explores this paradox from a number of perspectives, focusing particularly on the role and nature of landownership and the social changes stemming from improvement. Emphasizing the similar forces that shaped improvement in both regions, Devine argues for similar and, on the whole, largely positive outcomes in both areas up until the early nineteenth century. Dismissing the conception of the Highlands as an isolated, conservative, and essentially separate economic entity, Devine argues that such divergent long-term outcomes arose from the successful incorporation of the region into the wider British imperial economy, combined with the inherent limitations of its climate and geology. He emphasizes the different reactions to (and perceptions of) the social consequences of improvement. Given that both regions went through unprecedented social change, including large-scale population displacement, why were the Lowland clearances an essentially “silent revolution” carried out with seemingly little protest, and leaving virtually no trace in the collective memory, while those of the Highlands led to numerous cases of resistance and lingering folk traditions of resentment and betrayal? Devine identifies several differentiating factors: the effective rule of law and the dissolution of feudal bonds had taken place much earlier in the Lowlands, and the Highland’s jump from “tribalism to capitalism” was made all the more traumatic by its rapidity (p. 15). Perhaps even more important than the rate of change, however, was the difference in timing. The most radical reforms in the Lowlands took place against a background of rising wages and living standards, whereas in the Highlands the major evictions occurred after 1815, during the post-war recession that led to the collapse of the by-employments that had underpinned the crofting system. All in all, however, geology and climate rather than indigenous culture or landowner attitude seem to have dictated the kind of improvement that was attempted and, to a large extent, the resulting social consequences. In the Lowlands (and, as Devine notes, the frontier zones of the southern and eastern Highlands), the predominance of mixed farming meant that the agrarian reforms tended toward an increased demand for labor, whereas the large-scale pastoral farming that came to dominate the north and west Highlands did not.

A commendable element of Devine’s approach throughout this collection is his use of comparative history to challenge existing orthodoxies and open up new perspectives. For example, chapter 2 reassesses past comparisons of Irish and Scottish development; chapter 9 examines the very different outcomes of the Scottish and Irish potato famines; and chapter 5 places the process of “clearance” as part of a broadly European phenomenon rather than a uniquely Highland event. As Devine points out in his preface, there has been no attempt to revise these essays, so inevitably there is some overlap and repetition, but what is perhaps most striking about this collection is how well it works as a coherent whole. Indeed, taken together with *The Transformation of Rural Scotland*, these two works present a wide-ranging yet nuanced account of the complexities and “unequal consequences” of the Scottish agricultural revolution and, as such, greatly enhance our understanding of eighteenth-century Scotland.

**Brian D. Bonnyman, University of Dundee**

Bob Harris, ed., *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2005. Pp. x + 278.

James Mackintosh, *Vindiciae Gallicae and Other Writings on the French Revolution*. Edited by Donald Winch. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2006. Pp. xx + 318.

*Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution* offers a number of excellent essays, many of which challenge the view that Scottish society in the 1790s was overwhelmingly stable. Chris Whatley and David Brown present evidence that, despite the formal appearance of authority, Scotland’s political and social elite were all too conscious of the threat from below. Whatley examines the economic forces that caused those in power to intervene in the marketplace to stave off food riots. He argues that more often than is supposed they had to resort to the use of physical force to stem disorder. Brown too maintains that the landed classes were uncertain of their dominance and sustained it only after managing their way through a series of crises. Bob Harris reviews the political demonstrations of 1792, examining the significance of events for reformers and concluding that the challenge of disentangling the reform cause from events in France, and the disturbances of late 1792, placed reformers on the defensive, allowing the authorities to seize the initiative and ensure that a loyal Scotland would be on display for the rest of the decade. In a second chapter, Harris suggests that radical propaganda was first contained, and then undermined,

by the loyalist offensive. Despite this, a network of radical publicists, printers, and booksellers continued to disseminate reform propaganda. Emma Vincent Macleod argues that there is evidence of more substantial Scottish Whig opposition party activity in Scotland than has usually been recognized. She highlights the relationship between Scottish and London Whigs and reasons that by sustaining the practice of Fox birthday dinners, by joining in the nationwide petitioning campaigns of 1793, 1795, and 1797, and by maintaining and developing an opposition newspaper presence—including the *Scots Chronicle*, which only commenced publication from March 1796 onward—Scottish Whigs built upon their advances of the 1780s and provided a firm foundation for liberal Whig thinking into the next generation. Atle Wold outlines the Scottish contribution to the war with France and concludes that the British government's willingness to respond to requests for military and naval defense, at a time of great financial and military strain, may have been significant in keeping Scots supportive of the war and loyal to the state. Alexander Murdoch offers a perspective on the role of Henry Dundas, in relation to the union with Ireland, arguing that Dundas played a crucial role in the consolidation of the British state, and maintaining that Scotland's union with England was the precedent for British and European unionism pursued by Pitt and his successors. Andrew Noble explores the poetry of radicalism; he looks at the work of Alexander Wilson and James Kennedy, contemporaries of Burns who, lacking his protective celebrity, were easily suppressed by the censorship of the times. Noble argues that the triumph of loyalism produced a pervasive censorship that still impinges on our understanding of Burns and his relationship to the 1790s. Michael Brown assesses Alexander Carlyle's autobiography as an attempt to separate the Enlightenment from the political enthusiasm of the 1790s. He believes that understanding Carlyle's motivation in extolling the legitimacy of the Hanoverian state, and in diminishing the influence of the radical elements in Scottish society, allows for other readings of the Enlightenment. John Stevenson concludes by offering a comparative perspective on events in Scotland and England.

This collection is the most substantial work on this subject for a very long time, providing much needed research on a period about which relatively little has been published. It brings together current thinking by historians, highlighting the depth and variety of this subject, and its contributors offer a range of stimulating topics and arguments, many challenging those who maintain that Scotland posed little or no threat to the status quo.

A useful companion volume to current historical research is Donald Winch's edition of the work of James Mackintosh, a philosophic Whig and contemporary of the French Revolution. In one convenient volume, Winch has brought together a selection of Mackintosh's writing from the onset of the Revolution to his reflections on the state of France in 1815, allowing the reader to trace the development of Mackintosh's political views. *Vindiciae Gallicae* was the response of a philosophic Whig on the development of the French Revolution up to the spring of 1791. Inspired by the debate over Edmund Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*, Mackintosh supported the Revolution and contested Burke's diagnosis both of events in France and of the nature of the English constitution. He defended English admirers of the Revolution and even justified the popular excesses that followed. His *Letter to William Pitt* is a vilification of Pitt's desertion from the cause of reform, which he had supported in the 1780s. It accused Pitt of having used reform merely as a tool for acquiring political power and castigated him for his opposition to it in 1792. Mackintosh reaffirmed his support for the Revolution but disclaimed any notion that parliamentary reform in England was allied to the Revolutionary principles of France. Revolutionary excess later compelled him to agree with Burke, and in *A Discourse on the Law of Nature and Nations*, written in 1799, Mackintosh recanted his support for Revolutionary France. In *On the State of France* in 1815, he reflected on French society after the years of war and revolution. Winch introduces each of Mackintosh's essays, provides chronologies of Mackintosh's life and of significant events between 1787 and 1815 relating to the French Revolution and parliamentary reform in Britain, and adds a *Dramatis Personae* of the period. In addition to the original footnotes, informative editorial notes identify sources and provide translations, and the original pagination has been included in the text.

Val Honeyman, University of Stirling

Eric J. Graham, *Seawolves: Pirates and the Scots*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2005. Pp. xxx + 223.

Sue Mowat and Eric Graham, *High Court of Admiralty, Scotland, Records 1727–1750*. CD-Rom. Inquiries to Sue Mowat at [suemowat@dsl.pipex.com](mailto:suemowat@dsl.pipex.com).

Tom Barclay and Eric Graham, *The Early Transatlantic Trade of Ayr, 1640–1730*. Ayr: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2005. Pp.104.

This is a significant trio of publications, which vary in type and style. There is one constant, however: Eric Graham. Graham's enthusiasm for Scotland's maritime history knows few bounds, as exemplified in his seminal *Maritime History of Scotland 1650–1790* (2002). Although that book was published only five years ago, Gra-



ham has moved on and achieved much. In *Seawolves*, he manages to tell the little-known story of Scotland's involvement in piracy on the high seas in an engaging manner, concentrating on the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The last pirates to be hanged after being taken in Scottish waters were a Swede and a Frenchman, who met their ends watched by a crowd thought to have been around 40,000 strong, on the sands at Leith, in January 1822. The book comprises a series of case studies, but at its core is the proposition that the infamous Worcester incident, in which the Englishman Captain Green and two of his crew were hanged in 1705, as usual in such cases on Leith sands, represented a turning point in Anglo-Scottish relations. By acting as a wake-up call to politicians on both sides of the border, the argument runs, the shock induced by the sight and consequence of a people enraged, precipitated the discussions which led to the incorporating Union of 1707. There was much more to the making of the Union than this of course, but Graham's point is well made. The strength of *Seawolves*, however, is the narrative, which moves along at a fast pace—although some readers might find the over-use of short, one- and two-sentence paragraphs wearing. Even so, what is conveyed is a powerful sense of how piracy prosecutions were conducted; the difficulty judges and juries must have had in making sense of the conflicting testimonies—outright lies in many cases—of witnesses, accusers, and accused; and the theater of public hangings at Leith. For a measure of the scale and significance of Scotland's piratical history, we shall have to wait a while. Yet what Graham's work hints at is a particularly active phase of piracy from the later seventeenth century until the 1720s, when the Royal Navy intervened to bring it to a close. Revealed too is more of the hitherto hidden but now unfolding story of the Scots' involvement in the slave trade, at least for a short time following the Union, until the Glasgow merchants who had engaged in it were driven off by pirates. Tobacco trading was to prove a safer bet.

By making accessible on CD-Rom one of his principal sources, the High Court of Admiralty records, Graham (with his co-editor, Sue Mowat) has also made it possible for the interested reader and researcher not only to explore further these and other cases of alleged piracy but also to delve deep into a cache of materials that were known formerly to very few. This is important: a weakness of *Seawolves* is that there are no footnotes or endnotes; primary material is introduced in italicized sections of text, but otherwise the reader has to take it as read that the author has interpreted his sources adequately. Obviously, this was the publisher's decision, taken for commercial reasons. But is there any evidence that purchasers of serious books jib at the sight of endnotes tucked away at the back of each chapter, or even collected at the end of the book? Not really (one could say, on the contrary), and the effect is to devalue the authority of the writer and the book. It is a tendency that should be avoided by academic writers, even those who aspire to attract a wider audience. Compromises can be reached. For the reader interested in following up Graham's leads, it is necessary to start more or less from scratch, with this CD-Rom.

The range of topics upon which the Admiralty records throw light is surprisingly wide: coastal and international trade; merchants and merchant networks, including their assets and aspirations; port provision; customs, crime, and criminality. The testimonies of those concerned reveal in immense detail incidents and features of everyday life in Scotland's port and harbor towns in the first four or so decades of the eighteenth century. This evidence, however, has been largely hidden from historians until now, in part because of the sheer volume and forbidding nature of this particular body of quasi-legal materials, stored in the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh. In 2007 we are seeing the publication of a flurry of books about the causes and impact of the Union of 1707: this guide ensures that, as far as the Union's economic and social consequences are concerned, the last word has by no means been written. Much more remains to be discovered and reported in the future.

Admiralty Court records are one of the sources used in a welcome study of the port of Ayr and its transatlantic trade between 1640 and 1730. This time Graham's collaborator is Tom Barclay. Hitherto, it is Glasgow that has largely attracted the attention of historians of Scotland's trade across the Atlantic. Paradoxically, this pamphlet does little to suggest that the focus on Glasgow has been misplaced. The scale of operations at Ayr was small, certainly by 1707, when the port appears to have had one vessel operating in foreign waters, the 60-ton *Phoenix*. Nevertheless, Ayr could rightly boast an early engagement with the West Indies, with the *Blessing* of Ayr bringing back a cargo of tobacco from Barbados in 1644. Ayr's experience in plantation trading was exploited by Glasgow merchants involved in the newly established (1667) sugar refining industry, with some Ayr merchants purchasing a Liverpool vessel expressly for this purpose. The picture presented in this detailed account is of modest prosperity punctuated by short periods of difficulty, as during the Cromwellian invasion, followed by downturn during the 1690s. As elsewhere in much of Scotland, post-Union recovery was slow, and there was little transatlantic activity at Ayr until 1725, when younger members of families formerly engaged in such trade managed to reconstruct older connections. Happily, the pamphlet's sixty pages of substantive text are supported by voluminous source references (245 in all), maps, and appendices that show the family ties binding Ayr's early modern mercantile dynasties.

Christopher A. Whatley, University of Dundee



Douglas J. Hamilton, *Scotland, the Caribbean, and the Atlantic World, 1750–1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005. Pp. vii + 249.

In this extensively researched and lucidly written book, Douglas J. Hamilton examines an under-studied element within the well-known phenomenon of Scots migration. As series editor John M. Mackenzie notes in his introduction, “when we think of the Scots abroad...we often imagine that [they] were attracted by terrain and climates which they found fairly familiar, like Nova Scotia or Otago [New Zealand]” (p. ix), and much of the analysis has centered on the nineteenth century. But, as Hamilton’s work makes clear, the English colonies of the West Indies were, throughout the eighteenth century, a considerable lure to well-educated but impecunious Scots, many of whom acquired wealth and influence “across th’Atlantic’s roar” (p. 1), in Robert Burns’s phrase. Although Scots had since the late medieval period sought economic opportunities overseas, after 1707 migrants turned to the west, and by the era of the American Revolution Scots had established themselves in Jamaica and Antigua, Grenada and St. Kitts, and in relation to their numbers had become disproportionately successful as planters, merchants, and doctors.

In eight well-organized chapters, Hamilton explores the reasons for Scots’ success in the Caribbean and the effects this success had both on the migrants themselves and on their place in Scotland and England. He explores the various socioeconomic dislocations that encouraged eighteenth-century Scots to seek advancement overseas. He also explores the ways in which their social and educational backgrounds prepared them for life in the plantation societies of the West Indies, where rough equality existed between all white residents, and where literate and numerate men were in constant demand as managers, attorneys, and bookkeepers. However, in Hamilton’s view, the most important advantage Scots wielded in the islands was “clannishness,” which he identifies as “an adaptation of the long-standing forms of social relations based on regional and familial connections” (p. 5) associated with *clanship* in the home country. Although the power of the clans had already waned significantly by the beginning of the eighteenth century, “these apparently archaic forms of social relations...were adapted to provide the springboard for Scottish influence” (p. 221) in the islands. In support of this thesis, Hamilton presents detailed exegeses of a number of Scottish Caribbean networks, including planter dynasties such as the Campbells and Grants of Jamaica and mercantile empires such as that of Alexander Houstoun & Co., the greatest of Glasgow’s sugar houses. Although these networks included non-Scots—indeed, families such as the Baillies were thoroughly integrated within the English elite—and despite the famously transnational nature of the Atlantic economy, these firms and families remained tightly enmeshed within bonds of Scots kinship and locality.

Hamilton is particularly insightful in his analysis of the ways in which Scottish residents in the Caribbean, particularly those who gained seats in the islands’ houses of assembly, cemented these colonies’ loyalty to the British Crown in the era of the American Revolution. In his eyes, it was the shared anti-Catholicism of most Scots and English that allowed the development of this rapprochement. By the 1770s many Scots, particularly those in the colonies, were devoted to Protestantism, liberty, and the King, and anticipated that they might play a leading political role in a “Greater Britain” (p. 165). By showing how and why many Scots developed considerable loyalty to Britain, and particularly to its imperial project, Hamilton moves beyond the rather simplistic opposition of “English” and “Scottish” that remains prevalent among some scholars of the British Empire and allows readers a more nuanced understanding of processes of identity formation within colony and metropole alike.

That said, the book is not without minor problems. The chapter on Scottish doctors in the Caribbean, though well researched, does not add significantly to Richard Sheridan’s *Doctors and Slaves* (1985). There are some surprising omissions from the bibliography, including Douglas Catterall’s various publications on Scots’ overseas ventures, as well as important nineteenth-century works such as Amelia Flannigan’s *Antigua and the Antiguan* and the anonymous novel *Marly, or, A Planter’s Life in Jamaica*, both of which might have been discussed in relation to their promulgation of stereotypes about Scottish settlers in the West Indies. Hamilton also accepts—without, in my opinion, sufficient questioning—Alan Karras’s depiction of the majority of Caribbean Scots as “sojourners” who had no intention of relocating permanently to the islands. But on the whole, this is a valuable book which synthesizes several generations of scholarship on a significant topic and which now stands as the definitive work on the important and diverse roles that Scots played in the leading sector of the eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century British Empire.

Natalie Zacek, University of Manchester

Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery 1756–1838*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Pp. x + 278.

This is a splendid and rigorous new account of the Scots’ involvement in this great humanitarian crusade. Iain Whyte (an ordained minister) expertly utilizes the records of the Scottish courts, regional newspapers, presbyteries, synods, and kirk sessions to relate the distinctively Scottish aspects of this prolonged and, at times, bitter

struggle for justice. Laid out along thematic lines, the book has as its major strength the author's deep affinity with, and understanding of, the theological debate that raged for fifty years over the morality of enslaving Africans. His empathy with the Georgian values and mindset readily translates into an engaging and accessible narrative.

The storyline opens with black slaves in Scotland and the role of baptism in their struggle to secure their freedom through the courts. The verdict given down from the Court of Session in 1778 in the case of Joseph Knight was the first by a British court to unequivocally outlaw slavery.

While the Scots' direct involvement in the transatlantic slave trade was relatively small, their participation in plantation slavery was very extensive. Whyte reviews the clash of this entrenched economic interest with the moral arguments put up by the likes of Adam Ferguson, William Robertson, and Adam Smith. He concludes that, paradoxically, the Scottish Enlightenment led by David Hume offered limited support for the abolitionists' cause. Whyte maintains that it was Hume's nemesis James Beattie, professor of logic and moral philosophy at Aberdeen, who took up the intellectual gauntlet to secure the moral high ground for the movement.

Thereafter, support for Thomas Clarkson's new Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade (founded in London 1787) sprang from local pulpits. Three London Scots—James Stephen, William Dickson, and Zachary Macaulay—played pivotal roles in this society. Under their direction, Scotland became a powerhouse for the cause. During the great campaign of 1792, a third of all petitions sent to Parliament came from north of the border. This was mainly due to the Herculean efforts of William Dickson of Moffat, who criss-crossed Scotland from January to March of that year, drumming up support. Then there are the Scottish villains—Henry Dundas and Archibald Dalziel of Kirkliston. The former, as home secretary, sabotaged William Wilberforce's Abolitionist Bill in 1792, while the latter, a former governor of slaving forts on the Guinea Coast, published a widely circulated defense of the slave trade.

Whyte looks closely at the ebb and flow of the anti-slavery movement in the North after the abolition of the slave trade in 1807. Its new petition campaign tried to force the defeated France to join the ban on the slave trade (achieved in 1815) and, after 1823, there was a long push for the emancipation of slaves held in the plantations. By the latter date the Glasgow West India Association, the mouthpiece of the planters, had gone on the offensive, petitioning Parliament to protect their "property." Recruiting local newspapers to their viewpoint, they were successful in delaying the inevitable. Indeed, it was not until 1830 that the anti-slavery campaigners gained the upper hand again.

Modern Scots are only just becoming aware of their involvement in the slave trade and its abolition. This thoroughly enlightening and uncompromising book is therefore most opportune. As Archbishop Desmond Tutu states in his foreword: "Thank you, Iain Whyte, for telling a history of which the Scots can be rightly proud." In the wider world, this study will make its mark by underlining the "Britishness" of the London-based abolitionist movement and by crediting the pantheon of local activists who took the crusade to the people. Striking this balance will be especially necessary this year—the bicentenary of the abolition of the slave trade—when the heroic figure of William Wilberforce will, undoubtedly, dominate the popular coverage of this struggle.

Eric J. Graham, Edinburgh

Douglas Skelton, *Indian Peter: The Extraordinary Life and Adventures of Peter Williamson*. Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2004. Paperback, 2005. Pp. 256.

Troy Bickham, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005. Pp. viii + 301.

Those of us enamored with such things as facts and evidence might pause after the opening quote of Douglas Skelton's charming biography of one-time Indian captive Peter Williamson. "Not that it matters, but most of what follows is true." The apologia is not, strictly speaking, Skelton's. It comes from noted Hollywood screenwriter William Goldman, and although Skelton intends it as a warning for the bits of speculation and invention that follow, the quote serves another, perhaps unintended, function. It implies that although Skelton wishes to retain the be-tweedled among his audience, his real fear is the loss of the Hollywood contingent—the be-tanned, if you will. The fear is not justified. Though his is a work of popular history, containing a surfeit of textbook-like glosses on Quakerism, the Seven Years' War, the Delaware Indians, etc., there is something for everyone in this brief portrait.

For Hollywood, Williamson's adventures would do Daniel Day-Lewis proud. Kidnapped in Aberdeen and sold into servitude, the thirteen-year old Williamson was taken to the American colonies in 1743. There he worked for seven years in the service of a generally caring fellow Scot. After obtaining his freedom, Williamson had the good fortune of a favorable marriage that carried with it a 200-acre bequest of prime farmland in eastern Pennsylvania. Unfortunately, his life as an independent farmer commenced on the eve of the Seven Years' War, probably

the most dangerous period in Pennsylvania history before the Revolutionary War. As if following a script, in October of 1754, a half a year after the defeat of George Washington and his Virginia militia at Fort Mifflin in south-central Pennsylvania, Williamson found himself a captive of a band of hostile Delaware Indians. What follows is a familiar story of gauntlets, torture, near starvation, enslavement, and assorted other deprivations.

After making his escape, Williamson joined British forces, initially as a Pennsylvania militiaman, but he was soon taken prisoner by enemy forces and returned to Great Britain by way of France. Williamson traveled to Edinburgh, and although the rest of Williamson's life (constituting the last 45 of his 69 years) occupies only six of Skelton's nineteen chapters, it is by far the most interesting part. During these years, from 1758 to 1799, Williamson opened a successful coffeehouse, started a penny postal service, and wedged his way into the tightly knit Edinburgh printer's guild. In this latter capacity, he published his own accounts of his American captivity as well as works by the Dundee poet William Meston and, most famously, in 1773, *Williamson's Directory*, Edinburgh's very first. It is hard to imagine an act of entrepreneurship more thoroughly intertwined with the various strands of Edinburgh's flowering civic culture.

Just as the eyes of Skelton's Hollywood audience recede behind a somnambulant glaze, his historian readers are achieving fevered excitement. For we learn that amid all his emblematic acts of cultural entrepreneurship, Williamson placed himself at the center of an astonishing legal action. He sued the Aberdeen merchants implicated in his earlier kidnapping—and he won. In a world almost completely indifferent to the fate of bound labor, the suit represents an important early chapter in the century-long battle against all forms of unfree labor and its attendant cruelties. Williamson's case is indicative of the ways this former captive, and the magistrates who adjudicated his case, placed themselves in the vanguard of a British legal regime that would, over the subsequent few decades, find itself less and less tolerant of the injustices and inefficiencies of bound labor.

Troy Bickham's *Savages Within the Empire* is not exactly the stuff of Hollywood screenwriters, but scholars will find in it much to ponder. Although most of the work is concerned with popular debates about British-Native relations during the Seven Years' and Revolutionary Wars, its overall intention is to remind scholars, in much the way that Linda Colley has, that whatever Britons thought themselves to be at the time had a lot to do with what they thought themselves *not* to be—which included something known as the "savage." To the more thoughtful among them, particularly those preoccupied with the possibility that civil order was ultimately about morality rather than power and politics, these so-called savages represented more than simply the absence of Britishness. They also held the key to history's laws.

The view is the subject of Bickham's cogent chapter on the Scottish Enlightenment. For the most part, Bickham is concerned here with those conjectural historians—Smith, Millar, Ferguson, Monboddo, Kames, Robertson, Hume, and some lesser figures such as the Scottish lieutenant governor of New York, Cadwallader Colden—for whom America's natives were living examples of the earliest stages of human development. Most of what Bickham says will be familiar to students of the Scottish Enlightenment. But by situating the Scots' discussion in the context of general British views of the imperial "other," Bickham offers useful insight into the ways conjectural history served the larger discourse of empire in the British Isles. On the one hand, the Scots confirmed for Britons their cultural superiority to peoples they were attempting to incorporate into the imperial frame. On the other, they helped the imperial Scots—relative newcomers to the British imperial project—to situate themselves within the hierarchy of subjects that constituted the Empire.

Edward G. Gray, Florida State University

Alan Gibson, *Interpreting the Founding: Guide to the Enduring Debates over the Origins and Foundations of the American Republic*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006. Pp. xvii + 174.

In this slim volume, Alan Gibson aims to provide a roadmap to the historiography of the American Founding Era since the publication of Charles A. Beard's *An Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States* in 1913. Chapters 2 through 4 are given to historiography on "The Progressive Interpretation," "The Liberal Tradition," and "The Tunnel History of Republicanism." Chapter 5, "The Scottish Conversation," may be of particular interest to readers of this periodical. The final two chapters struck this reviewer as perhaps the most interesting and original in the book. Chapter 6, "The Multiple Traditions Approach," explores scholarship that combines liberalism, republicanism, and other interpretive traditions. Chapter 7, "From the Bottom Up: Feminine, Forgotten, and Forced Founders," traces "the body of scholarship on dispossessed groups in the early republic"—scholarship that Gibson originally aimed to "avoid" (p. ix).

One of the real strengths of Gibson's account is its jargon-free language and concise prose. For those with only a passing familiarity with this vast historiography, Gibson provides a useful and well-documented survey (there are 40 pages of endnotes for 100 pages of text), especially of the debates concerning the philosophy of the Founding. It is hard to imagine even the most seasoned scholar reading this book without learning of new sources.



Moreover, in his judicious summaries of existing scholarship, Gibson displays a knack for illuminating arguments, even those that were not so lucid when originally presented.

So, what does he say about the Scots? Gibson argues that “the Scottish Enlightenment contributed in such a variety of ways to the Founding project that it is difficult to characterize that contribution” (p. 93). While the gist of that comment may be true (and is traced back to Henry F. May), Gibson is not always systematic or evenhanded in his assessment of Scottish Enlightenment historiography. First, Gibson’s Scottish Enlightenment is largely a philosophical enterprise centered on Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid. Gibson considers this historiography to be “the most philosophically abstract scholarship of the major schools of interpretation of the American Founding” (p. 39). While that may be the case for writers such as Morton White and Daniel Walker Howe, it does not apply to all scholars of the field, even leading ones such as Douglass Adair, whose importance Gibson acknowledges. Similarly, while several pages are given to speculations about Hutcheson’s influence on Thomas Jefferson, as discussed by Garry Wills and his critics, work on John Witherspoon’s concrete impact in America is reduced to one sentence, and there is not sufficient attention given, in general, to work on the Scottish impact on early American education. Gibson identifies “several foundational assumptions” that scholars have argued the Scots gave to the Americans, including approaching politics as a science, the four-stages theory, and a “common sense” approach to philosophy, but he is notably eager to see historiography on the Scottish Enlightenment’s American impact as striving to demonstrate the homogeneous impact of the Scots. Hence Gibson’s conclusion that “the ability of the Scottish Enlightenment to serve as a defining interpretation of the American Founding has been weakened by the very scholarship that has established its diversity and richness” (p. 92). Indeed, on the whole Gibson’s clear writing and the march of his chapters may even leave the impression that all historiography on the Founding has neater lines of demarcation than is actually the case, even though he cautions that things are more complicated than his signposts suggest.

This attempt to pigeonhole scholarship into select schools of interpretation also runs the risk of leaving significant historiographical trails unexplored. For instance, there is little discussion of the place of historical thought in the debates over the Founding. H. Trevor Colbourn’s important book, *The Lamp of Experience: Whig History and the Intellectual Origins of the American Revolution* (1965; reprinted 1998), goes unnoticed, as does recent work on American historians of the founding period, such as David Ramsay, and work on historically minded Founders, such as John Adams, on whom C. Bradley Thompson has written so perceptively in *John Adams and the Spirit of Liberty* (1998). Historiography on the constitutional thought of the Founders also gets short shrift: for example, although John Phillip Reid’s *The Authority of Rights* appears in the bibliography, other volumes in Reid’s *Constitutional History of the American Revolution* are overlooked, and Reid is not cited in the index. There is little on the impact on the Founding of Montesquieu, Rousseau, Voltaire, or other figures of the French Enlightenment, as discussed in much scholarly literature. Indeed, there is little attempt to show how historiography on the American Enlightenment has played into interpreting the Founding. While Henry F. May’s *The American Enlightenment* is noted, books by Ernest Cassara, Henry Steele Commager, Robert A. Ferguson, and Nina Reid-Maroney are not. Finally, much of the scholarship, old and new, on reading and book history in America is curiously absent, despite its relevance to Gibson’s subject. There is no mention of *The Colonial Book in the Atlantic World* (1999), edited by Hugh Amory and David D. Hall; Donald S. Lutz’s empirical work on citations in eighteenth-century American publications, first published in an article in the *American Political Science Review* in 1984; or David Lundberg and Henry F. May’s classic essay “The Enlightened Reader in America” (*American Quarterly*, 1976) which, despite its shortcomings, continues to be cited frequently. Had those and other empirically based contributions to the intellectual debates been registered in Gibson’s survey, he might have been inclined to revise, slightly, his conclusion that the Progressive interpretation of the American Founding is “one of the few approaches that relies extensively on empirical analysis. As such it remains an essential counterbalance to the ideological interpretations of the American Revolution and the formation of the Constitution that have dominated scholarship both before and after the heyday of Progressive scholarship” (pp. 87–88). Nevertheless, Gibson’s book should be read by all scholars interested in the political thought of the Founding.

**Mark G. Spencer, Brock University**

James Buchan, *The Authentic Adam Smith: His Life and Ideas*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2006. Pp. ix + 198.

Gavin Kennedy, *Adam Smith’s Lost Legacy*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005. Pp. xvi + 285.

For all their many differences of style and method, these two books share two fundamental aims: first, each seeks to present Smith’s core ideas to a popular audience; second, each seeks thereby to restore Smith’s “authentic” or “lost” intent. With regard to the first aim, both books succeed admirably, but scholarly audiences may be more skeptical about their contributions to the second objective.

James Buchan's book is the more consciously popular of the two. Readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* will know Buchan as the author of a similarly popular 2003 book on Enlightenment Edinburgh. But his study of Smith is written more in the style of the novels for which he is famous than of his previous foray into the Scottish Enlightenment. The novelist's sensitivity to character serves Buchan well here. The combination of a comparatively quiet life and the conscientious destruction of his unpublished writings renders Smith a famously difficult subject for the biographer. Yet Buchan's Smith is an extremely engaging man. Not only do we get lively retellings of all the familiar anecdotes about the absentminded professor, but Buchan also has a nice eye for those moments in Smith's corpus that reveal a glimpse of the man's depths; his quotes from Smith's correspondence with Lord Shelburne over the nature of the teacher's "sacred" duties reveal this beautifully (pp. 23, 44-45).

Buchan's sensitivity to Smith's character also serves him well in discussions of his ideas. Buchan's guiding observation is that "Smith's strongest characteristic, after his hypochondria and solitude, was probably his concern for the poorest sections of society" (p. 6). This defensible claim might be said to be the departure point for the book's main thesis: to demonstrate that Smith "was no doctrinaire free trader" (p. 3). The analysis of Smith's texts supports such a conclusion, albeit within the compressed limits of a short book. Indeed, one at times worries that in the interest of not bogging down an otherwise brisk narrative, the book avoids engaging his philosophy. For example, Buchan dismisses Part VII of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* as a "slapdash survey of philosophical moralities," yet he also somewhat blithely suggests that Smith's conception of virtue "is more or less the Stoical notion of prudence" (p. 54). This is not to say that Buchan has not done his homework; I like his conjecture that Smith's use of the awkward term "comeatable" in his jurisprudence lectures was likely picked up from Mandeville's descriptions of prostitutes (p. 95). Yet here and elsewhere the engagement with Smith's ideas leans more toward the anecdotal than the substantive.

Buchan is to be commended for his efforts to restore Smith to his eighteenth-century context. He blames the mischaracterization of Smith as a doctrinaire capitalist on those "who have studied hard to remove any trace of history from their reasonings," meaning principally "economists and politicians who constitute, even more than professional footballers, always the least-literate sections of English-speaking society" (pp. 4-5). But Buchan's strong rhetoric is eclipsed by that of Gavin Kennedy, for whom Smith is caught in an epic struggle between the "hijackers" and the "defenders" of his legacy (p. 127). As the standard bearer for the latter camp, Kennedy makes it his aim to demolish the straw man created by his foes. Yet reading this book in light of the past three decades of Smith scholarship, it is difficult to escape an impression that his critique of the "hijackers" tars with too broad a brush.

Kennedy's book is organized into four parts: one on Smith's biography and one each on the "three pillars" of his legacy: ethics, jurisprudence, and economics (p. 38). The intent is to set out the essential Smithian ideas and facts, and this aim, coupled with the book's organization into fifty-seven short chapters averaging four pages each, makes it a brisk read. The biography section sets forth a wide array of "admittedly speculative" ruminations under the license of conjectural history (pp. 2, 7). Kennedy's speculations are inventive, ranging from the reasons behind Smith's loathing of Balliol College, Oxford, while a Snell Exhibitioner to the real reason for Cain and Abel's fraternal strife. Some may also enjoy Kennedy's efforts to replace the old image of the doddering philosopher with that of a shrewd and politically astute man of the world who used an esoteric "code" in his writings to conceal his religious heterodoxy (p. 66) and hatched a massive "plan" for his worldly advancement (p. 30). But more compelling are Kennedy's chapters on Smith's ethics and jurisprudence. In the second and third parts of the book, we are treated to a series of short, precise chapters that admirably capture central Smithian concepts, from sympathy and spectatorship to natural justice and stadial theory. These are of real value, and can be read with benefit.

The heart of the book is to be found in Part 4, on Smith's economics. The goal here is to put to rest the "embarrassing error" which "persists today": namely that Smith is "the progenitor of the economics of capitalism" (p. 96). Kennedy at first seems to have a formidable case with regard to the existence of this error. He begins by presenting his evidence for what he calls a "barrage of misinformation" (p. 98), offering ten extended quotations from prominent Smith scholars, presented rapid-fire and without commentary. Each seems to associate Smith with *lassiez-faire*. Yet close inspection reveals that of the ten passages, only two explicitly identify Smith with capitalism in the author's own name; the other eight either themselves repeat popular conceptions of his reputation or suggest merely that Smith defended specific discrete ideas that later came to be associated with capitalist theory. Furthermore, of the two significant passages, one is from the ninth (1973) edition of a work first published in 1948 by Paul Samuelson and the other is from the second (2001) edition of a work first published in 1957 by Joseph Cropsey. Such evidence alone hardly seems to warrant the suggestion that there today still exists a "prevailing orthodoxy" (p. 132) content to repeat the "usual worthless babble" (p. 113). The popular press, of course, might be another story, and few are better positioned to chronicle it than Kennedy, who maintains an impressively comprehensive listing of such references on his website ([www.adamsmithslostlegacy.com](http://www.adamsmithslostlegacy.com)); see the section "Blog Out-

rages!"). But in a year in which David Brooks published an effusive recommendation of *TMS* on the editorial page of the *New York Times*, one yet wonders whether things are as bad as all that.

Like Buchan, then, Kennedy principally takes aim at those who take Smith out of context. He is at his best when he reminds us how different the world of eighteenth-century commercial society is from advanced post-industrial capitalism; his sections on the eighteenth-century market are particularly engaging (pp. 172, 189). Now, many will be sympathetic to such efforts to contextualize Smith's achievements. But what happens when context alone is judged the key to liberating Smith from those who have forced him to speak to "problems associated with a period of time at some distance in the future, for which Smith had nothing to say" (p. 205)? One worries that doing so is likely to relegate Smith to the dustbin of antiquarianism unless efforts are also made to explain precisely how he remains relevant. Fortunately, there already exist several excellent studies that balance an acute sensitivity to eighteenth-century context with a keen understanding of today's political challenges: one thinks here of Michael Ignatieff's *The Needs of Strangers* and Jerry Muller's *Adam Smith in His Time and Ours*, books which Buchan's and Kennedy's works usefully supplement.

Ryan Patrick Hanley, Marquette University

Lisa Hill, *The Passionate Society: The Social, Political and Moral Philosophy of Adam Ferguson*. International Archives of the History of Ideas. Dordrecht: Springer, 2006. Pp. xi + 275.

Ronald Hamowy, *The Political Sociology of Freedom: Adam Ferguson and F. A. Hayek*. New Thinking in Political Economy. Foreword by Mario J. Rizzo. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar, 2005. Pp. xviii + 265.

David Allan, *Adam Ferguson*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Introductions, in association with Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Pp. xii + 169.

It is a delight to report on three new books on Adam Ferguson. They share a passion for renewing his rank among the most important figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, but with an eye to a wider, richer European intellectual tradition.

Of the three, Allan intends his for a general academic audience looking for an introduction to Ferguson and the Scottish Enlightenment. Hamowy and Hill have written more sharply defined books; Hamowy's is a collection of previously published essays. They all agree in the main points long established by modern Ferguson scholars. Various forms of skepticism or moral philosophical revision (in Hobbes, Mandeville, Hume, and Rousseau) drove Ferguson to defend the natural gregariousness of humanity while emphasizing the important role of conflict, human restlessness, and creativity in the history of civilization. He gave critical importance to community and education for developing citizen virtue. He warned against the psychological consequences of the division of labor and contributed to what would later become known as "the theory of unintended consequences." Finally, these writers puzzle over how such a great friend of ancient republican virtue distrusted contemporary political reform. From the perspective of the history of political thought, Hamowy writes of the relevance of Ferguson (along with F. A. Hayek) to contemporary libertarian studies. In a history of ideas, Hill takes up Ferguson's classical and Christian/Stoic-rooted moral and political philosophy. Allan offers the fullest account of Ferguson's writing in its immediate British context. He suggests how Ferguson's early experience as a pamphleteer and controversialist grew partly from his combative nature, giving his published works their sharp tone. Ferguson benefited enormously from the aid of nobles and well-placed friends. Allan reasonably suggests that Ferguson's complex moral and political portrait of virtue and interest, discussed at length by Allan and Hill, perhaps mirrors his long experience in the sweaty-hand world of political patronage.

Ferguson celebrated humanity's restless curiosity and ingenuity. Pain and suffering, vulnerability compared to other mammals, prompt humans to an energetic inventiveness. His humans are divinely inspired artists of their own being, his particular expression of a more general Enlightenment defense of the boundless creativity of secular civilization. Hamowy argues that Ferguson defended the ambitions evolving from modern commerce, an account of progress suggesting a solution to what Allan calls Ferguson's tendency to "blissful" inconsistency (p. 118). To Hill this inconsistency comes from his efforts to describe a possible moral space between the civil and the emerging capitalist society, a "liberal-Stoicism" (p. 28). Such readings also determine how each explains Ferguson's intellectual relationships with Hume and Adam Smith.

Of the three authors, Hill most carefully recovers Ferguson's deep conviction that the moral sense, gregariousness, and creativity were gifts of Providence. This particularly illuminates Ferguson's disagreement with Hume (and to a lesser degree perhaps with Smith) over modern commercial society and politeness. Ferguson developed a providentialist social science (pp. 55–56) and a secularized salvation history (p. 202), recalling elements of Vico. But if Ferguson was a deist, as Hill suggests, what of the evidence for his portrait of a loving Creator



whose affection for humanity led Him to implant those gifts in the human heart? Ferguson echoes theological claims found more in Augustine and Calvin than early-modern deism. Still, what in the Christian ethical tradition might survive the empirical study of this peculiar hairless biped? Ferguson's fear was an old Christian quandary: that human freedom and moral duty would evaporate under a deterministic account of the passions and environment. Like any good Augustinian, Ferguson tried to have it both ways.

The puzzle of Ferguson's political philosophy lies in how his zeal for ancient virtue failed to inspire support for the most minor political reforms. Hamowy suggests that Ferguson was a liberal in the late-Whig tradition, defending modern commerce and progress while fearing only somewhat the debilitating moral effects of the division of labor. Allan and Hill claim that Ferguson shared Rousseau's love of civic passion as reflected in Spartan Greece. Hill argues that Ferguson's confidence in Providence and location of the crucial nature of virtue in the passions and imagination freed the civic actor from the burden of substantial reform. Ferguson's hesitation was scientific, not ideological (p. 147), echoing David Kettler that he exhibits "a paralyzed philosophical position" (p. 231). Allan and Hill therefore disagree with Hamowy: despite his praise of progress, Ferguson's moral suspicion of modern society won out. None of these works explores Ferguson's place in the spectrum of conservative thought, such as his precise relation to Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*. Ferguson transformed a tradition of political citizenship into a cultural or social personality (Hill, pp. 13, 217; see also Allan, pp. 102–105). Mark Salber Phillips has argued in *Society and Sentiment: Genres of Historical Writing in Britain, 1740–1820* (2000) that new forms of fiction challenged eighteenth-century British historians to encourage their readers to cultivate an inner life. It is worth asking if Ferguson wrote with a similar goal. Once worked through, this approach might also help to sort out how Ferguson could passionately praise the citizen life of the small independent state while arguing that Britain's international affairs required that it protect its empire (see Hill, pp. 224, 227; Hamowy, pp. 169–71).

Taken together, these books should provoke discussion of how to read Ferguson. Does he offer a basically unified body of work from the *Essay on the History Civil Society* (1767) to the *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792), or an evolving point of view? The French Revolution offers one example, when Ferguson was in the 1790s writing both the *Principles* and the second edition of his *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (1783). Comparing those works suggests how he made subtle but important changes, either because the Revolution provoked reconsiderations or in order to appeal to his audience's desire for more a relevant historical moral philosophy. Hamowy, Hill, and to a lesser degree Allan agree that Ferguson represents a critical juncture in the transition of European thought to modern social and political theory. He abandoned the myth of the original legislator and expounded the theory of unintended consequences. But each of them assays Ferguson's contemporary relevance differently. An important issue, then, is Ferguson's evaluation of modern civilization as he witnessed it. This matter is more pressing now, under pressure from post-structuralist attacks on "the Enlightenment Project." Complacent rationalist accounts of human life and proposals for reform (or "grand narratives"), they claim, culminated in utopian totalitarianism. Ferguson reminds us, however, that Enlightenment critics of modern civilization wrote from inside the Enlightenment itself.

Michael Kugler, Northwestern College

David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*. Edited by Tom L. Beauchamp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006. Pp. cvii + 344.

David Hume, *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*. Edited by Tom L. Beauchamp. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006. Pp. lxxxiii + 308.

The first fruits of the Clarendon Edition of the Works of David Hume—*An Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* (1748), first published in 2000, and *An Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751), first published in 1998—now make a welcome appearance in paperback. Both enquiries have received small corrections, and the corresponding page numbers to the standard Selby-Bigge editions (as revised by Nidditch) have been added in the margin. In brief, Tom Beauchamp has produced two excellent editions, which will remain the standard editions of both enquiries for years to come.

An enormous amount of research has gone into this edition, and the most seasoned student of Hume is given much to think about. The relationship between the two enquires and *A Treatise of Human Nature* is examined; sources are discussed; contemporary reception is traced; and extensive annotation is provided, along with a glossary, a catalogue of Hume's references, a reference list, and a good index. All of these sections deserve careful examination, but in the short space provided here, textual editing must be the focus.

Why has it taken more than two centuries since Hume's death to produce a reliable edition of his works? Perhaps it was easier to read Hume, and write about him, with an available edition, without asking the troubling question: am I reading the text that Hume hoped future generations would study? Before any analytical or textual

bibliography had been performed, students of Hume's writings knew that anyone attempting to give an honest answer to this question would encounter formidable textual problems. After all, had not Hume himself warned future editors in his numerous comments on revising and correcting? In a letter of 22 July 1771 to his friend and printer, William Strahan, he writes: "I know not whether the former purchasers may complain of my frequent Corrections; but I cannot help it, and they run mostly upon Trifles; at least they will be esteemd such by the Generality of Readers, who little attend to the extreme Accuracy of Style. It is one great advantage that results from the Art of printing, that an Author may correct his works, as long as he lives." Beauchamp, not editing texts for the "Generality of Readers," and thinking, as Samuel Johnson did in his Preface to Shakespeare, that "to an editor nothing is a trifle by which his author is obscured," began in the 1970s by discovering, and then exploring, the trails of revisions left by Hume in his two enquiries.

The editor's work began with the examination of multiple copies of the two enquiries to identify the separate printings of each work. That this is far from a routine procedure is clearly demonstrated by the problems presented by the 1753 collected edition in four volumes, *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects*. Here is the explanation in Beauchamp's introduction to *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*: "In April 1753 Hume's printer, William Strahan, recorded printing the new edition of Hume's *Essays (Essays Moral and Political)* and also 500 copies of 'titles for 4 vols. of D<sup>o</sup>', that is, new title-pages for the pre-1753 stock of all the works that were henceforth to be constituents of the collected *Essays and Treatises*. Along with the new (fourth) edition of *Essays Moral and Political*, which was designated Volume 1, the bookseller reissued the third edition, with the same volume number and date, but also erroneously called the 'Fourth' edition. . . . The reissue of the *Philosophical Essays* as Volume 2 was correctly designated the second edition; that of the *Political Discourses* as Volume 4, the third edition. The reissue of *EPM* as Volume 3, being still the first edition, was unnumbered." Thus, between 1753 and 1758 a bookseller might have for sale "any of the various combinations of the 1753, 1754, and 1756 issues and editions of the individual works," as well as an evolving first collected edition made up of old and new editions, in an array of combinations (pp. xxv-xxvi and table, p. xxvii).

Hume revised the first enquiry in ten subsequent editions and the second enquiry in nine subsequent editions. Ten copies of the 1772 copy-texts were optically scanned to identify stop-press corrections, and variants from all the editions were collected by sight collations and computer collations of multiple copies. For many years it had been argued that an editor should choose the first posthumous edition of a work for the copy-text because it was likely to have the author's final revisions. In the 1950s Sir Walter Greg and Fredson Bowers argued that, although the first posthumous edition might well contain substantive (verbal) changes, the text would also contain hundreds, if not thousands, of unauthorized changes in the "accidentals" (formal features: spelling, punctuation, etc.), which in earlier centuries were the responsibility of the compositor. Hence, they argued, the first edition should be chosen as the copy-text because the formal features of the text are likely to be closest to the authorial manuscript. The substantive variants were to be inserted into the formal features of the first edition. John M. Robson, however, in an article in *Editing Nineteenth-Century Texts* (1967), argued that in cases such as John Stuart Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*, where Mill had continued to revise in order to keep abreast of developments in the economy and to clarify his ideas, the final edition revised by the author should serve as the copy-text because it was the version that continued to be reprinted and, therefore, had been influential in the history of ideas. Robson's argument is clearly valid for the two enquiries. When this argument is joined to the fact that Hume carefully read the proofs for every edition, down to adjusting spelling and punctuation, the best choice of copy-text must be the last authorial edition of 1772 (which Hume told Strahan he examined "carefully five times over"). Hume continued to revise his works up to the time of his death, and these final revisions were incorporated into the 1777 posthumous edition. Yet since Hume did not read the proofs, and it is impossible in this case to separate Hume's punctuation from that of the compositor, the formal features in that edition have no authority. Beauchamp sensibly follows the Greg-Bowers theory here, incorporating the substantive changes from 1777 into the formal features of the 1772 edition. Anyone examining the textual apparatus will appreciate the wisdom of this decision.

As pleasant as it is to hold these volumes in hand and read Hume's two enquiries in reliable texts in elegant type, and as gratifying as it must be to Tom Beauchamp to have thirty years of devotion to the writings of Hume brought to such a splendid conclusion, it is worth remembering that the world of scholarship has changed drastically since the 1970s, when this project was first conceived. It is essential that the Clarendon Edition be in searchable form on the Internet. Decades of editorial work to establish reliable texts for the two enquiries will be lost when students turn to Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO), for example, and quote any text they happen to find there. Tom Beauchamp has attended to "the extreme Accuracy of Style" that Hume demanded and has produced reliable texts of the two enquiries, edited to the highest standards. Editions for the ages, such as these, should be preserved.

O M Brack, Jr., Arizona State University

Daniel Carey, *Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson: Contesting Diversity in the Enlightenment and Beyond*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. x + 260.

Daniel Carey's very interesting book provides an alternative narrative for modern British philosophy: instead of Locke, Berkeley, and Hume, we have Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson. The two narratives are not mutually exclusive, but Carey's alternative narrative brings into focus the problem of the diversity of peoples, customs, and practices, which in turn casts new light on the traditional topics. For example, in Carey's account, Locke the natural historian draws on human diversity to criticize the Stoic doctrine of innateness and flirts with conventionalist doctrines and Epicurean moral motivation in the process. I think Carey underestimates the importance of Locke's deductive moral science and the natural laws that it dictates as the stable core of morality. But clearly Locke's moral theory, as espoused in the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, is minimalist, and diversity of "practical principles" is pivotal for Locke's theory of knowledge from the earliest drafts of the *Essay*.

In Carey's narrative, Shaftesbury responds to Locke with a neo-Stoical account of natural moral principles and natural sociability. Carey's story, insofar as it stresses Stoical *prolepsis* as "innate" moral predisposition connected with sociability, inadvertently underscores that Shaftesbury's pivotal opponent was less Locke than Hobbes in its many guises. Carey might also have deployed Shaftesbury's use of literary form (mentioned at p. 120) to better effect, since it seems basic to Shaftesbury's own attitudes toward diversity. The Stoical idea that the world is a stage and men and women players was taken to heart by Shaftesbury to an amazing degree in the rhetorical structure of the *Characteristicks*, with its many characters, personae, inquiries, dialogues, letters, and etchings. Seemingly destructive diversity was drawn into beautiful harmony.

Shaftesbury was a great influence on the young Francis Hutcheson of the Molesworth circle in Dublin. Carey argues that Hutcheson united Shaftesbury's Stoicism with a Lockean theory of perception, reconciling Locke's criticism of innate principles and Shaftesbury's reliance on innate principle. Carey catalogues the different accounts of this problem in the secondary literature and provides a skillful and careful analysis of the different solutions in Hutcheson's own texts and editions, centering on Hutcheson's distinction between benevolence and reason as combining Shaftesbury's *prolepsis* with rational calculation (p. 178). In this context, Carey might have drawn out the connection between the moral sense and the sense of beauty (but see p. 182), where Hutcheson like Shaftesbury stressed unity in diversity as the source of beauty, but resting on structural features of our perception that united disparate contents into a harmonious whole. This approach would later be crucial to Hutcheson's providentialist utilitarianism.

Carey's edifying discussion of Hutcheson concludes with a brief discussion of the post-Hutchesonian Scottish response to diversity. Hume's "A Dialogue" (attached to the end of the second *Enquiry*) and Smith's account of custom in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* are seen as attempts to deal with diversity, and the stadial history associated with Lord Kames, Adam Ferguson, and Dugald Stewart is depicted as a means of explaining rudeness and difference in a coherent historical scheme. It seems that the central figure driving the response to diversity, in particular for Kames and Ferguson, is not Hutcheson but Rousseau, and the problem has become very different. Also, where is Lord Monboddo? But this brief section is meant as an addendum to the discussion of Hutcheson.

*Locke, Shaftesbury, and Hutcheson* is a valuable work and suggests innovative ways to rethink traditional questions. That said, the book often feels like two stories cobbled into one: one about diversity and travel narrative, and the other about innate principles and Stoicism. Although Carey does an admirable job of uniting the two, sometimes the book moves back and forth a bit too abruptly, and they do not always seem naturally connected. The importance of diversity seems less pressing for Shaftesbury and Hutcheson than for Locke, and the status of Stoic theories less pressing for Locke than for Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. This may have to do with the origin of the book in briefer essays. Still, Carey's book is bursting with interesting ideas and is an excellent addition to intellectual history and to the literature on all three of its major figures.

Aaron Garrett, Boston University

Colin A. McLaren, *Aberdeen Students, 1600–1860*. With translations by Morton A. E. Gauld and analytical tables by Rachel Hart. Aberdeen: University of Aberdeen, 2005. Pp. xi + 211.

Even though we know a good deal about various aspects of the Scottish universities during the long eighteenth century, too little work has been done on the different dimensions of student life in the period. Colin McLaren's study of the student bodies at King's and Marischal Colleges is thus especially welcome, for it broadens our understanding of the history of the two Aberdeen colleges and provides a useful model for future research on the students who attended institutions of higher learning in early modern Scotland. In certain respects, the story that McLaren has to tell is a typically Scottish one of the progression from rudeness to refinement. It is sobering to be reminded that in the seventeenth century especially, many students smoked and drank heavily, carried weapons,



routinely got into fights with their fellows and/or townspeople, and occasionally vandalized property. Behavior became a little more civil in the era of the Enlightenment, but it was only in the nineteenth century that the students at Marischal and King's began to regulate their own actions according to what McLaren calls a "code of honour" and could therefore be said to be truly "polite." Over the two-and-a-half centuries covered by this book, there was also a qualitative improvement in the standard of learning acquired by the students while they were at King's and Marischal. For although the regents and professors were, on the whole, content to recycle the same lectures from year to year (during what in some cases were remarkably long teaching careers), the students in 1860 were in most respects better educated than their predecessors. Significantly, for the majority of those recorded as attending the Aberdeen colleges, gaining a formal degree was not a sufficiently powerful motive to promote academic achievement, insofar as less than half of them graduated. Rather, the students were prompted to apply themselves to their studies because of a growing desire for self-improvement and, in the nineteenth century, they sought to avoid the stigma of being perceived as failures by their classmates by working hard and doing well in the examinations for the bursaries and prizes that proliferated in the decades preceding the union of the colleges. Moreover, higher education was increasingly becoming a vehicle for social mobility. McLaren's statistics regarding social origins and future careers suggest that students from the lower ranks of society often went to the two colleges with a view to entering the professions, with medicine being the most common choice. At King's at least, the diversification of the student body in turn produced an element of class conflict among a group that was already divided between Highlanders and Lowlanders, but fortunately these tensions did not manifest themselves in higher levels of violent behavior. Hence changes in ethos and aspiration, combined with the use of private tutors and improved access to books and library resources, probably played a more prominent role in raising the standards of education than the curriculum reforms or the other pedagogical innovations introduced at King's and Marischal prior to 1860.

McLaren deploys a wide range of judiciously selected details to flesh out these major themes, and he supplies a wealth of information about a host of subsidiary topics. As one might expect, a number of piquant turns of phrase enliven his characteristically lucid prose, and his illustrations are all well chosen. *Aberdeen Students* is a notable contribution to the literature on higher education in early modern Scotland, and hopefully it will achieve the wide circulation that it so richly deserves.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

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. Pp. xxvi + 813.

Richard Sher's study of Edinburgh Enlightenment books is the most valuable work I have read in over a decade, and my specialty is *not* eighteenth-century Scotland. *The Enlightenment and the Book* is a reference book that I have annotated on every page, certain that I will frequently consult its survey of scholarship, its compendium of biographical information, and its gleanings from publication histories, which record, for instance, the settlement periods between publications and the payment of authors' commissions. Moreover, I found it a compelling story, superbly organized and illustrated. Sher has several book-length theses: his book is "three volumes bound as one." The first three chapters offer a group-portrait of authors in their diversity, examining how they maintained a Scottish identity and benefited from evolving methods of patronage, subscription campaigns, fraternal relations, and negotiations with publishers, thus taking "authorship to a new level of commercial success" (p. 36). Chapters 4–6 develop the book's central and most innovative thesis: that productive connections between Scottish authors and Scottish publishers—including those working in London and outside Britain—principally fostered the Scottish Enlightenment. The most crucial connection was the one that Andrew Millar, then Millar and William Strahan, and then Strahan and Thomas Cadell, Sr. (and their descendants) brokered and maintained with Edinburgh publishers, particularly Alexander Kincaid, John Balfour, and William Creech. The syndicated co-publishers benefited by cornering the best Scottish books, holding down the prices paid for copy, and protecting their property from others (pp. 343–57). But, symbiotically, the authors received wider circulation and better remuneration, and the public was served (as Cadell noted) by receiving more "Capital Productions" of Enlightenment thought (p. 446).

Sher puts a wealth of manuscripts to use in detailing the benefits and difficulties arising from relations between authors and publishers, as well as from relations between publishers in Scotland, London, and outside Britain. Millar is the ground-breaker, but Strahan is the protagonist of the middle chapter (p. 334). Sher reveals interesting facets of deep-pocketed Londoners' engagements with Scottish authors, such as Strahan's suspicion that major Scottish authors were exaggerating the value of manuscripts and failing to respect his critical judgments and to recognize that the publishers risked getting a bad reputation in London for favoring Scots (pp. 350–52). Strahan was remarkable in his manipulation and guidance of Kincaid, Creech, and others. Since Kincaid's junior partner John Bell was not working amicably with Cadell, Strahan pushed Kincaid from 1768 to replace Bell with Creech,

until Creech gained the position in 1771. Strahan's letters are full of advice, and sometimes admonishment, for Creech (p. 414). The flexible syndicate that Millar initiated, working from 1758 to 1767 with Kincaid & Bell (p. 316), and that Cadell and Strahan solidified, published a surprising number of works by Scottish Enlightenment authors and made many authors, as well as Cadell, Strahan, and Creech, famous and rich (p. 413). Creech suffered an unequal partnership and appeared a traitor to Scottish publishers when he supported perpetual copyright (pp. 414–16), but he was Scotland's foremost publisher for nearly two decades, co-publishing with Cadell and Strahan a ninth of the first editions of the 360 Enlightenment books in table 2 and publishing many more with others (such as William Smellie) and by himself (most notably Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, pp. 424–27). Sher provides dozens of suspenseful accounts of career-making (and career-breaking) battles to publish Scottish Enlightenment books. It sometimes borders on hagiography (many Scottish publishers were devout men with a vocation).

As a survey, Sher's book moves through generalizations about authors and/or publishers, proceeding with examples; for instance, we get the most profit or sale, the least, the norm, and then examples whose complications reveal specific practices or the like. Given that Sher has read so much scholarship and so many primary materials, especially manuscripts, his examples are sufficient to create great confidence in generalizations about Scottish authors and about publishers in Edinburgh and London and, to a lesser extent, in Dublin and Philadelphia, too. Sher is usually very precise in phrasing his claims and couches them in caveats (such as those regarding varying motives for publication). Rarely does his thematic thrust lead to remarks that would be challenged as overstatements, though there are some: remarks on Strahan's exceptionality might be partly checked by comparisons to Jacob Tonsen and Samuel Richardson, and it may be over-dramatizing to say that Scottish publishing in 1758 was at a "crossroads" (p. 314) between over-dependence on reprinting (represented by Alexander Donaldson) and producing new titles (represented by Kincaid). Also, overviews at the start and close of each section provide all the more accuracy from rephrasing.

In addition, Sher adds muscle to his induction by repeatedly referring to his table of 360 works of the Scottish Enlightenment for statistical support. After an initial table listing 115 Scottish Enlightenment authors, table 2, the book's empirical pillar, details these 360 titles, with each entry running across two pages (pp. 620–87). The bibliography is organized chronologically, then by author, and then by title (including format, volumes, price, topic, and popularity rating), and then by the place and publisher of the first edition, and of the first Irish and American editions (with format, volumes, and price, when known). This table lends support and specificity to general remarks about authors (e.g., pp. 257–58, noting 47 of 93 titles with known authorial remuneration over £450); books (e.g., pp. 153–56, on the infrequency of anonymous books); publishing methods (e.g., pp. 225 and 235, on subscriptions); places of publication (e.g., pp. 269–70, on 345 of the 360 first editions being published in Edinburgh or London, and only 8 in Glasgow); publishers (e.g., p. 272, on Millar and his successors being in the imprints of 140 of 360 first editions, and Kincaid and Creech being in 89); origin of reprints (e.g., pp. 448 and 508, on 136 of the 360 books' being reprinted in Dublin, and 80 in America). In the next edition, I would place the key before the table, not after it (pp. 688–89), for it could go unnoticed. Much of the data in table 2 are sorted further in subsequent tables on subjects and formats, numbers of editions, publishers, and Irish publishers of reprints. General quantitative data on the trade are also drawn from the ESTC (e.g., p. 443, on numbers of reprints in Dublin and Philadelphia).

Sher is most authoritative in his treatment of authors in the first three chapters and of the publishers of their works in the next three. These six chapters are tightly knit. The final three chapters, on "Reprinting the Scottish Enlightenment in Dublin and Philadelphia," might have formed a separate book, though they benefit from the historical thrust of earlier chapters, and there is economy in their sharing the appended tables and the extensive bibliography and index. This is important material for intellectual history and for the study of the Irish and American book trades, revealing, for instance, that Dublin booksellers produced more prestigious, lengthy works than Strahan and others—or modern scholars—give them credit for. In addition, these chapters shed light on the history of the British book trade. For instance, Sher can argue that the House of Lords' rejection of perpetual copyright in 1774 is not likely to have caused "soaring book production at the end of the eighteenth century" since significant growth of the book trade also occurred in Ireland and America, where the Lords' decision changed nothing (p. 29).

Sher's study of the available literature is so extensive and current (including 2006 publications) that anything he fails to mention is very possibly virgin territory. For instance, since there is no mention of *Rules of the Company of Booksellers. Being their resolutions digested and ranged under proper heads* (an undated 8-page octavo in the Houghton Library at Harvard) within Sher's discussion of the "United Company of Booksellers" that flourished in Dublin from 1774 into the 1790s, I assume that nothing has been published on it. Sher often identifies

areas where work needs be done (e.g., p. 147, n. 117). The accounts of the Irish and American book trades are less in depth, but even here there is much of note, such as Sher's use of the Graisbury ledgers to flesh out the United Company of Booksellers. Although Sher has much of value to say about Robert Bell in Philadelphia, he has no satisfactory explanation for why Bell seems to have published only one book during the years 1779–81, and someone might well contest his claim that "Scottish books remained central to his publishing program" after the war (p. 531), or even that it was central before the war (literary classics by Thomson, Young, and others dwarf his editions of works by Scottish authors), though I admit that Sher makes a good case for Bell's trying unsuccessfully to make Scottish authors central.

Although principally focused on authorship and the history of publishing, Sher repeatedly attends closely to the editions themselves, particularly their formats, title pages and prelims, and plates. He raises questions that require further bibliographical examination, such as whether books printed by specific Boston printers bore London imprints (pp. 475, 511), which imprints were smuggled into Great Britain, and whether any had facsimile title pages (p. 466). These piracies often exist in very few copies, making detection difficult. The soft underbelly of book history is its failure to examine many books. Yet I note almost no errors for editions that I have examined. One is the claim that the "frontispiece portrait" of Smollett "originally appeared in the 1762 'new' edition" of the *Continuation of the Complete History of England* (pp. 167, 169), whereas the portrait is regularly bound before the first three-sheet weekly issue dated 1760, as directed by a note to binders in volume 4; nor can one speak of "editions of volumes" of a work issued in three-sheet numbers that were reset as needed (copies with the same date on the first number's title page often have different settings of the subsequent numbers). Many of Sher's 63 illustrations provide material support for claims about editions, such as the plates on the Graisbury ledgers and a Dublin imprint illuminating the Dublin booksellers' corporate publications and membership (pp. 480–81).

It is easy to see why the University of Chicago Press thinks *The Enlightenment and the Book* can sell enough copies to justify its low price (\$40, yet under \$30 on Amazon). With heart, vision, and art, this tome fundamentally embodies the patriotic and enlightened campaign for Scottish learning that it celebrates.

James E. May, Penn State University, DuBois

*The General Correspondence of James Boswell, 1757–1763*. Edited by David Hankins and James J. Caudle. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press. Pp. lxxvii + 486.

This is the ninth volume of James Boswell's correspondence in a series that was initiated in 1966. It contains 150 surviving letters, including dedications and verse epistles, written to or by thirty-seven different correspondents from April 1757, when Boswell was sixteen, to July 1763, just before he sailed to Holland. Overall more than twice as many letters to Boswell as from him survive, but he wrote almost two-thirds of those printed here. Some are brief notes, some fill several packed pages, and a draft verse letter to Laurence Sterne contains 196 lines. The volume also describes seventy-eight pieces of "general correspondence" that were certainly or possibly sent during this period by Boswell, to Boswell, or in connection with Boswell, unlocated texts that introduce twenty-one additional correspondents. There is also a detailed chronology, a list of correspondents and letters, a forty-three-page introduction, and a thirty-eight-page index.

This volume overlaps in time with two others already published and two that are planned, and for both ends of this long period it is primarily supplemental. The twenty-one surviving letters that Boswell and William Temple exchanged in 1756–60, plus the three Boswell wrote to John Johnston in 1759–60, far outnumber the nine to eleven included here from these years. Still, these relatively few letters indicate the range of Boswell's contacts and offer glimpses of several key relationships, including those with the Irish playwright Samuel Derrick, who in 1760 had helped Boswell "obtain the acquaintance of many of the wits of the metropolis" (p. xlvi) and with two important role models throughout this period: the actor West Digges and the Earl of Eglinton.

For the months from 15 November 1762 through 3 August 1763—the period described in *Boswell's London Journal 1762–1763*—this collection contains forty-three items, seventeen of which survive only because copied into Boswell's journal. But forty-two letters to Johnston survive from these thirty-seven weeks, along with nine of Johnston's eighteen replies. The forthcoming volume of correspondence with the Scottish literati will contain material essential for understanding Boswell's central struggles during this London visit, especially his correspondence with Sir David Dalrymple, whom Boswell asked in February 1763 to "take a charge of me" (*London Journal*, p. 188), after which the two wrote almost weekly (fourteen letters from Dalrymple survive and seven from Boswell). The planned Family Correspondence will contain ten letters Boswell's father, Lord Auchinleck, sent as his heir sought to assert or negotiate his independence, along with the important letter his mother wrote on 7 March 1763.

But the letters included here, plus the forty-three known or thought to have been written, help suggest the



full range of Boswell's contacts during this well-documented period. Six of the seven surviving letters between Boswell and William McQuhae, one of Boswell's closest friends in 1762–63, were written during this long stay in London, offering a striking contrast to most of the other letters in this volume. Descriptions of the letters Boswell wrote late at night on 25 July to several key figures in the legal world of Edinburgh are also richly suggestive.

If other volumes of correspondence do or will contain more (and more significant) material for the first and last part of this period, this volume contains the bulk of Boswell's correspondence for the period from 1 April 1761, when he wrote the first of four letters to the Countess of Northumberland (one of whose responses survives), through to his departure for London on 15 November 1762. Nor will any other single volume provide such a rich view of Boswell's early self-fashioning. For these eighteen and a half months—months from which one letter to Temple survives and four to Johnston—this volume contains ninety-eight letters. These include verse epistles and letters to (and in one case from) several young women, Boswell's dedication of *The Cub at Newmarket* to the Duke of York, and his anonymous dedication of his *Ode to Tragedy* (by "a Gentleman of Scotland") to James Boswell, Esquire; and the three page letter "From a GENTLEMAN of SCOTLAND to the EARL of \*\*\* [Eglington] in London." All five of the letters that survive from Boswell to Thomas Sheridan also come from these months, showing Boswell's skillful flattery and suggesting what he sought from the man who was then his major mentor ("My Socrates" [pp. 111, 208]); and the sole surviving response illustrates some of the savvy, supportive ways Sheridan satisfied Boswell's needs.

Above all 1761–62 was when the Erskine–Boswell friendship flourished in exuberant, self-consciously clever letters, full of poetry and self-applause: twenty-two from Erskine, thirty-one (or forty-four) from Boswell, plus one written a day after Boswell reached London where Erskine and some of his family soon joined him. We can track the trajectory of this friendship, compare the quality of each man's verbal and imaginative playfulness, and contrast how Boswell wrote Erskine with how he wrote other correspondents in this volume elsewhere. Erskine's early letters to Boswell exist only as perhaps revised for *Letters between the Honourable Andrew Erskine, and James Boswell, Esq.*, published in April 1763. Eight of Boswell's letters to Erskine are also available only as printed. But thirteen of his eventually printed letters are also included as originally written, allowing us to note all the small and large changes Boswell made in 1763. This volume also contains ten letters to Erskine not included in the published book, encouraging speculation about Boswell's principles of selection. Since in each of his three major publications Boswell revised himself and his friendships for public display, as is noted in the introduction (p. liv), it is helpful to study these first efforts in some detail.

Work on these early letters has been richly collaborative. David Hankins, in his 1964 Indiana dissertation on the "Early Correspondence of James Boswell: 1757–1766," acknowledged his debt to Charles H. Bennett, "whose work on the Andrew Erskine correspondence was virtually completed before his death," and whose "accuracy of . . . annotation and . . . insight into both Boswell and Erskine have set a standard I have found it hard to maintain throughout the rest of the edition" (p. lxi n. 29). James J. Caudle acknowledges the foundational work of both Bennett and Hankins along with the scholarship of many others over several generations and the help of those now connected with the Boswell Papers at Yale (pp. xv–xvi). The result is remarkably detailed and informative. The substantial introduction, though occasionally repetitious, is always knowledgeable and insightful. It opens by calling attention to the changes that occurred in Boswell's life between April 1757 and July 1763, then concludes by noting how when Boswell returned to London in 1766 after an absence thirty months and reread the Erskine–Boswell letters he winced at most of what he had proudly revised just three years earlier. In between it amply sketches the contexts within which these letters were written and calls attention to Boswell's stylistic experiments. The bulk of the introduction surveys the various categories of male friendships embodied in these letters, charts Boswell's evolving ideas about friendship, and also usefully considers "the rhetoric of female friendship and love," since Boswell corresponded with a number of interesting women, often half-seriously playing the role of suitor, sometimes angling for patronage, always seeking self-affirmation.

All the letters—those previously in print and those now published for the first time—are meticulously annotated, and each of the many correspondents and most individuals mentioned in letters are fully described, their relationships with Boswell being traced from start to finish. On average there are about two pages of double-column, small-font notes for every page of surviving letter. Erskine's mention of the Abbey of Holyroodhouse, for instance, prompts a note almost half a page long about its connection with King James V and Queen Mary and its place in Boswell's imagination (p. 171), and McQuhae's wonder that Boswell was "unhappy with two hundred a year, a Sum which is double my highest Ambition" (p. 329), is contextualized with a long note concerning eighteenth-century incomes (p. 330). Only once did the annotation seem deficient. We read that Bruce Campbell had insisted that Boswell "should call on a Lady of the Town named Miss Watts and treat her" with a bottle of sherry (p. 418), but we are not told that Boswell sought her out on 11 May and again on 19 May, or what happened

(*London Journal*, pp. 256, 263).

As in any collection with so many details, there are several errors, but only one that I noticed might cause momentary confusion. In the letter from McQuhae on 26 April 1763 there are two notes 39 (p. 406), though the second endnote is correctly numbered 43 (p. 416). Two omissions, however, do make the text less useful than it might have been. The first concerns the helpful three-page chronology, which deliberately stops at 15 November 1762. Though anyone reading these letters will probably know the *London Journal*, readers would still have benefited if the chronology listed key events from these nine months. The second omission is the journal letter Boswell wrote Erskine from 5 to 22 July 1763, "A Minced Pye of Savoury Ingredients For the Honourable Andrew Erskine" (Yale MS L528), which will be published in the research volume of Boswell's journals, 1758–63. If it had been included here, however, this volume would have contained all Boswell's surviving letters to Erskine except for one from 1768 and another from 1793 (see p. 442 n. 1). In addition, this letter, unlike the mock review Boswell sent Erskine on 26 July, hints at the changes in Boswell and in his relationship with Erskine that are suggestively discussed in the introduction (pp. liii–liv, lxxiv–lxxxv). Including this letter would also have given Samuel Johnson an appropriately large role in a letter from the month when he became a major figure in Boswell's world.

Though I lament these omissions, I appreciate and applaud the scholarly effort that produced this generously annotated volume, and I am eager to see the next collections to be published by Edinburgh and Yale.

John B. Radner, George Mason University

James Boswell, *An Account of Corsica, The Journal of a Tour to That Island, and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by James T. Boulton and T. O. McLoughlin. New York: Oxford University Press, 2006. Pp. lii + 250.

In an entry for 14–22 June 1765 in the unpublished diary of his Italian tour with Lord Mountstuart, James Boswell explained that introductions to historical narratives were a means to encapsulate the authors' intentions "briavemente" (Boswell's Frenchified Italian for "brevemente," briefly). James T. Boulton and T. O. McLoughlin's exhaustive introduction to the first unabridged reprint in English of *An Account of Corsica, The Journal of a Tour to That Island, and Memoirs of Pascal Paoli* for more than two centuries belies this Boswellian notion, for the sake of scholarly variety and eclecticism. Besides the critical introduction, the edition is enriched with a vast array of illustrations, notes, and appendices, a textual apparatus, and two useful indexes of subjects and names.

The survey of the European historical background is dense and insightful. The fanciful letters sent to the British court by Felice Frederick (1725?–1795), a low-life being (as Boswell thought), the self-proclaimed son of Theodor von Neuhoff (1694–1756), who reigned over Corsica for only a few months in 1736, kept alive the Anglo-Corsican fantasy. The editors paint the influence of John Wilkes on Boswell's young mind in vivid colors, but they do not fully delineate the troubled political landscape of the 1760s, with its factious and riotous undertones. The personal relationship between Wilkes and Boswell was more unsettling than the editors give us to understand. Corsica was a means for Wilkes to give vent to his radical opinions. For Boswell, the Corsican cause was a full-fledged sentiment that brought about "the sympathetic emotion of virtue" (as Lord Kames called it), feeding Boswell's campaign in favor of the "brave Corsicans." Boswell faithfully registered the variations of his mind regarding Wilkes in his journals. His reason and his imagination were at loggerheads with each other, and after the publication of his *Corsica* in 1768, Boswell realized that parading about with Wilkes after the first Middlesex election (28 March 1768) would hinder the Corsican cause.

The editors' focus on history in the introduction cleverly highlights Boswell's teleological, whiggish faith in what Hume derisively called a "regular plan of liberty." The interplay, widely commented upon by the editors, between the account, (the historical narrative) and the journal (the biographical piece of writing centered on Pascal Paoli) enhances Boswell's use of Hugh Blair's concept of "the moral, or sentimental Sublime" in the telling of events that are both historical and personal. The editorial analysis of the sources is thorough, although Boswell's deft manipulation of some of his Greek sources might have been stressed. As Bruce Redford has observed in *Designing the Life of Johnson* (p. 11), Boswell took over the historian's and "the biographer's role[s] as manufacturer [s]." He transformed the original text of Diodorus of Sicily (p. 133) on the primitive rite of brooding to glorify Corsican husbands—no surprise, considering what he said of Corsican women in an unpublished draft, as amply corroborated by the editors' punctilious annotation, with its myriad of excerpts from the manuscript of *An Account of Corsica*. The soul-searching reworking of the manuscript, which the editors illustrate with forceful examples, allows the reader to apprehend what Philippe Lejeune calls, in his 1998 book of the same name, "les brouillons de soi": the drafts of the self. The first extensive addendum comprising Boswell's regular contributions to the *London Chronicle* gives a clear-cut picture of Boswell, the versatile, crafty political campaigner and man of letters, but it is to be regretted that the editors did not include any of his wild "inventions," the gems of his art of puffing. One may

err on the side of exhaustiveness and pine for additional notes on some Corsican data. By way of example, the "Statuti Civili et Criminali" (p. 98) would have been worth a few words of commentary. The reference to the aggrandized "patriotick nation" (p.137) serves only Boswell's purpose as a propagandist, since contemporary accounts put the number of Corsicans at only about 120,000. The rare misprints in the annotation (see for example the note on Cesare Crescienzo de Angelis, the apostolic visitor, on p. 142) come as a surprise, considering the excellence of the whole critical apparatus.

The sartorial flamboyance of the picture of Boswell as an armed Corsican chief (facing p. 187) is well suited to this impressive edition. Will the uninformed reader notice, however, the difference between the staff sported by Boswell, "with a bird finely carved upon it, emblematical of the sweet bard of Avon" (*London Magazine*, Sept. 1769, p. 455), and the Corsican warriors' traditional weapon, called "a corsesca," which Cesare Ripa described in his *Iconologia* (1630)? The illustration unfortunately harked back to Corsica "in better days" and did not bode well for the future of an island that Boswell and the current editors have so generously transfigured. The 2007 public commemoration of the bicentenary of Pascal Paoli's death celebrates enlightened statesmanship on an island that is still searching for its identity.

**Marie-Jeanne Colombani, Institut d'Etudes Politiques, Paris**

Arnold E. Burkhart, *Songs and Tunes from the Scottish Enlightenment*. Victoria, BC: Trafford Publications, 2005. Pp. viii + 175.

Arnold E. Burkhart found an interesting old collection of Scottish sheet music and has done all of us who are interested in the music of Scotland the great favor of making it available to the public instead of leaving it on a bottom shelf forgotten as someone before him had. It is an eclectic mix of songs, dances, and parlor music from a great variety of Scottish publishers from the late eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries, typical of private collections of music from that period. With a music educator's zeal, the author approaches both the subject of Scottish history and Scottish music from the perspective of one who previously knew little of either and assumes the same of his readers.

The resulting postage-stamp version of Scottish history is carefully selected and does give the newcomer to things Scottish a place from which to start. Burkhart's categorizations of the kinds of music extant in Scotland in this period depend heavily on the works of scholars who have indeed devoted much of their life's work to the subject. David Johnson (*Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century*), George Emmerson (*Scotland Through Her Country Dances*), and Francis Collinson ("Scotland: Folk Music" in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*) are referenced liberally throughout the text. As noted, there is a great deal of cross-over between what is termed popular and traditional or folk music in this period of Scotland's history. The remarkable thing about that time was that for a few decades the whole population enjoyed the same tunes, songs, and dances! And on occasion they even played, danced, and sang them together in the same place and at the same time. To whatever extent this work causes a "new" audience to "discover" this important realization, the book will have performed a great service. Spiral bound, the book is performance friendly and lends itself well to being placed on a music stand to allow the reader to play through the more than fifty tunes that it contains. Typos are nearly impossible to avoid entirely and even harder to detect when one's readers are not familiar with the place names involved. On page 90 the reference to Niel Gow receiving lessons at age thirteen should be from John Cameron of Grandtully, not "Grandfully," as it appears.

As mentioned at the beginning of this review, the redeeming value of this book is that the author took the time and trouble to get excited by his discovery and then to put forth a considerable amount of effort to make it available to others. It is always worthwhile to introduce a new audience to the world of traditional Scottish music.

**John W. Turner, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation**

Richard L. Hills, *James Watt, Volume 2: The Years of Toil, 1775-1785*. Ashbourne, UK: Landmark Publishing, 2005. Pp. 256.

Richard L. Hills, *James Watt, Volume 3: Triumph through Adversity, 1785-1819*. Ashbourne, UK: Landmark Publishing, 2006. Pp. 288.

Richard Hills's detailed biography of James Watt is bound to become a standard resource on the topic. Hills has thoroughly familiarized himself with the Boulton-Watt (Soho) archives and weaves the elements of Watt's life together with a clear exposition of the technical content of his inventions. Volume 1—which I reviewed



in the last issue of this periodical (no. 20, Spring 2006, 32–33)—covers Watt’s early life in Scotland. Volume 2 handles the decade 1775–85, when Watt and his business partner Matthew Boulton established themselves financially, technically, and legally as suppliers of dependable steam engines. The third volume stretches from 1785 to Watt’s death in 1819 and is perhaps more interesting in human terms. Until the end of the century, Watt experienced a number of setbacks. Defending patents was nasty and difficult business in late eighteenth-century Britain, and Watt and Boulton struggled to protect their legal monopoly against those who refused to pay a premium for using their designs. Watt simultaneously pursued unsuccessful ventures involving the chemical manufacture of chlorine bleach and gases for medical application. He also lost two of his three children during this time, no doubt making the fruits of his technical virtuosity even more bittersweet. During the final two decades of his life, however, the balance of history swung his way, returning the luster to Watt’s life and accomplishments. By the time of his death, Watt enjoyed financial stability and a growing reputation as one of Britain’s leading engineers.

Given the enormous breadth and depth of materials in the Soho archives, Hills presents his biography as an invitation for others to explore further the various episodes he describes. This leads me to pose two questions: what is the relationship between (this) biography and the history of technology, and why should historians of Scotland be interested in James Watt?

The contours of biographies take shape in the interstices between what authors do and do not write. This depends not only on what factual details an author includes but also on the interpretive context in which those details are set. Hills draws his contours largely from an Anglo-centric vision of the technical developments traditionally associated with the first stirrings of the Industrial Revolution—a vision that stresses Great Britain’s innovative uniqueness, followed by international diffusion and various degrees of successful adaptation by other nations. In chapter 6 of the second volume, for example, Hills treats Watt and Boulton’s attempts to gain foreign patents for their work, commenting that foreign sales prior to 1800 were disappointing. One might argue that little is included about the broader history of steam engine development in Europe (about which we still have much to learn) because the book’s focus is on Watt. But such a response is only justified by a prior construction of his life as primarily circumscribed by his own activities and related events that took place in the more limited geographical context of Britain. Another way of saying this is to argue that what first counted were personal, socio-technological, and economic developments that took place in Britain; once these are taken into consideration, it is possible to consider a broader geography of interaction between Watt, Boulton, and their steam engine, on one hand, and foreign relations on the other. We therefore encounter Watt and Boulton as a skittish pair who fear that one of their engineers, Jabez Hornblower, might divulge secrets to potential customers in the Netherlands if not kept busy elsewhere while they organized a Dutch patent to protect their design (2:137). In fact, the situation was much more complicated than Hills describes. If Watt and Boulton had reason to be wary, so did their foreign contacts and customers.

Hills mentions but does not develop one salient example involving the Comte d’Hérouville (misspelled as d’Heronville), who lobbied extensively on their behalf for a patent in France but found himself bypassed at a crucial stage. In the Netherlands, local experts worried about Watt and Boulton providing misleading drawings and incomplete information in order to maintain their competitive edge. Since their primary customer in the Netherlands was the secretary of a non-commercial scientific society, Boulton and Watt’s lack of total openness raised questions about their trustworthiness and, by extension, the claimed superiority of their product.

The Netherlands, like many areas in Europe, witnessed active competition among numerous engineers who sought to gain contracts for their own steam engine designs and services. Significantly, a number of these men were not British. Rather, the trajectories of their entrepreneurial inventiveness traced out patterns of productive circulation that extended across the continent and beyond. The map of their activities looks very different from the traditional image of technological innovation spreading out from Britain to the rest of the world. Indeed, their cumulative careers reflect recent studies of the Industrial Revolution, which demonstrate that “British” industrialization during the second half of the long eighteenth century was a European affair (see, for example, Leandro Prados de la Escosura, ed., *Exceptionalism and Industrialisation: Britain and Its European Rivals, 1688–1815* [2004]).

This observation brings me to my second question: why should historians of Scotland be interested in James Watt? It surely has to do with more than the fact that he is one of the country’s more famous sons. Given Watt’s obviously important position in the history of invention and entrepreneurship in the eighteenth century, his career could be used to help to explore the complex trajectories that linked local and national economies and societies with the broader, international circulation of goods, skills, knowledge, and individuals. It was, after all, these dynamic encounters that fueled the Industrial Revolution. Now seems a good time to reconsider the place of Scotland on the map of early industrial development from this standpoint. While Hills provides much raw material for such a project, further research and reinterpretation are needed to finish the job.

Lissa Roberts, University of Twente, The Netherlands

Deborah A. Symonds, *Notorious Murders, Black Lanterns, and Moveable Goods*. Akron: University of Akron Press, 2006. Pp. xiv + 180.

To readers of this periodical, the structure of *Notorious Murders, Black Lanterns, and Moveable Goods* will irresistibly suggest the structure of Edinburgh itself. This book takes as its subject the female criminals brought before the High Court of Edinburgh in 1828, the year of the Burke and Hare murders. Deborah Symonds has chosen that year not only because of the notoriety of the case but also because she sees a transformation in Edinburgh's underworld in response to new economic conditions. The information she provides about the lives and crimes of women may be seen as the structural equivalent of the 1828, far-from-gentrified Old Town. Her overarching theme, that Marxist theory assigns agency to the underworld "shadow economy," would be the structural equivalent of the New Town, far overhead. And the sixteen murders committed by William Burke, William Hare, Lucky Log, and Helen McDougal are the bridges connecting the two sections. As in Edinburgh itself, the resulting conjunction of wynds, lands, and vistas can be picturesque and inspiring; it can also be disorienting and just plain unworkable. Tourists to Edinburgh's underworld are urged to bring additional maps and guides.

The most successful parts of the book are those dealing with women's worlds of crime and family in 1828. Margaret Veitch, Hannah Barton, and Janet Morrison and friends come to life in Symonds's hands. Symonds argues convincingly that women like these took to crime as part of the household economy. She eschews the Victorian tear-jerker approach—mothers stealing loaves of bread to feed their starving illegitimate offspring—to present women as active entrepreneurs, engaged in productive, if illegal, economic activity. As her evidence shows, such activity was often directed against other women engaged in productive, and legal, economic activity; indeed, evidence against women who stole, fenced, and murdered often came from their female neighbors. If criminal activity was organized by household, as Symonds indicates, then perhaps it would be useful to consider it a crime against other households, and to assess the reaction to it in that light.

Symonds's theoretical argument, concerning transformation of the shadow economy, is less successfully realized. If her goal is to argue against the thesis, as she puts it, "that the law changes, the enforcement of the law changes, and the economy changes, but that the poor and the ordinary people who break the law muddle along pathetically and violently from century to century" (p. 13), then her study should span a longer time period than a single year. The year 1828 was not transformative of anything else that interests her, not law, not law enforcement, and not the economy. There is no reason, then, to think that it transformed female criminality.

The year 1828 was chosen, presumably, because of the Burke and Hare murders, but even they are most usefully understood in the context of changes extending over several decades. Indeed, these "notorious murders" seem more of a distraction than a complement to Symonds's analysis. As structural bridges they have noteworthy gaps. Symonds refers to William Hare's wife as "Lucky Log" throughout and gives her authority over her household and agency over many of the murders, but her evidence is skimpy. While relying on anonymous contemporary pamphlets, Symonds has inexplicably ignored the careful discussion of the sources in Owen Dudley Edward's *Burke and Hare*. There is literally no evidence linking Burke, McDougal, Hare, or Log/Hare with any other criminal activity, and though it is reasonable to think that they might have known about criminal "gangs" in the West Port, there is no evidence linking them with any other criminals. They were not thieves "by habite and repute" (p. 12), and by all accounts they had a good character with the police. The elevation of Log/Hare into a kind of exemplary female criminal simply cannot stand up in the historians' court. In 1828, the procurator fiscal did not even try to make such a case in the High Court in Edinburgh.

Scholars interested in the Edinburgh underworld will find much to ponder in this book. They will want to supplement it with the excellent online catalog of the National Archives of Scotland, available at [www.nas.gov.uk](http://www.nas.gov.uk).

Lisa Rosner, The Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes, Siân Reynolds and Rose Pipes, eds., *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Pp. xxxiii + 403.

*The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* has been awaited with anticipation for some time. It demonstrates a warming vitality in the research of women's history in Scotland and follows hot on the heels of *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, edited by Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton, and Eileen Yeo. In the last decade of the twentieth century, John Tosh wrote that, according to feminist historians, "mainstream history suppresses the truth, what it offers is not a universal history, but a blinkered account of half the human race." But contemporary work in Scotland, individually, and collectively through Women's History Scotland, is vigorously addressing the neglected story of the "other half" of the human race.

Scotland's women have been given inadequate recognition in the investigation of the nation's history. That is changing, but while the likes of William Knox's *The Lives of Scottish Women* (2005) makes biographical

studies of ten exceptional women, indeed women who are exceptional in diverse ways, such as Madeleine Smith (1835–1928), who was accused of murdering her husband against a background of high-society intrigue and passion in nineteenth-century Glasgow, the *BDSW* includes a broad spectrum of Scottish women. There are many well-known names, but some less so. The chronological range spans two millennia, while the geographical spread acknowledges a fluidity of Scotland's topographical identity in former times. National identity as Scots women is treated with generous liberality—we are, after all, an inclusive nation. Station in life is all-encompassing, with a spectrum that ranges from queens to queans.

Well-known names from the eighteenth century include Jean Armour (1765–1834), wife of the poet Robert Burns, and Margaret Campbell, “Highland Mary” (1766–86), Burns's lover who died before their intended elopement to Jamaica. Also present are two great figures from the '45, Flora MacDonald (1722–90), who spirited the fugitive Bonnie Prince Charlie “over the sea to Skye,” and “Colonel” Anne Mackintosh (1723–87), who enlisted Highlanders to the Jacobite cause while her husband was in military service to the Hanoverian government. Other entries from this period include Elspeth Buchan (1740–91), leader of a mysterious sect that adopted her name, Susan Carnegie (1744–1821), whose philanthropic causes included the founding of Scotland's first mental asylum in 1781, Jackie Crookstone (1768–97), who led resistance against the Scottish Militia Act of 1797 before the term “conscientious objection” had been coined, and Helen Gloag (b. 1750), around whom a myth endures that she lived as a sultana in a Moroccan harem. The entry for Margaret Mackay (c. 1722–1814) illustrates the darker side of Scottish history. Bedridden, she died five days after her clearance from her Sutherland home under the instructions of Patrick Sellars, who later escaped conviction for being the cause of her death.

What makes the *BDSW* such an important addition to the chronicling of Scotland's history is that, alongside the pioneers and heroines, society ladies and grand duchesses, we find some modestly extraordinary “ordinary” women. These include, for example, Annie Hastie (1922–2002), domestic servant, Helen Cordiner (1893–1964), fish gutter, and Mary Gillon (1898–2002), tram conductress. In this vein, Mrs. McGhie was an Aberdeen innkeeper whose establishment was a meeting place for the city's literati and business elite in the 1770s. She has gone down in history, but not even her first name has survived in the records. These are just some of the examples of the broad tapestry of women who are rightly included among the more than one thousand entries. The *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* is not just about Scottish women but about the wider, and under-told, story of Scotland itself.

Iain C. Hutchison, University of Stirling

Matthew Wickman, *The Ruins of Experience: Scotland's “Romantick” Highlands and the Birth of the Modern Witness*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007. Pp. xv + 252.

Is it merely a happy coincidence that Matthew Wickman's *The Ruins of Experience* has been published in 2007, which (as I recently discovered while surfing the Web) is officially “the year Scotland celebrates Highland culture”? As I read the website's blurb, which explains that “Highland 2007 recognises and celebrates the area's culture, combining traditional and contemporary Highland culture in a reflection on the old and a celebration of the new” ([www.highland2007.com/h2007.html](http://www.highland2007.com/h2007.html)), I realized that there was no better evidence of the relevance of Wickman's new study, which skillfully theorizes and historicizes the cultural processes by which the Highlands assumed their iconic status as repository of authenticity in our (post)modern world.

In fact, this is only half the story told by this ambitious book. The other half—or rather, Wickman's overarching argument, for which the Highlands serve as primary example—is the story of how our modern concept of experience became severed from our understanding of knowledge, and the ramifications that followed from that division. This is a story that sounds abstract, even arid, but in Wickman's capable hands it takes on the contours of a compelling epistemological and philosophical drama. Although the book ranges capably over several centuries, Wickman's starting point—after an introductory chapter that reviews both the pertinent theoretical issues and the previous critical literature on the subjects of Highland romance and epistemological modernity—is the 1750s murder trial of James Stewart. Stewart was accused of being an accessory in the assassination of Colin Campbell of Glenure, the government-appointed agent of the Stewart estate, which had been confiscated in the wake of the failed 1745 Jacobite rebellion. Wickman is less interested in the outcome of the trial—Stewart's guilt was basically a foregone conclusion—than in the fact that both the prosecution and the defense hinged their cases less on the waning influence of experience (witness testimony) than on the growing authority of knowledge (circumstantial evidence). This shift in epistemological emphasis—which Wickman aligns with concurrent developments in the legal, philosophical, and economic discourses of the Enlightenment—is in turn linked to a reevaluation of the Highlands in contemporary Britain. As Wickman puts it, “a consistent myth emerged out of the differences of opinion and perspective expressed in this trial: both parties linked and transported the Highlands and witness experience to



the far regions of an enlightened empire in which objectivity and progress mutually confirmed each other" (p. 41). Moreover, the Highlands simultaneously became reconceived as "romantick" (with the anachronistic spelling of the adjective indicating the self-reflexiveness of this development): a place where now-ruined experience could reassert its supposedly authentic essence.

From this opening, Wickman skillfully guides us through several centuries of carefully chosen literary and belletristic examples of experience's decline and at least partial resurrection. Some readers may find Wickman's choices occasionally idiosyncratic: whereas the rationale for reading fictions by Scott and Stevenson that negotiate the "aftershocks" of the Appin murder is clear, the selection of Duncan Bàn Macintyre's Highland Gaelic poetry as representative of the reconstitution of communal experience in the wake of the clearances is somewhat less obvious. Juxtaposing the latter's elegiac verses with Samuel Johnson's self-consciously dispassionate account of the phenomenon of Highland second sight, however, sheds clarifying light on both texts. Indeed, the book is full of purposefully polemical but entirely illuminating combinations, such that Macpherson's famous Ossianic "forgeries" are read in conjunction with the contemporary Holocaust "memoirs" of Binjamin Wilkomirski (*né* Bruno Grosjean), and Virginia Woolf's Hebridean-inflected *To the Lighthouse* is considered in relation to Alan Warner's postmodern rave novel *Morvern Callar*. Even more insistent and provocative is Wickman's practice of juxtaposing historical texts with contemporary pieces of critical theory: a chapter that begins with an analysis of the figure of the impartial spectator in Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* ends with reflections not only on Marx but also on Frederic Jameson; elsewhere, Freud, Benjamin, Adorno, and Derrida rub shoulders with William Collins, Ian Crichton Smith, and Neil Gunn. The result is a heady, highly stimulating brew, guaranteed to open new lines of inquiry into not only the history of representations of the Highlands but also the conceptual frameworks by which we create, interpret, and even live such representations.

Evan Gottlieb, Oregon State University

Susan Manning, Ian Brown, Thomas Owen Clancy, and Murray Pittock, eds., *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature. Volume Two: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707–1918)*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. Pp. ix + 390.

Susan Manning and Peter France, eds., *Enlightenment and Emancipation*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006. Pp. 233.

Increasingly, the distinctive characteristic of writing about eighteenth-century Scottish literature is its transcendence of its traditional subject matter. Not that Burns, Smollett, Scott, and the rest have been forsaken or forgotten, but the world they inhabit has grown larger and more complex, inhabited by an array of figures whose works might not have been considered "literary" by earlier generations. The index to volume 2 of *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature* (significantly titled like a history book: *Enlightenment, Britain and Empire*) contains more references to David Hume than to Henry Mackenzie, and more to Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* than to James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*. The current superstars in the field, Susan Manning and Murray Pittock, who are both well represented in the volumes under review here, are more accurately characterized as historians of cultural identity and representation than of literature as such. The transformation of their discipline is not a new development: the eighteenth-century volume in Cairns Craig's *The History of Scottish Literature*, edited by Andrew Hook, was an important precursor that appeared twenty years ago, and a modicum of continuity between that work and volume 2 of the *EHSL* is maintained by the presence in both collections of Carol McGuirk (on Burns) and Craig himself. Manning labors under a chronological constraint not faced by Hook, whose tome was confined (except for one essay on the pre-Union period) to the eighteenth century: her volume extends from the Union to 1918, with the result that some chapters try to cover too much ground in too little space, and the later period is less well served than the earlier. For students of the eighteenth century, however, there is much of value here.

Like the other volumes in the *EHSL*, this one begins with four essays meant to establish historical, geographical, and linguistic context as well as international influence. These chapters are of variable quality though sometimes useful (especially Charles W. J. Withers on geography). They are not what gives this volume its distinctive character, however, because the notion of providing "background" before getting down to the real business of literature does not necessarily entail innovative thinking about literature itself (remember Basil Willey?). The thirty-six articles that follow are filled with fascinating and unexpected thematic connections, and here lies the book's greatest asset. Only two eighteenth-century authors get their own chapters: Smollett and Burns. Some other chapters use individual figures as springboards, but the focus is usually on larger topics. Manning charts the changing fortunes of notions of "Britishness" (and Scottishness). Karina Williamson provides an interesting discussion

of letters, journals, and domestic writing (i.e., writing about family and household) as indicators of “the emergence of privacy.” Sören Hammerschmidt uses the theme of urban poetry to link together Allan Ramsay, Robert Fergusson, and several later poets, as Dafydd Moore uses the concept of primitivism to join James Macpherson’s Ossian and James Beattie, making the important point that their poetry should not be reduced to the category of pre-Romanticism. Articles by Leith Davis and Maureen N. McLane on “Orality and Public Poetry” (defined as poetry written for publication) and Janet Sorensen on folk songs, ballads, popular drama, and sermons as “Varieties of Public Performance” make a productive pair; the subject of public literature and performance and their ties with the private and the oral is worthy of such attention, and Davis and McLane are surely correct in their claim that the poetry of Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns “collectively suggests that the oral is not eradicated by structures of print, but rather that it persists within those structures, as well as pointing to its existence beyond them” (p. 130). The literature of history receives a distinctive twist in a chapter by Karen O’Brien and Manning on “Historiography, Biography and Identity.” Other eighteenth-century topics covered in this stimulating collection are travel literature (Catherine Jones), the literature of empire and emigration (Nigel Leask), law books (John Cairns), the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (David Finkelstein), newspapers and journalism (Bob Harris), Gaelic poetry (Ronald Black), Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment (Ian Duncan), Scottish–Irish connections (Gerard Carruthers), book history (Bill Bell), and Scottish Jacobite songs (Murray Pittock).

Manning and Peter France’s *Enlightenment and Emancipation* is a far more modest volume, based on papers delivered at a conference held at the University of Edinburgh. Although some of its thirteen chapters stretch to establish their relevance to the volume’s principal theme of emancipation, the collection is filled with smart essays on a wide range of topics, and the broad geographical coverage (principally Britain and France, but also the Americas) is very welcome. Readers of this periodical may be particularly interested in Jane Rendall’s attempt to link Frances Wright’s *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1818–20) with the Scottish Enlightenment and in Murray Pittock’s suggestive essay on the tension between an older form of patriotism and Enlightenment universalism in the writings of eighteenth-century Scottish historians—another good example of the welcome broadening of the field of Scottish literature discussed at the beginning of this review.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

### Recent Articles by ECSSS Members

The items below have been brought to the attention of the editor by our members, many of whom submitted off-prints or photocopies of their work. The list is limited to articles and major review articles that (1) deal with eighteenth-century Scottish topics and (2) were published in 2006, except for items published earlier that were not included in previous issues.

Corey E. ANDREWS, “‘Almost the Same, but Not Quite’: English Poetry by Eighteenth-Century Scots,” *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 47 (2006): 59–79.

Christopher J. BERRY, “Smith and Science,” in *CCAS*, 112–35.

Christopher J. BERRY, “Hume and the Customary Causes of Industry, Knowledge, and Humanity,” *History of Political Economy* 38 (2006): 291–317.

Alexander BROADIE, “Sympathy and the Impartial Spectator,” in *CCAS*, 158–88.

Stephen W. BROWN, “Wrapping the News: *The Historical Register* and the Use of Blue Paper Covers on Eighteenth-Century Scottish Magazines,” *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 1 (2006): 49–70.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, “*The Canongate Burns*: Misreading Robert Burns and the Periodical Press of the 1790s,” *Review of Scottish Culture* 18 (2006): 41–50.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, “Poetry Beyond the English Borders,” in *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. Christine Gerrard (Oxford, 2006), 577–89.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, “Revisionism in Irish and Scottish Literature: How Far Can We Go?” *English Subject Newsletter* 10 (2006): 8–10.

Karen J. Cullen, Christopher A. WHATLEY, and Mary Young, “King William’s Ill Years: New Evidence on the Impact of Scarcity and Harvest Failure during the Crisis of the 1690s on Tayside,” *Scottish Historical Review* 85 (2006): 250–76.

Ian DUNCAN, “Edinburgh, Capital of the Nineteenth Century,” in *Romantic Metropolis: The Urban Scene of British Culture, 1780–1840*, ed. James Chandler and Kevin Gilmartin (Cambridge, 2005), 45–64.

Ian DUNCAN, “Walter Scott,” in *Encyclopaedia of British Literature*, vol. 4, ed. Nancy Armstrong (Oxford, 2006), 456–63.

Ian DUNCAN, "Waverley," in *The Novel, Vol. 2: Forms and Themes*, ed. Franco Moretti (Princeton, 2006), 173–180.

Alexander DU TOIT, "'Unionist Nationalism' in the Eighteenth Century: William Robertson and James Anderson (1662–1728)," *Scottish Historical Review* 85 (2006): 305–14.

Matthew D. EDDY, "The Medium of Signs: Nominalism, Language and Classification in the Early Thought of Dugald Stewart," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Biological and Biomedical Sciences* 37 (2006): 373–93.

Matthew D. EDDY, "Converging Paths or Separate Roads? The Roles Played by Science, Medicine and Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment," *Philosophical Writings* 30 (2005): 30–40.

Matthew D. EDDY, "'The Fabric of the Globe': Chemistry and Geology in Enlightenment Edinburgh," *Chemical Heritage* 24 (2006): 4–7, 36–38.

Matthew D. EDDY, "Set in Stone: The Medical Language of Mineralogy in Scotland," in *Science and Beliefs: From Natural Philosophy to Natural Science*, ed. David Knight and M. D. Eddy (Aldershot, 2005), 77–94.

Matthew D. EDDY, "'Reading with Intelligence': The Chemistry of Mineralogical Classification in Edinburgh's Medical School at the End of the Eighteenth Century," in *Spaces of Classification Preprint*, ed. Ursula Klein (Berlin, 2003).

Matthew D. EDDY, "Scottish Chemistry, Classification and the Early Mineralogical Career of the 'Ingenious' Rev. Dr. John Walker," *British Journal for the History of Science* 35 (2002): 382–422.

Matthew D. EDDY, "Scottish Chemistry, Classification and the Late Mineralogical Career of the 'Ingenious' Professor John Walker (1779–1803)," *British Journal for the History of Science* 37 (2004): 373–99.

Matthew D. EDDY, "The University of Edinburgh Natural History Class Lists," *Archives of Natural History* 30 (2003): 97–117.

Matthew D. EDDY, "The Doctrine of Salts and Rev John Walker's Analysis of a Scottish Spa," *Ambix* 48 (2001): 137–60.

Matthew D. EDDY, "Geology, Mineralogy and Time in John Walker's University of Edinburgh Natural History Lectures," *History of Science* 39 (2001): 95–119.

Christopher J. FINLAY, "Rhetoric and Citizenship in Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*," *History of Political Thought* 27 (2006): 27–49.

John FINLAY, "Advocacy, Patronage and Character at the Eighteenth-Century Scots Bar," *Legal History Review* 74 (2006): 95–119.

Aaron GARRETT, "Human Nature," in *CHECP*, 160–233.

William GIBSON, "Smelfungus's Strumpet: Smollett's Iconoclastic Reading of *Medici Venus* in *Travels through Italy and France*," *1650–1850: Ideas, Aesthetics, and Inquiry in the Early Modern Era* 13 (2006): 53–69.

Katharine GLOVER, "The Female Mind: Scottish Enlightenment Femininity and the World of Letters. A Case Study of the Women of the Fletcher of Saltoun Family in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 25 (2005): 1–20.

Anita GUERRINI, "Alexander Monro *Primus* and the Moral Theatre of Anatomy," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 47 (2006): 1–18.

Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "The History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy: History or Philosophy?," in *CHECP*, 3–25.

Knud HAAKONSSSEN et al., "Biobibliographical Appendix," in *CHECP*, 1141–1236.

Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "Introduction: The Coherence of Smith's Thought," in *CCAS*, 1–21.

Knud HAAKONSSSEN and Donald Winch, "The Legacy of Adam Smith," in *CCAS*, 366–94.

Istvan HONT, "The Early Enlightenment Debate on Commerce and Luxury," in *CHECPT*, 379–418.

[with coverage of Francis Hutcheson]

Andrew HOOK, "A Scot at Princeton," *The Scottish Review* (July–December 2006): 86–96.

Catherine JONES, "'Magic Numbers and Persuasive Sound': Musical Enlightenment in Revolutionary America," in *EE*, 174–92.

Colin KIDD, "Medicine, Race and Radicalism in the Later Scottish Enlightenment," in *The Practice of Reform in Health, Medicine, and Science, 1500–2000: Essays for Charles Webster* (Aldershot, 2005), 207–22.

Colin KIDD, "The Matter of Britain and the Contours of British Political Thought," in *British Political Thought in History, Literature and Theory, 1500–1800*, ed. David Armitage (Cambridge, 2006), 47–66.

Heiner F. KLEMME, "Substances and Modes, Space and Time," in *CHECP*, 343–67.

Heiner F. KLEMME, "Causality," in *CHECP*, 368–88.

David LIEBERMAN, "The Mixed Constitution and the Common Law," in *CHECPT*, 317–46.



- David LIEBERMAN, "Justice, Rights, and Law," in *CCAS*, 214–45.
- Jeff LOVELAND, "Unifying Knowledge and Dividing Disciplines: The Development of Treatises in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*," *Book History* 9 (2006): 57–87.
- Christopher MACLACHLAN, "Burns and Ramsay," *Scottish Studies Review* 7 (2006): 9–23.
- Emma MACLEOD, "Scottish Responses to the Irish Rebellion of 1798," in *These Fissured Isles*, ed. Terry Brotherstone, Anna Clark, and Kevin Whelan (Edinburgh, 2005), 123–40.
- Emma MACLEOD, "The Scottish Whigs in the Age of the French Revolution," in *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution*, ed. Bob Harris (Edinburgh, 2005), 79–98.
- Susan MANNING, "Enlightened Texts and Decaying Evidence," in *EE*, 193–211.
- Susan MANNING and Peter France, "Introduction," in *EE*, 9–14.
- Hamish MATHISON, "'To Enter into Connections': Furious Moderation in the Scottish Enlightenment," *History of European Ideas* 31 (2005): 251–64.
- Caroline MCCRACKEN-FLESHER, "To Make a Prophet's Profit: Carlyle, Scott, and the Metaphorics of Self-Valuation," *Scottish Studies Review* 7 (2006): 40–57.
- Annette MEYER, "Von der 'Science of Man' in *Naturgeschichte der Menschheit*. Einflüsse angelsächsischer Wissenschaft im Werk Georg Forsters," in *Natur, Mensch, Kultur*, ed. J. Garber and T. van Hoorn (Hanover, 2006), 29–52.
- Dafydd MOORE, "Adam Ferguson, *The Poems of Ossian* and the Imaginative Life of the Scottish Enlightenment," *History of European Ideas* 31 (2005): 277–88.
- James MOORE, "Natural Rights in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *CHECPT*, 291–316.
- Mary Catherine MORAN, "Between the Savage and the Civil: Dr. John Gregory's Natural History of Femininity," in *WGE*, 8–29.
- David Fate NORTON and Manfred Kuehn, "The Foundations of Morality," in *CHECP*, 939–86.
- James R. Otteson, "Markets, Markets Everywhere: A Brief Response to Critics," *Adam Smith Review* 2 (2006): 215–22 [following three articles about his book, *Adam Smith's Marketplace of Life*].
- Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Robert Burns: 'Tam o' Shanter'," in *The Blackwell Companion to Eighteenth-Century Poetry*, ed. Christine Gerrard (Oxford, 2006), 329–37.
- Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "History and the Teleology of Civility in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *EE*, 81–96.
- Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Robert Fergusson and the Romantic Ode," *British Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 28 (2006): 55–66.
- Murray G. H. PITTOCK, "Sources and Dates for the Jacobite Song II," *Archives* 32 (2006): 1–7.
- J.G.S. POCOCK, "Adam Smith and History," in *CCAS*, 270–87.
- David RAYNOR, "Adam Smith and the Virtues," *Adam Smith Review* 2 (2006): 239–45.
- Jane RENDALL, "Prospects of the American Republic, 1795–1821: The Radical and Utopian Politics of Robina Millar and Frances Wright," in *EE*, 145–59.
- Jane RENDALL, with Sue Innes, "Women, Gender and Politics," in *Gender in Scottish History*, ed. Lynn Abrams, Eleanor Gordon, Deborah Simonton, and Eileen Yeo (Edinburgh, 2006), 43–83.
- John ROBERTSON, "Women and Enlightenment: A Historiographical Conclusion," in *WGE*, 692–704.
- Ian Simpson ROSS, "Reply to Charles Griswold: 'On the Incompleteness of Adam Smith's System'," *Adam Smith Review* 2 (2006): 187–92.
- Paul Henderson SCOTT, "Why did the Scottish Parliament Accept the Treaty of the Union?" *Scottish Affairs* 52 (2005).
- Silvia SEBASTIANI, "Race, Women, and Progress in the Late Scottish Enlightenment," in *WGE*, 75–96.
- Richard B. SHER, "The Registration of the *Wealth of Nations*," *Adam Smith Review* 2 (2006): 303.
- Juliet SHIELDS, "Smollett's Scots and Sodomites: British Masculinity in *Roderick Random*," *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 46 (2005): 175–88.
- Ken SIMPSON, "The Vernacular Enlightenment," *The Drouth* 22 (2006): 30–35.
- Clifford SISKIN, "More Is Different: Literary Change in the Mid and Late Eighteenth Century," in *The Cambridge History of English Literature, 1660–1780*, ed. John Richetti (Cambridge, 2005), 797–823.
- Craig, SMITH, "Adam Ferguson and the Danger of Books," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 4 (2006): 93–109.
- M. A. STEWART, "The Curriculum in Britain, Ireland, and the Colonies," in *CHECP*, 97–120.
- M. A. STEWART, "Revealed Religion: The British Debate," in *CHECP*, 683–709.
- M. A. STEWART, "Arguments for the Existence of God: The British Debate," in *CHECP*, 710–30.

Shoji TANAKA, "Theology and Moral Philosophy: A Key to Solving a New Adam Smith Problem," *Bulletin of Yokohama City University* 56 (2005): 331–52.

Norbert WASZEK, "The Scottish Enlightenment in Germany, and Its Translator, Christian Garve (1742–98)," in *Scotland and Europe*, ed. Tom Hubbard and R.D.S. Jack (Amsterdam and New York, 2006), 55–71.

Jack Russell WEINSTEIN, "Sympathy, Difference, and Education: Social Utility in the Work of Adam Smith," *Economics and Philosophy* 22 (2006): 79–111.

Tara Ghoshal WALLACE, "'About Savages and the Awfulness of America': Colonial Corruptions in *Humphry Clinker*," *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 18 (2005–6): 229–50.

Christopher A. WHATLEY, "The Union of 1707: 300 Years," *BBC History* 7 (2006): 34–38.

Christopher A. WHATLEY—see Cullen, Karen J.

#### Key to Abbreviations

CCAS = *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

CHECP = *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Philosophy*, ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

CHECPT = *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

EE = *Enlightenment and Emancipation*, ed. Susan Manning and Peter France (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2006).

WGE = *Women, Gender and Enlightenment*, ed. Sarah Knott and Barbara Taylor (London: Palgrave, 2005).

### **ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2006–31 Dec. 2006**

#### Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2006: £4,469.57

Income: +£1,681.63 (Book orders and dues: £1,620.00; Interest (after taxes): £61.63)

Expenses: -£2,660.53 (Graduate student awards: £1,129.00; payments for plenary speakers at Williamsburg conference: £1,319.53; advertising: £200.00; bank adjustment: £12.00)

Balance 31 Dec. 2006: £3,490.67

#### Bank of Scotland/Halifax Certificate of Investment

Balance 1 Jan. 2006: £14,000

Interest: £602.00

Balance 31 Dec. 2006: £14,602

#### Bank of America

Balance 1 Jan. 2006: \$8,881.47

Income: +\$11,079.00 (Book orders and dues: \$4,121.28; Conference payments: \$6,957.72)

Expenses: -\$9,661.31 (books: \$113.93; printing: \$1,630.00; supplies: \$252.24; Williamsburg conference gifts: \$83.14; Williamsburg conference grants: \$300.00; Williamsburg board dinner meeting: \$330.89; Williamsburg Chef's Kitchen: \$1,987.70; Williamsburg Hospitality House: \$3,157.15; Williamsburg conference assistant: \$408.36; Executive Secretary expenses: \$422.95; Williamsburg musical entertainment [lunch and concert/ceilidh]: \$850.00; NJ non-profit registration: \$25.00; Network Solutions for website renewal: \$99.95)

Balance 31 Dec. 2006: \$10,299.16

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Balance 1 Jan. 2006: \$390.79

Balance 31 Dec. 2006: \$1,306.54

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2006 [vs. 31 Dec. 2005]: \$11,605.70 [\$9,272.26] + £18,092.67 [£18,469.57]

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