

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

HALIFAX? DONE THAT!!

The 22nd annual ECSSS conference, on the theme of "The Scottish Cultural Diaspora," was held in Halifax, Nova Scotia, from 26 to 29 June 2008, and by all accounts it was a rousing success. Hosted by Dalhousie University and expertly organized by Fiona Black—the dean of the School of Information Management at Dalhousie—the conference got off to a strong start on the evening of Thursday 26 June when John Reid of Saint Mary's University delivered the opening plenary talk on "Scots, Natives, and Empire in Eastern British America, 1760–1800," followed by a reception. Saturday the 27th was devoted to a full morning and partial afternoon of conferencing, including panels on Emigration, Economy, and Enlightenment; The *Encyclopédie* and the Early *Encyclopaedia Britannica*; Cultured Women and Fighting Men; International Connections of the Scottish Literati; Scottish Presbyterianism and Catholicism; and Poetry, Ideology and Representation. A late-afternoon walking tour of historic Halifax rounded out the day. Saturday 28 June began with morning panels on Scottish Letters at Home and Abroad and New World Gaels. Then Leith Davis of Simon Fraser University gave the second plenary of the conference, on "Scotland, Print Culture, and Transnational Identity in Britain after 1688." There were three more panels after lunch, on The Presbyterian Inheritance in Nova Scotia; "Rude" Scottish Poetry and Polite Readers; and Music and Enlightenment. The conference dinner on Saturday evening featured the presentation of the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Roger Emerson, Professor of History Emeritus at the University of Western Ontario, by his good friend Paul Wood of the University of Victoria. The final day of the conference began with two concurrent panels, on Diaspora and Enlightenment in England, Ireland and Europe and on The Enlightenment and America. Then, after a brief conference wrap-up, those so inclined boarded vans for the two excursions offered by the conference organizers: one to the pictur-

esque coastal village of Lunenburg on Mahone Bay, located to the west of Halifax, and the other in a northeasterly direction, to historic Pictou, site of a reconstruction of the *Hector*, a ship carrying Scottish Highland immigrants which landed at Pictou in 1773.

Our deepest thanks to Fiona and her fine staff, who did such a fine job making everyone feel at home in "New Scotland!"

THE ST. ANDREWS SHOW

After recent meetings in Charleston, Dublin, Budapest, Williamsburg, Montpellier, and Halifax, ECSSS returns to Scotland for its first-ever meeting in historic St. Andrews from 2 to 5 July 2009. Conference organizer David Allan will draw upon the rich resources of the University of St. Andrews—the host institution—with particular support from the university's Institute for Scottish Historical Research (directed by Roger Mason) and St. Andrews Scottish Studies Network (led by Robert Crawford). Twenty-one concurrent panels have been scheduled on a wide range of topics, as well as plenary talks by T. C. Smout on "The Improvers Reconsidered" and Knud Haakonssen on "Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Active Powers: The Context of Publication*." There will be a walking tour of historic St. Andrews, a special exhibition in the university library, and an optional excursion to Blair Castle in Perthshire after the conference ends on Sunday. At the conference dinner on Saturday evening, the philosopher M. A. Stewart will become the ninth recipient of the Society's Lifetime Achievement Award. After dinner, Ian Simpson Ross, Willie Donaldson, and Ruth Perry will present an exciting ceilidh featuring piping by Willie Donaldson, ballad singing by Ruth Perry, fiddling by Stella Wilkie, Scottish (including Burns) songs sung by Kirsteen McCue and Wilma Paton, tale-telling by Donald Paton, dancing, and singing from Ruth and Willie's new songster. For more information, see the conference website at www.st-andrews.ac.uk/ishr/eighteenthcenturyconference.

PRINCETON IN 2010

ECSSS will commemorate the tercentenaries of the births of the philosopher Thomas Reid (1710–1796) and the physician and scientist William Cullen (1710–1790) with a conference at the Princeton Theological Seminary from 24 to 27 June 2010. Co-sponsored by the Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at PTS (under the direction of Gordon Graham) and the International Adam Smith Society, the conference will be titled “Thomas Reid, William Cullen and Adam Smith: The Science of Mind and Body in the Scottish Enlightenment.” There will be plenary lectures on Reid (by Aaron Garrett) and Cullen (by Guenter Risse), and paper proposals are invited on the work of these men and Adam Smith as well as on other topics relating to eighteenth-century Scottish thought, culture, and society. Proposals for papers concerning philosophical, medical, scientific, religious, and literary connections with Princeton and the surrounding region, including Philadelphia, will be particularly welcome. For more information, see the Call for Papers that is enclosed with this issue.

In 2011 ECSSS will meet at the University of Aberdeen. We are still exploring options for our 2012 meeting and welcome inquiries from those interested in hosting the meeting, especially in North America.

KEN SIMPSON TO LEAD ECSSS

At the ECSSS membership meeting at the Halifax conference in June 2008, the well distinguished Burns scholar Kenneth Simpson was elected to a two-year term as the next president of ECSSS. Also elected to two-year terms of office were Mark Spencer as vice-president and Amanda Epperson and Sandro Jung as members-at-large. Catherine Jones was reelected to a four-year term on the Executive Board, and Juliet Shields and Craig Smith were elected to new four-year terms on the Board. The Society is grateful to its outgoing officers and Board members, including immediate past-president John Cairns and immediate past-vice-president Janet Sorensen, both of whom will remain on the Board for two more years, and departing Board members László Kontler, David Radcliffe, and Jane Rendall.

ECSSS AT ASECS

ECSSS was unusually active at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Richmond, Virginia, on 27 March 2009. Instead of the usual one panel, the Society sponsored two panels as well as a luncheon, and all of these events were well-attended and enjoyable. The first panel, “‘A Cheerful Glass and Song’: Enlightenment and Sociability in Scotland,” included talks by James J. Caudle (Yale U.) on James Boswell’s Soaping Club and the

cruder side of Edinburgh sociability; panel organizer Mark Wallace (Danville Community College) on freemasonry in eighteenth-century Scotland; and Robert P. Maccubbin (Emeritus, College of William and Mary) on some of the problems associated with whiskey-drinking in the late eighteenth century. JoEllen DeLucia, who chaired that panel, was both the chair and organizer of the second ECSSS panel, on “The Literature of the Scottish Enlightenment.” Papers were delivered by Hina Nazar (U. of Illinois) on Richardson’s *Clarissa* and Scottish sentimentalism; Carrie Shanafelt (City U. of New York) on the rhetoric of narrative in the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment; Juliet Shields (U. of Washington) on the nation-building role of sentimental correspondences in late eighteenth-century epistolary novels; and Jeff Strabone (New York U.) on the construction and reconstruction of Elizabeth Wardlaw’s *Hardyknute* in eighteenth-century Scotland. Then many of the speakers and audience members in those panels joined others at the conference for a hearty ECSSS luncheon, which was our version of intellectual sociability.

Next year the society will again sponsor two panels at the ASECS meeting in Albuquerque, New Mexico, 18–21 March 2010. ECSSS vice-president Mark Spencer (m Spencer@brocku.ca) is organizing an interdisciplinary panel on “Scotland and the American Enlightenment,” which “welcomes papers that explore any aspect of the many and varied links connecting Scotland and America in the age of the Enlightenment.” The second ECSSS panel will be an interdisciplinary round table on “Situating Scotland, Ireland, and Wales in Eighteenth-Century Studies.” Organized by ECSSS Board member Juliet Shields (js37@u.washington.edu), this innovative session will explore recent methodological, theoretical, and historical questions in Scottish, Irish, and/or Welsh studies, in an effort to discover how these traditionally “peripheral” fields interact with each other and with English studies, and how the practitioners of these fields negotiate their professional identities as scholars. Anyone interested in participating in these panels should contact Mark or Juliet.

REID TERCENTENARY CFP

The Scottish Common Sense philosopher and Enlightenment literatus Thomas Reid (1710–1796) taught at King’s College, Aberdeen, and at Glasgow University. To celebrate the three hundredth anniversary of his birth, the universities of Aberdeen and Glasgow are jointly hosting an international conference on his work, its present-day relevance, and its historical influence. Plenary speakers include James Harris, Laurent Jaffro, Galen Strawson, and Paul Wood. The conference will convene in Aberdeen on Sunday 21

March 2010 and move to Glasgow on Wednesday 24 March, ending on Friday 26 March. Papers are invited on any aspect of Reid's thought concerning its historical or its present-day relevance, its relationship with his contemporaries in the Scottish Enlightenment, and his influence on philosophical thinking in Britain, Europe, North America, or any other part of the world. Paper proposals of not more than 500 words should be submitted by 30 September 2009, either to Alexander Broadie (a.broadie@history.arts.gla.ac.uk) or else to Cairns Craig (cairns.craig@abdn.ac.uk).

For more information, see www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/reid2010.shtml.

IASP ESTABLISHED

The International Association for Scottish Philosophy (IASP) was established in January 2009, a joint initiative of Edinburgh University Press and the Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at Princeton, New Jersey. It has three main aims: to support an interesting, informative, and developing website devoted to all aspects of the Scottish philosophical tradition; to provide a web-based platform for scholars and societies to reach a global readership; and to enable individuals to purchase the *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* at a heavily discounted price (as well as discounts on other relevant purchases). The IASP welcomes contributions to the development of its new website www.scottishphilosophy.org, and freely advertises the activities and publications of anyone and everyone engaged in the study of the Scottish philosophical tradition and its history.

SCOTS AND THE MODERN WORLD

On the evening of 24 February 2009 an event occurred in the University of Edinburgh that would have interested many ECSSS members. Under the auspices of Tom Devine's Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies, a debate was held on the topic of whether Scotland invented the modern world. Christopher Smout chaired the occasion and the speakers were David Allan from St. Andrews, Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning from Edinburgh, and Alexander Broadie from Glasgow. About four hundred people filled the George Square Lecture Theatre. Some of us had imagined that sparks might fly, but this proved not to be the case. It emerged that the four speakers were more or less in agreement over the strengths and weaknesses of Arthur Herman's book on the Scottish Enlightenment and the invention of the modern world, which of course was the focus of the debate. As a work of very readable popular history, appealing to an audience far beyond academia, the book was not to be discounted and in fact fully merited its bestseller success. As scholars we should welcome rather than complain

about that. (Two of the speakers said that their American history students had been drawn into Scottish history by reading this book. How much better, I thought, than my American literature students drawn to Scottish literature by Mel Gibson's *Braveheart!*) On the book's weaknesses from a scholarly point of view there was equally general agreement: a lack of scholarly rigor in argument; factual errors; over-statement of the case; and, more seriously, no convincing case for a defining link between the Scottish Enlightenment and the nineteenth century—not to mention the modern world. Only Susan Manning, in the closing moments of her contribution, threatened to raise the intellectual temperature of the evening. The glories of the Scottish Enlightenment, she insisted, could not be seen as suggesting that an independent future for Scotland would necessarily bring intellectual benefits. The Scottish literati were not against the union with England. The first comment from the floor came from the veteran nationalist Paul Scott. But the evening ended without any upsurge of nationalist debate.

Andrew Hook, Emeritus, University of Glasgow

HUMMING EARTH REPRINTS

Humming Earth, an imprint of Stuart Johnston's Glasgow publishing firm, Zeticula, has established a book series entitled Scottish Studies in the Long Eighteenth Century. The intention is to publish books under three headings: reprints of less familiar material from the original period; reprints of major, modern critical and scholarly books currently out of print; and new, previously unpublished work by young or established scholars. All books will be available only on a print-on-demand basis, and titles will be listed on Amazon in both the UK and USA. Recent editions include reprints of Thomas Crawford, *Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs* and David Daiches, *Robert Burns* (both of which are noticed in this issue), among others. As the series editor, I would welcome proposals from ECSSS members for additional titles to be reprinted (nassau@palio2.vianw.co.uk).

Andrew Hook, Emeritus, University of Glasgow

DAVIS TO HEAD SFU CENTRE

The new Director of Simon Fraser University's Centre for Scottish Studies is Leith Davis, author of *Acts of Union: Scotland and the Negotiation of the British Nation, 1707–1830* and *Music, Postcolonialism, Gender: The Construction of Irish National Identity 1725–1874*, as well as co-editor (with Ian Duncan and Janet Sorensen) of *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*. Leith is particularly interested in developing the Centre's focus on the topic of Scots in Western Canada. While there has been extensive work done on Scottish emigration to the Canadian Maritimes, On-

tario, and Quebec, the activities of Scots in Western Canada remain relatively under-researched. The Centre already has a collection of oral histories of Scottish emigrants to British Columbia and a bibliography of archival resources on the Scots in British Columbia. Thanks to the generous bequest of a Vancouver resident, Mary Macaree, the Centre is also offering a graduate fellowship, with preference given to students engaged in research on Scots in Western Canada. For further information, contact leith@sfu.ca.

BURNS'S 250TH CELEBRATED

Our last two issues gave details on many of the activities occurring around the world to celebrate the 250th anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns in 2009. These included three major conferences: one at the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow (15–17 January), hosted by Gerry Carruthers and Kirsteen McCue; another on “Robert Burns and Global Culture,” convened by Murray Pittock and sponsored by the Royal Society of Edinburgh on 22–23 January; and a third on “Robert Burns: Contemporaries, Contexts, and Cultural Forms” at the University of South Carolina (2–4 April), in the presence of G. Ross Roy’s magnificent Burns collection.

Two other conferences should now be mentioned. First, on 25–26 March, Somerville College, Oxford University held a conference on “Burns and the Poets.” Organized by Fiona Stafford and Bernard O’Donoghue, the conference featured an opening address by one of Scotland’s most distinguished poets, Douglas Dunn. Don Paterson and Robert Crawford were among other leading Scottish poets who participated. Many ECSSS members presented papers, including Murray Pittock, Andrew Noble, Gerard Carruthers, Hamish Mathison, Rhona Brown, Valentina Bold, and Fiona Stafford herself.

The other major Burns conference that deserves mention was also the first major undertaking of the Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University since Leith Davis became the director of that body (see story above). Titled “Robert Burns in a Transatlantic Context,” this was a series of events from 7 to 9 April (conveniently timed so that global scholars participating in the South Carolina conference could travel on to British Columbia immediately afterwards). A “Musical Celebration of Burns in North America” kicked things off on the evening of 7 April, featuring stellar performances by Jon Bartlett and Rika Ruebsaat on “Burns in British Columbia,” Kirsteen McCue and David Hamilton on “Serge Hovey’s Adaptations of Burns’s Songs,” and a mini-Gung Haggis Fat Choy celebration presented by Todd Wong. On the evening of 8 April, Robert Crawford gave a talk on “Writing the Biography of Burns.” The

academic symposium on Transatlantic Burns (organized by Leith Davis, Sharon Alker, and Holly Faith Nelson) took place during the day on 8 and 9 April, with talks by Fiona Black, Valentina Bold, Gerry Carruthers, Robert Crawford, Carole Gerson, Nigel Leask, Susan Manning, Kirsteen McCue, Carol McGuirk, Andrew Noble, Murray Pittock, Michael Vance, and two graduate students, Emma Pink and Laura Ralph. Other events included a public research forum on “Burns in British Columbia,” a panel discussion on “Diasporic Connections: Asia, the Caribbean and Scotland,” and a public talk by Michael Russell, Scottish Minister for Culture, External Affairs and the Constitution. A gala reception sponsored by the Centre for Scottish Studies and Scotland Development International provided an entertaining and elegant conclusion to an eventful week. See the website at www.sfu.ca/personal/leith/TransatlanticBurns.htm for more details. Leith, Holly, and Sharon will be editing papers from the symposium for a forthcoming collection on “Robert Burns in Transatlantic Context.”

BURNS POEMS AVAILABLE ONLINE

A digitized version of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns’s *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* is now freely available on the web via the SCOTS corpus homepage at www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk. The first edition of Burns’s *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* was printed by John Wilson of Kilmarnock in July 1786, with a print run of 612 copies. It sold out within a month. At this time, Burns, who was just 27 years old, had been planning to emigrate to the West Indies, but following the success of the book, he stayed in Scotland and moved to Edinburgh. The Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing project team has digitized the Kilmarnock edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* from the copy available in the Special Collections Department at Glasgow University Library. This process involved scanning the book, trimming and manipulating the pages, using optical character recognition to convert the images to text, and then editing and proofreading the resultant text. The final stage of editing and checking means that the text of the poems is more accurate than many other editions currently available on the Internet. In particular, the “long s” (ſ) which OCR software tends to interpret as an “f” has been corrected.

GEORGE DAVIE PLAQUE IN PLACE

The plaque honoring the philosopher George Davie (1912–2007), for which an appeal was made in last year’s issue, can now be seen on the wall of Rutherford’s Bar in Drummond Street, Edinburgh, where George introduced Hugh MacDiarmid to Sorley MacLean in 1934.

RIISS ACTIVE IN ABERDEEN

The Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies continued its extraordinary output of activity during the 2008–9 academic year. Among the highlights last autumn were Cairns Craig's talk in the inaugural lecture series, on "Philosophy, Physics and Fantasy in Nineteenth-Century Scotland Ireland" (20 Oct. 2008); a symposium on textual editing featuring Gerard Caruthers, Peter Garside, David Hewitt, Kirsteen McCue, and others; a talk by Linda Burnett on the travels of Edward Daniel Clarke in Scotland and Scandinavia in the closing years of the eighteenth century; and a three-day conference on multi-lingual radical poetry and folk song in Britain and Ireland in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, co-organized by John Kirk, Andrew Noble, and Michael Brown and held at Queen's University, Belfast. More recently Brian Bonnyman spoke on "Adam Smith and the Third Duke of Buccleuch: Patriotism and Improvement in the Scottish Enlightenment" (26 Feb. 2009) and Daniel Szechi, Derek Patrick, and Esther Mijers were among the speakers at a seminar series on Identity and Mobility from Jacobitism to Empire, c.1680–c.1820, co-sponsored by (and held at) the University of Strathclyde from February to June 2009. For further information about the Institute's activities, visit its website at www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss.

SHS EDITION OF MACLAURIN'S DIARY

Our Spring 2008 issue carried an article by Karl W. Schweizer on "The Defense of Edinburgh during the '45: A Diary Account by Colin Maclaurin" which stated that "Maclaurin's account of his involvement in Edinburgh's defenses during the Jacobite assault is published here for the first time by permission of the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh, where it is classified as MS 1342, fols. 1–13" (pp. 12–16). At the time, neither Karl Schweizer nor the editor of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* was aware that another version of Maclaurin's diary had just been published by Bruce A. Hedman as "Colin Maclaurin's *Journal of the 'Forty-Five*," in *Miscellany XIII* of the Scottish History Society (imprinted 2004, but published later), pp. 312–22. The SHS edition gives the NLS reference number correctly as MS 3142 rather than MS 1342.

GLASGOW MUSEUMS COLLECTIONS

Since 2003 Glasgow Museums has provided for a curator of Scottish History, and from 2006 the collections that pertain to the post have been defined into subject areas, some of which touch upon eighteenth-century Scottish history.

Although Jacobites are a common theme of many Scottish museum displays, Glasgow Museums has created a Jacobite and Hanoverian series of collec-

tions which account for both royal families and their supporters. These collections contain arms and armor, works of art, and some correspondence. Among other collections that also include eighteenth-century objects are Scottish Government and Nobility, Scottish Banking, and Scottish Rural Life. There is a great diversity in the objects in these collections, ranging from eighteenth-century fire engines to Mauchline ware; from inscribed Jacobite arms to wine glasses, snuff boxes, and aprons; from the stone sphinxes of Glasgow's Shawfield Mansion to collections of fragile furniture, ceramics, and glass made for dining and drawing rooms. There is even Scotland's oldest grand piano, which dates from 1794.

The work of recording and researching these collections is being done. Glasgow Museums welcome students and scholars who want to use the collections for teaching, research, dissertations, theses, and publications. Easy to access information is being prepared for the Internet which will be available online through the Glasgow Museums webpage (www.glasgowmuseums.com). There is, however, no substitute for seeing the real objects.

Please feel free to contact the curator of Scottish History: Dr. Anthony Lewis, Curator of Scottish History, St. Mungos Museum, 2 Castle Street, Glasgow G4 0RH, Scotland, UK; tel: 0141 553 2557; anthony.lewis@csglasgow.org.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

After receiving his Ph.D. from Edinburgh U. with a thesis on "David Hume: The Making of a Philosophical Historian," **Moritz Baumstark** has taken up a research fellowship at Darwin College, Cambridge, to continue his research on Hume...in addition to his tutoring job at the U. of Dundee, **Brian Bonnyman** has been appointed honorary research fellow in the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at the U. of Aberdeen...after exemplary service as the founding editor of *The Adam Smith Review*, **Vivienne Brown** has stepped down as of vol. 6...**Pierre Carboni** has successfully completed the "habilitation" to the rank of professor by submitting a synthesis of his research papers entitled "The Enlightenment and Poetry in Scotland, 1707–1832"...**Marlies Danziger** kicked off the Yale Research Edition of the journals of James Boswell with her 2008 edition of the journal of Boswell's German and Swiss travels in 1764, to be reviewed in our spring 2010 issue....**JoEllen DeLucia** did research at the Huntington Library in 2008–2009 with a fellowship awarded by the Mellon Foundation...**John Dixon** is now assistant professor of history at Staten Island College, City U. of New York... **Ian Duncan's** *Scott's Shadow* (reviewed in this issue)

won the Saltire Society/National Library of Scotland Research Book of the Year Award for 2008... **Alexander Du Toit** has moved to Fort William to become the Lochaber Archivist, responsible for Highland archival material in the west of Scotland... **Pamela Edwards** left the History Dept. at Syracuse U. to become director of academic initiatives at the Philadelphia-based Jack Miller Center for Teaching of American Founding Principles and History... **Yutaka Furuya** of Tohoku U. in Japan was a visiting researcher at the U. of Edinburgh during the 2008–9 academic year... **Katharine Glover** received her Ph.D. in history from Edinburgh U. in 2007 with a thesis on “Elite Women and the Change of Manners in Mid-18th-Century Scotland;” she then received a Leverhulme Early Career Fellowship to pursue her work on “Polite Society in 18th-Century Scotland” from 2007 through August 2009... **Anita Guerrini** left U. of California at Santa Barbara to become the Horning Professor in the Humanities (and professor of history) at Oregon State U... **Maureen Harkin**, who organized and chaired the ECSSS panel on “Material Culture and the Object in Eighteenth-Century Scotland” at the ASECS meeting in Portland, Oregon, in March 2008, spent a sabbatical leave in 2008–9 completing a book on Adam Smith... **Sandro Jung** has organized a one-day conference at the University of Salford, Manchester, on “Clubs, Societies, and Sociability in Eighteenth-Century Scotland”... **Neven Leddy** spent the winter term of 2007–8 teaching at Simon Fraser U. in British Columbia; then in January 2009 he successfully defended his Oxford U. Ph.D. thesis on “Adam Smith’s Moral Philosophy at the Nexus of National and Philosophical Contexts: French Literature and Epicurean Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment”... Edinburgh U. Press has published a substantially revised and retitled 2nd edition of **Bruce Lenman**’s 1981 textbook, *Integration and Enlightenment*; now called *Enlightenment and Change: Scotland 1746–1832*, the book includes a new conclusion on the “achievement and heritage of the Scottish Enlightenment”... in October 2008 **Anthony Lewis** gave a paper at the Wellcome Trust conference at Glasgow U. on the architecture of medical care and research in 18th-century Edinburgh... **Steve Newman** received tenure and promotion to associate professor in the English Dept. at Temple U... **Robin Nicholson** has relocated to Richmond, Virginia, as associate director for exhibitions at the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts... **Silvia Sebastiani** has been awarded a two-year fellowship at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris (2008–2010), where she will conduct a seminar on “Experiences of Otherness and Ideologies of Race in the Early Modern Period” and pursue research on her new project on historical writing and

the shaping of Eurocentrism in the late 18th century... **Richard Sher** has been awarded a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities to support editing the correspondence of James Boswell with Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo and has been elected a corresponding fellow in the Royal Society of Edinburgh... **Juliet Shields** is now assistant professor of English at the U. of Washington in Seattle... **Craig Smith** of St. Andrews U. has assumed the duties of book review editor of *The Adam Smith Review*... **Mark Spencer** of Brock U. participated in a Liberty Fund colloquium at Indianapolis on “James Madison and the Extended Republic,” 23–26 April... in 2008 **Jeff Strabone** received his Ph.D. in English at New York U. (where he has a joint appointment as a lecturer in the depts. of Art and Public Policy and the Expository Writing Program) with a dissertation on the role of the vernacular revival in transforming British literature and identity in the 18th and 19th centuries; among the featured subjects are Allan Ramsay, Alexander Geddes, John Jamieson, Sir Walter Scott, and the Scottish Enlightenment rhetoricians (Smith, Campbell, and Blair)... after receiving her Ph.D. in English at the U. of Virginia in 2008, with a dissertation titled “Aesthetics, Politics, and Aggressive Forms” (concerned with Smollett, Macpherson’s Ossian, Sir Walter Scott, and more), **Rivka Swenson** spent 2008–9 as a postdoctoral fellow in the Fox Center for Humanistic Inquiry at Emory U... in 2008 **Hideo Tanaka** published a Japanese translation of **J.G.A. Pocock**’s classic *The Machiavellian Moment* as well as his own edited volume in Japanese, *The Episteme of Enlightenment and the Birth of Political Economy*; in April 2009 he published a Japanese translation of Istvan Hont’s *Jealousy of Trade*... **Mark Towsey** has received a three-year post at Liverpool U. (2008–2011) as a Leverhulme Early Career Fellow... our best wishes to **Gordon Turnbull**, general editor of the Yale Boswell Editions, as he recovers from illness and hospital treatments... we were very sorry to hear that budget cuts have forced the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation to eliminate **John Turner**’s position as program manager and religion program specialist... **Tara Wallace** (English, George Washington U.) is now associate dean of graduate studies... **Jack Russell Weinstein** has launched “possibly the world’s first call-in philosophy talk show,” entitled *Why? Philosophical Discussions about Everyday Life* on North Dakota’s Prairie Public Broadcasting Network, which can be accessed at www.philosophyinpubliclife.org... **Jonathan Yeager** has won the 2009–10 Marinell Ash Fund Award from the Strathmartine Trust in Edinburgh; the £500 award enabled Jonathan to pursue his research on the Popular party clergyman John Erskine with a research trip to New England in late May.

Cadwallader Colden and the Scottish Enlightenment in Transatlantic Context

By John Dixon, College of Staten Island, City University of New York

Cadwallader Colden (1688/9–1776), a New York politician bred, raised, and educated in Scotland, was one of the most accomplished philosophers in eighteenth-century British America. In response to the writings of the immaterialist Irish bishop George Berkeley, who spent almost three years in Newport, Rhode Island, in the late 1720s and early 1730s, Colden developed a new philosophical system in the 1740s based on two fundamental assertions. First, he stated that we perceive actions, not substances. Second, he argued that some sort of material entity was behind those actions that resulted in a perception of quantity or shape or form. While conceding that we do not sense the material world directly, Colden used these dual principles to insist upon the certain existence of matter.

Colden's place in the history of American thought is well established. Intellectual historians have long regarded Colden as a founding figure of American philosophy, significant either as a forerunner of American pragmatism or as the originator of an American school of materialism that continued through the Edinburgh-trained physician Benjamin Rush and the controversial English clergyman Joseph Priestley, who arrived in Pennsylvania in 1794. However, these same historians have missed the fact that Colden also helped to originate an important philosophical circuit between Scotland and America in the middle of the eighteenth century. This essay therefore seeks to place Colden at the heart of a transatlantic network of educated Scots whose kinship, political, and social ties provided a basis for vibrant philosophical debate and the movement of ideas, books, pamphlets, and treatises between Scotland and America. It includes quotations taken from published and unpublished material held by the New York Historical Society and the National Archives of Scotland. Detailed citations can be found in the author's 2007 University of California, Los Angeles, Ph.D. dissertation entitled "Cadwallader Colden and the Rise of Public Dissension: Politics and Science in Pre-Revolutionary New York."

Colden's desire to associate with other Scottish intellectuals can be traced back to his youth. Attending the University of Edinburgh in the earliest years of the eighteenth century, the teenage Colden developed a strong interest in natural history and philosophy. He decided on a career as a physician. On graduating with a Masters of Arts degree in 1705, he took further courses in botany, anatomy, and chemistry at Edinburgh and London. His instructors included the Edinburgh botanist Charles Preston and probably the London chemist George Wilson. But Colden struggled to establish himself as a physician in the British capital. He changed tack and chose to try his luck overseas. In 1710 he sailed to Philadelphia, where his aunt ran a successful mercantile business. Arriving in America "absolutely a stranger to the World," Colden spent the next five years trading between the mainland colonies of British America and the West Indies. Despite the fact that he had promised to send specimens of American botany back to Britain, he abandoned his scientific interests at this time.

By 1715 Colden felt that he had done well enough to re-cross the Atlantic and marry Alice Chrystie, probably his longstanding fiancé, in Kelso, Roxburghshire. In addition to ending his bachelorhood, this journey re-ignited Colden's intellectual appetite. Traveling through London, Colden met with the renowned astronomer, Edmond Halley, as well as with several British mathematicians that probably included a leading Newtonian, William Jones. Invigorated by these meetings, Colden, on moving back to America in 1716, became part of a small circle of scientific elites in Philadelphia. Connected by his new wife to the leading Pennsylvania scholar, James Logan, the Irish-born son of Scottish Quakers, Colden also befriended the province's lieutenant governor, William Keith, another Scot. Colden, Logan, and Keith shared interests in astronomy, with Colden borrowing Keith's quadrant in 1717 to measure a "Great American Eclipse."

Colden moved to New York in 1718, invited there by that province's Edinburgh-born governor, Robert Hunter. Both Hunter and Colden associated with the two brothers, John and Archibald Campbell, the second and third dukes of Argyll, who emerged as the leading Scottish politicians in the 1720s. Hunter was close to John Campbell, while Colden had family connections to several Argathelians, not least because his father helped the ninth earl of Argyll evade Charles II in 1682. This earl's grandson, Archibald Campbell, keenly promoted utilitarian science. (Roger Emerson, "Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyll (1682–1761): Patronage and the Creation of The Scottish Enlightenment," in his *Essays on David Hume, Medical Men and the Scottish Enlightenment* (2009), pp. 21–38.) And Colden was able to strengthen his position with Scottish patrons through his intellectual activities. Via Hunter, for instance, he sent botanical specimens to the future third duke of Argyll in 1725. Thus, Hunter and Colden participated in an Argathelian culture of science that spanned the Atlantic.

Once tempted north by Hunter, Colden found an intellectual climate in New York that was even more stimulating than that of Philadelphia. Both Hunter and his gubernatorial successor, William Burnet, the son of the Scottish historian, Gilbert Burnet, were fellows of the Royal Society of London. In the 1720s William Burnet was

particularly forceful in constructing a culture of intellectual sociability at Fort George, his home and administrative base at the southern tip of Manhattan. Having filled the fort with an assortment of books and scientific equipment, Burnet engaged in a quasi-Newtonian analysis of scripture prophecy, a subject on which he published a treatise in New York in 1724. But Burnet's work, which reflected the lasting influence of his old tutor, the Scottish mathematician John Craig, fell flat in New York. According to Colden, the governor did not make a single convert in his province, even though "upon all occasions he introduced [his ideas] into discourse even so far that his conversation became disagreeable to his best friends." In publishing his treatise, Burnet may well have misread the provincial appetite for his ideas. Alternatively, he may never have intended his publication for a colonial readership. At least one copy of his book went back to Britain. In 1725 Colden sent a copy of the governor's treatise to Scotland, where his pious father, Reverend Alexander Colden, received it as the work of "a zealous and able advocate" of revealed religion.

Whatever they thought about Burnet's theories, elite colonials were well aware that the governor's intellectual and political worlds overlapped. Burnet's scripture prophecy treatise arrived in Scotland as a badge of Colden's rising fortunes and close ties to the New York governor. Through Burnet, Colden had achieved the lucrative post of provincial surveyor and a seat on the New York council in 1721. He repaid Burnet by loyally supporting the governor's plans to expand Britain's direct trade with Indian tribes to the far west. Using the geographical knowledge that he gained as the provincial surveyor, Colden promoted this policy through reports on the trade and climate of New York that were sent back to London. Colden's first book, *The History of Five Indian Nations* (New York, 1727), was also part this effort to legitimate Burnet's imperial vision. Intended as a British counter to French studies of the history and geography of North America, Colden's book, which was published together with a map that he prepared of the Great Lakes region, recommended that Atlantic maritime trade could be profitably extended inland along the waterways of North America.

Having established his political career through his close alignment with Burnet, Colden fell out of political favor in New York when his governor was reposted to Massachusetts in 1727. Colden's change of fortune occurred despite the fact that another educated Scot, John Montgomerie, replaced Burnet in New York. Clearly, Scottish backgrounds did not invariably result in political favoritism in the colonies. Still, there was a silver lining to Colden's predicament. Temporarily isolated from the cut and thrust of New York politics, he was able to concentrate on intellectual matters. Colden retreated to his farm, sixty miles outside of the Manhattan. Here, he began to envision a community of intellectual elites in the colonies. He turned to his fellow Scots first. In 1729 he recommended that William Douglass, a Scottish physician in Massachusetts, form a Boston-based society for the collection and diffusion of American knowledge. Although Douglass did not take up this suggestion, Colden went on to advise two Pennsylvanians, Benjamin Franklin and John Batram, on their attempts to found a similar society in Philadelphia in the 1740s.

Colden's vision for colonial intellectual life was an expanded version of the intellectual community that had developed among educated Scots in British America. In addition to Douglass, Colden was close to John Rutherford, a former Member of Parliament for Roxburghshire, who arrived in Albany, New York, as a military officer in 1742. The cosmopolitan Rutherford, a University of Leiden graduate who had toured Europe in the early 1730s, spent his first winter in America "in an easy indolent Monkish manner." Having brought over a "Large Trunk of books" that included works by Sir Isaac Newton, Rutherford found what he termed his "retirement" at Albany "perfectly agreeable." And "for this reason," he noted in one letter to Colden, his time was divided equally between "Mathematicks, Philosophy, Politicks, &c without being interrupted in any Shape by Family cares o[r] publick affairs as hitherto [it had] allways been." In another letter, Rutherford rejoiced that there are "books always befor[e] me, & Dutch people always round me." Albany, it appears, reminded Rutherford of his happy undergraduate days at Leiden.

Colden and Rutherford were part of a small New York elite who shared and debated a rich array of philosophical ideas. They formed a tight-knit community determined to make the most of those European works that came their way. Their intellectual world was open, informal, personal, and haphazard. Rutherford, for instance, offered on his return trips to Scotland to "buy up" and bring back "any new books, Pamphlets &c. that I think may help to divert us." True to his word, he returned to America with works that included Leibnitz's *New System of Nature*. Such imported books were quickly absorbed by a provincial ruling class who met and entertained each other at Fort George or in their own grand homes. By the mid-eighteenth century, few New York homes were grander than that of another Scot, James Alexander, a leading New York lawyer and landowner. Together with his wealthy wife, Mary Spratt Provoost, who ran one of the largest import businesses in New York City, Alexander hosted clubs at his Broad Street mansion, which became a key colonial site for the circulation and discussion of new philosophical ideas.

Although Colden never revisited his homeland after 1716, he used the return journeys of Rutherford and

other Scots not only to learn about the latest books but also to build political and intellectual connections. In particular, Colden continued to seek out the support and patronage of the Campbell family. His Virginia-based Scottish correspondent, John Mitchell, was a close personal friend of the third duke of Argyll. In 1745, Mitchell, who was then in Britain, passed a copy of Colden's revised and expanded *History of Five Indian Nations*, published in 1747, to the Scottish duke. Later, in July 1749, Colden sent Mitchell an important account of the political events in New York, clearly hoping that it would be handed on to Argyll. Even though Mitchell received this letter as he was in the midst of "a long journey over England & the greatest part of Scotland" with Argyll, he was only able to mention Colden's report to the duke in passing. To Colden's frustration, Argyll appeared disinterested in American political affairs.

In contrast to Argyll, several Scottish intellectuals did pay attention to Colden's work, especially the 1747 edition of his *History of Five Indian Nations*. Quickly adopted as a standard source on the Iroquois, this book helped to shape Enlightenment attitudes toward native peoples and America. It was cited in Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (1783). When William Robertson dispatched questionnaires to American correspondents as part of the research behind his 1777 *History of America*, he regularly asked about the accuracy of native speeches included in Colden's *History*.

Colden's intellectual world was by no means confined to his fellow countrymen. His most important intellectual encounter was actually with the Anglican minister Samuel Johnson, who was born and educated in Connecticut. Johnson was the leading colonial follower of George Berkeley. Within a few months of their first meeting in 1743, Johnson sent Colden almost every major work published by Berkeley up to that time. Shocked by the bishop's immaterialism, Colden set about designing a philosophical system capable of defending the material reality of the universe. He decided that there must be at least two basic actions taking place in the natural world: resistance and movement. Each of these actions, Colden reasoned, must belong to its own species of matter. So the universe was fundamentally comprised of moving matter and resisting matter. Then, in order to explain how moving and resisting matter interacted at a distance, Colden introduced a third action, elasticity, and to this action he assigned another species of matter, æther. In this way, Colden reduced the physical universe to three interplaying species of matter, each of which was characterized by a separate non-intelligent and directionless action (movement, resistance, and elasticity). Colden developed and published his philosophy as a two-chapter treatise in the mid-1740s, and then extended it into a substantial work, *The Principles of Action in Matter*, published in London in 1751. This title sold poorly, but Colden remained convinced of its accuracy up to his death in 1776.

Colden's *Principles of Action in Matter* appeared shortly before a related metaphysical controversy broke out in Edinburgh. Colden was made aware of this parallel by Alexander Garden, a Scottish naturalist educated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and the University of Edinburgh. After migrating to Charles Town, South Carolina, in 1752, Garden traveled through the British colonies and met Colden around 1754. On his return to Charles Town in 1755, Garden drew Colden's attention to the fact that the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, in the first volume of its *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary* (1754), had just printed an essay by Henry Home, Lord Kames, that suggested matter was active. In the same publication, John Stewart, professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, had responded by insisting that matter was an inert, passive substance. Convinced that Colden's *Principles of Action in Matter* could contribute to this exchange, Garden carefully copied and sent passages of Colden's work to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Garden also transmitted a piece by Colden "on the dispute between the Leibnitzians and the Newtonians." And, in reverse direction, he passed Thomas Reid's "An Essay on Quantity" back to his New York correspondent; Reid's piece prompted Colden to write a lengthy response.

Garden's letters arrived at the University of Edinburgh desk of Professor Robert Whytt, who promised to read the extracts of Colden's *Principles of Action in Matter* before the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Whytt confessed to Garden that he expected that "some of the Socii will (they are all rigid & literal Newtonians) have their objections." Still, even if his colleagues were not impressed, Whytt saw enough potential in this work to send Colden a copy of his own *Physiological Essays* (1755). By 1758 Colden and Whytt were writing directly to each other. With Whytt updating him about the latest Scottish thought, Colden was suddenly able to position his own work in a new way. In particular, he began to engage with the ideas of an Edinburgh physician, William Porterfield, who also happened to be the uncle of Colden's son-in-law. On obtaining a copy of Porterfield's 1759 book, *A Treatise on the Eye, the Manner and Phaenomena of Vision*, Colden wrote an essay against Porterfield's occasionalist suggestion that the interaction of soul and body were dependent on God or some other active intelligent being. Colden insisted that intelligence, divine or otherwise, could not cause matter to move.

Colden's philosophical letters enhanced his standing with Whytt and Porterfield, both of whom attempted to introduce Colden's philosophy to a wider Edinburgh audience. In the second edition of his *Physiological Essays*, published in 1761, Whytt extracted a letter that he had received from Colden the previous year. Porterfield then

read his correspondence with Colden to the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh, which resolved to publish these letters at the first opportunity. Porterfield warned Colden that this publication was unlikely to transpire, and he was correct in this assumption. Similarly, Whytt was unsuccessful in his attempts to secure a Scottish publisher for a new edition of Colden's *Principles of Action in Matter*. Colden sent a copy of his revised work to Whytt by 1762, hoping that it might "be more favourably received in Scotland than in England" because "National prejudices as well as Personal often prevail in many points of Philosophy." Whytt passed on Colden's manuscript to Adam Ferguson, then professor of natural philosophy at the University of Edinburgh. But the revised edition went unprinted and was lodged in the university's archives.

By the mid-1760s, Colden's intellectual endeavors ground to a halt, with his philosophical system having attracted few serious admirers. Despite this failure, Colden remains an intellect of significance today because of the large part he played in establishing an Atlantic philosophical community in the middle of the eighteenth century. Colden was foremost among a group of university-trained Scottish colonials who pioneered a circuit of letters between Europe and America. United by their shared ethnic backgrounds, this provincial elite created new and extensive patterns of communication and association. They helped to drive the cultural maturation of British America, while simultaneously forging links back to scholars and patrons in Scotland. They show the vital role that learned Scots played in spreading the Enlightenment around the eighteenth-century Atlantic world.

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Bluestocking Salons and the "Bower of Malvina"

By JoEllen DeLucia, John Jay College, City University of New York

In her introduction to Howard Gaskill's 1996 edition of *The Poems of Ossian*, Fiona Stafford writes, "feminist critics have yet to turn their attention to the Ossianic poetry" (xvii). She continues to suggest avenues open to feminist critics, including the influence of the Ossian poems on the development of the "man of feeling" as well as the non-traditional roles played by women within the poems, such as the female bard Colma who appears in "The Songs of Selma." Since Stafford's assessment, feminist historians have added another important element to this discussion by tracing Ossian's influence on the gendered trajectories of Scottish historiography. In separate chapters of *Women, Gender and Enlightenment* (2005), Silvia Sebastini and Mary Catherine Moran have discussed the surprising ways in which the Ossian poems figure equivalent social relations between the sexes. They argue that the poems helped to draw the attention of Scottish conjectural history to women's progress and the development of manners as a gauge of historical development. In this essay, I would like to suggest an additional avenue of investigation open to feminist critics: the reception of the Ossian poems in the salons of the Bluestocking hostesses Elizabeth Montagu and Elizabeth Vesey. The Bluestockings of the eighteenth century advocated female education and encouraged intellectual discourse between the sexes. In fact, the original Bluestocking philosophers of Montagu and Vesey's circle included male politicians and writers, such as Lord Bath, Lord Lyttelton, Edmund Burke, and Samuel Johnson, as well as women such as Sarah Scott (Montagu's sister), Elizabeth Carter, Catherine Talbot, Hester Chapone, and Frances Boscawen. The Ossian poems were wildly popular in the Bluestocking salons and figure largely in the correspondence of Elizabeth Montagu. Montagu's letters, which are held in the collections of the Huntington Library, demonstrate the central role played by the Ossian poems in creating Montagu's particular brand of Bluestocking sociability, which cast women as lead actors in the development of civil society. Montagu corresponded with Scottish Enlightenment literati, particularly Hugh Blair, Lord Kames, and John Gregory, about the value of the poems as a record of manners and a testament to the importance of women and feeling in forming and maintaining social relationships. She also regularly held events entitled "feasts of shells" at her London residence, during which members of her Bluestocking salons, including the author and translator of the poems, James Macpherson, and his friend the painter Allan Ramsay, channeled the heroes and heroines of Fingal's realm, what they refer to as the "spirit of Morven" using Ossianic shorthand. At these feasts, they discussed matters of taste, the literature of the day, and emerging theories of history and national development.

An imitation of the Ossian poems by Lyttelton found in the Huntington collection reveals the extent to which the Ossian poems penetrated Bluestocking consciousness. Lyttelton's imitation was written at the height of the Ossian craze, which was marked by the publication of Macpherson's *Fingal* in December 1761 (with a 1762

imprint) and *Temora* early in 1763. Throughout this period, Montagu and Vesey were holding Ossian-centered gatherings, and allusions to the poems appear frequently in their letters. Although it would be anachronistic to call Lyttelton a feminist, especially since he did not support women's participation in the political realm, he did think of Montagu, Vesey, and Carter as intellectual equals. He invited Montagu to contribute to his *Dialogues of the Dead* (1760) and revered Carter's aptitude for the classics. In turn, Montagu noted his unusual capacity for feeling. After his death, she writes: "Lord Lyttelton alone joined to the wisdom and fortitude of man, the gentleness and sensibility of our sex" (24 October 1777, MO 6433). Lyttelton's singular status within the Bluestocking circle makes his imitation particularly interesting. The imitation, dated 15 October 1763, appears to be a copy of a poem Lyttelton mentions in a letter to Montagu dated 18 October 1763. He claims his poem is a response to another Ossianic imitation sent to him by Elizabeth Vesey. (Unfortunately, Vesey's imitation does not seem to be included in the Huntington collection.) Lyttelton's poem, which he originally sent to Vesey, was later dispatched to Montagu. Although the poem and Lyttelton's letter to Montagu are catalogued separately in the Huntington collection, the letter suggests that they should be read together and that the original copy of the poem may have been an enclosed item. The date of 15 October on the poem also appears to have been added later, and when read against the letter seems incorrect. In his letter of 18 October, Lyttelton writes: "Last week I received a letter from the amiable Vesey, which I send you inclosed with so much of my Answer to it as I hope may amuse you. It contains an account of a Bower of Malvina, which she had erected: but her hand is so very bad that you will scarce be able to read it. There is a paragraph in it from Ossian, which I have sent her an humble Imitation of mine. I wish Mr. Blair may be able to satisfy the World that Macpherson's are more genuine. If they are not, he is certainly the First Genius of the Age" (MO 1315). In a number of letters in the Huntington collection, Vesey, who split her time between London and her husband's estate in Ireland, testifies to the Bluestockings' particular fascination with the character of Malvina. The "Bower of Malvina" or the "Cave of Malvina" becomes shorthand for the meetings of the Bluestocking Circle held at Vesey's English and Irish residences. On a trip to a German spa in July 1763, Montagu asks Vesey to reserve for her and her companion on the trip, the classical scholar Elizabeth Carter, "two chairs in the cave of Malvina" (24 July 1763, MO 6370). After this point, Montagu continually refers to Vesey as Malvina when corresponding with other members of her Bluestocking circle. Vesey accepts and even embraces this role. In the Highland poems, Malvina tragically survives her betrothed, Ossian's son Oscar, and keeps Ossian company in the waning days of his life. Although she dies before Ossian, she resembles him in that she exists both as an actor in the events Ossian recalls and in the nostalgic time after the disappearance of their race, when he relates the history of his people. With the exception of Ossian, Malvina's character endures the longest and becomes his female counterpart. She survives as the second-to-last of the Highland race that Ossian mourns. As one of the most popular characters from the poems, Malvina served as the inspiration for plays, songs, and even gothic novels, such as Regina Marie Roche's *Children of the Abbey* (1796), which adopts Malvina as the name of its heroine's distressed and tragic mother. The Bluestockings' interest in Malvina forecasts these later adaptations of Malvina and her narrative and illustrates the importance of the Ossian poems, and more largely the Scottish Enlightenment, in the development of Bluestocking consciousness.

Lyttelton's poem writes the Bluestockings into an Ossianic world, creating an odd parallel between modern British society and the ancient Caledonian culture that Ossian represents. In doing so, his poem reveals several different functions of the Ossian poems within Bluestocking salons:

Spirit of Ossian, who softenest with the Musick of the Harp the rough Blasts that arise from stormy Morven, who brightenest with the Light the dark Vapours that envelope the firr crown'd Head of Cona, come from thence in thy Cloud, King of Bards, to the more pleasant Hills of Clint to the softer shades of Hagley; take me up into thy Car of Mist, and bear me hence to the craggy Top of high Penmenmaur; call to thee there all the spirits of the ancient British Bards; let me hear the sound of their Harps, and compare it with the sweetness of thine, if they will venture to strike their Harps in thy Presence: then waft me over the roaring Waves of the Ocean to the opposite Coast of Green Erin; assemble there the ghosts of the hundred Bards of Cormac; let them follow in thy train, O Son of Fingal, and set me down in the Bower of Malvina, where was the Dwelling of the Kings of old; there raise your Voices all ye Bards, and give the Song to Vesey, the amiable Vesey, who loves the Musick of Ossian, who feels his soul-exalting strains, who honours the memory of gentle Malvina. Even I, the lowest of Bards, will join my feeble Voice with Your's, to sing her praises among the Willows, and mix them with those of *the lovely Light of Lutha*, which shines no more. Long may *she* shine, and gild, with the wild Radiance of her beams, the blue stream of her Vale; and never, never may she know the anguish of Malvina, when she lost her Oscar. (MO 1314)

Lyttelton's poem, not meant for publication, relies heavily on imagery and references particular to the

Bluestocking circle. Lyttelton begins his poem by calling on Ossian's spirit to leave Scotland, "the stormy Morven," and travel to Lyttelton's beloved estate, Hagley, in Worcestershire, England. Once in England, Lyttelton calls on Ossian to take him to Wales, where they will meet with the bards of Britain. After Ossian competes with the bards in Wales, Lyttelton asks Ossian to carry him to Vesey in Ireland, where the Irish bards will join them at one of Vesey's assemblies, in her "Bower of Malvina," and praise her in song. Interestingly, the poem at this point combines the personas of Vesey and Malvina, suggesting that their songs will become intertwined. Lyttelton concludes with a joking aside. He claims that if Ossian's spirit refuses to hear his pleas, he will have to remain at Hagley and miss the next meeting of the Bluestockings, along with Montagu, who must stay in Northumberland because of her business concerns: "If Ossian will not hear me, and give me a lift over that cursed Irish Sea, which is so disagreeably interposed betwixt us, it is no fault of mine. Nor is it my fault, that Mrs. Montagu, instead of coming hither with Lord Bath, goes to her Coalpits in Northumberland." (MO 1314).

I would like to suggest a few different ways in which scholars of Ossian and feminist critics might approach Lyttelton's peculiar imitation. Beyond gender relations, his imitation also reveals the ways in which the poems allowed the Bluestockings to rethink the relationship between Scotland and England as well as the relationship between the social commerce of the salon and modern commercial society. In Lyttelton's poem, Ossian's verse spans national divides and generates a Bluestocking spirit that is distinctly British yet composed of the poetry and history of the Celtic peripheries. Ossian's Highland music transports Lyttelton from "the softer shades" of his English estate, to Wales the home of "the ancient British bards," and finally to Vesey in Ireland. Both a Bluestocking and a British "bardic nation," the world Lyttelton represents in his poem levels distinctions between modern English culture and the ancient poetry of the Celtic periphery. In fact, Lyttelton's bardic Britain does not fit neatly into Katie Trumpener's sense of "bardic nationalism," which she develops in her 1997 book of that title, as either an attempt to resist English dominance and retain a Celtic tradition or an effort to memorialize the Celtic past in order to subsume it into British imperial history. Oddly enough, Lyttelton, an English lord, revives the Celtic past, to the extent that he places a surprisingly lively Ossian beside himself, his fellow Bluestockings, as well as the bards of Wales and Ireland. In Ossian's sojourn throughout the British Isles, there does not seem to be a national hierarchy dominated by England; instead we see each segment of Great Britain as an equivalent stopping point.

The same temporal confusion and leveling of national and gender hierarchies occurs in Lyttelton's description of the similarities between Bluestocking sociability and Ossianic sentiment. Once in Ireland, Lyttelton suggests that Ossian should dedicate his song to Vesey. He requests that Ossian "give the Song to Vesey," who becomes Ossian's as well as Malvina's representative in contemporary Britain. Vesey "feels" Ossian's music in a way that "honours the memory of gentle Malvina." Praised as the representative of Ossianic sentiment in the contemporary world, Vesey is marked for her "amiable" manner, a quality Lyttelton makes sure to underline in the poem. Vesey's amiable nature points toward the refined feelings that were supposed to be produced by men and women in the Bluestocking salons.

In fact, Vesey, even more than Montagu, was known as a model of refined sentiment, one of the ideal participants in a civil society defined by the developed manners necessary for sustaining a healthy commercial realm. Lyttelton references not only Vesey's singular "shine" but also her ability to "gild" the society to which she belongs. Admittedly, Lyttelton's descriptions of Vesey make her appear as more of an Ossianic decoration than a participant in Bluestocking society. Yet Vesey herself wrote Ossianic imitations, such as the one Lyttelton refers to in his letter to Montagu. She also thought of herself as a bard. In a letter from 28 January 1764, Montagu clarifies Vesey's position within her circle. When lamenting Vesey's inability to attend one of her gatherings, she writes: "At the feast of shells the musick of your voice, the gentle vivacity of your wit will be wanted. We will raise the song in your praise" (MO 6374). Montagu and Vesey even took to calling themselves, as well as their male and female guests, "bards." In a letter to Elizabeth Carter from 3 August 1765, Montagu says, "you as a Bard must raise the song" (MO 3149). The "Bower of Malvina," like the Bluestocking salons it evokes, represents an alternate universe in which divisive political and gender distinctions disappear. Lyttelton's imitation anchors this alternate universe in the past rather than the present. Instead of a product of modern society, Vesey's fine feelings—once superimposed on Malvina, "the lovely light of Lutha"—appear to belong to a distant past merely recreated in Malvina's Bower.

At the end of the poem, the world of everyday commerce and the Ossianic idyll of the poem finally come into direct competition. Lyttelton creates the "Bower of Malvina" as the inverse of Montagu's "coalpits." The Montagu coal operation required her to make annual visits to Northumberland and spend more and more time, especially as her husband Edward aged, over account books and away from the poetry and refined sentiment of the Bluestocking salons. Although Lyttelton's concluding sentiments about the incompatibility of coal and the Ossianic sentiment produced in Bluestocking salons are clearly meant as a joke, they do gesture toward the tension and even potential incompatibility between commercial society and the refined manners that the elevated "commerce"

of the Bluestocking salons theoretically supported. Manufacturing coal and refining sentiment are two very different endeavors. Ultimately, the Ossianic discourse of the Bluestocking salons may be nothing more than salon play, and Montagu's "feasts of shells" and Vesey's "Bower of Malvina" seem like escapist costume parties or historical theater. At best, Lyttelton's imitation creates the landscape of the Ossian poems as a laboratory or social experiment where members of the Bluestocking circle tested alternate histories that interrogate the relationship between commercial progress and the development of feeling.

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Letter to the Editor

To the Editor:

I have never before commented on a review of any of my books. However, Joshua MacFadyen's review of four of my books in the Spring 2008 issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (pp. 29–30), merits a response.

Mr. MacFadyen asserts that my books "fall short of critical scholarship" but fails to substantiate his various criticisms in any meaningful way. In fact, his comments have little relevance to the subject content of my books. Instead the review is largely concerned with themes and sources that interest Mr. MacFadyen. For instance, I am criticized for not including a discussion about "inter-colonial relationships and movements and...the influence of the United States and other ultimate destinations." I did not venture into these areas since my focus is on the factors and processes which drove the exodus of people from Scotland to Canada and on the settlement patterns that evolved. My research has highlighted the importance of the timber trade as a determinant and stimulant of Scottish settlement choices in Canada and has provided new insights on the quality of emigrant shipping services. And yet these major themes, which are central to all four books, have evaded Mr. MacFadyen's attention.

Mr. MacFadyen's selective reporting of my work is riddled with untruths and unfounded allegations. As an example he selects part of a sentence in *Les Écossais* dealing with the timber trade and uses my words out of context to assert that I failed to acknowledge the presence of the French Canadian population. Page 3 of *Les Écossais* refers to the 120,000 French-speaking Roman Catholics in Lower Canada in 1763, while two chapters are devoted to the early French and Scottish inhabitants of Lower Canada. To claim that I have ignored the way the Scots interacted with French Canadians is just not true.

Mr. MacFadyen appears not to trust "contemporary accounts" and criticizes me for relying on "uncritical filiopietistic experts." He asserts that I gave an overly optimistic picture of the ease with which Scottish weavers turned themselves into successful farmers. In fact my work relies on wide-ranging sources including government reports, correspondence of Presbyterian ministers and Roman Catholic priests, contemporary commentators, emigrant letters, newspaper reports, census data, diaries, and early histories. He further claims that I neglected to deal with land tenure issues such as immigrant preferences in renting or purchasing land. In fact this is a theme that I cover in great detail in all of my books, but to realize this Mr. MacFadyen would have needed to study my books more carefully than he obviously did. His allegation that I have failed to cite the current literature is simply not true. I could go on.

This review is shoddy and shameful. I am grateful to you for righting the injustice that has been done to me by publishing this rebuttal.

Lucille H. Campey, Salisbury, UK

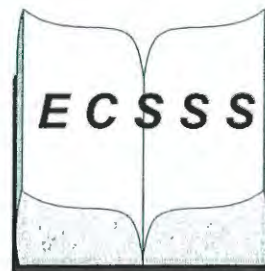
Joshua MacFadyen replies:

As their titles suggest, the books by Lucille Campey that I reviewed are about pioneers in transit, but the author's analytical framework does not support an extrapolation of worlds beyond the ocean voyage. That immigrants were drawn by economic opportunities and on respectable vessels is not contested, but these are only two strides into the history of Scottish pioneering in Canada. I reiterate that these books should be considered a starting point by historians in the field, but students will not understand how Scots formed and were formed by British North American society without consulting other texts.

Joshua MacFadyen, University of Guelph



BOOKS in REVIEW



Robert Crawford, *The Bard: Robert Burns, A Biography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009. Pp. ix + 466.

Thomas Crawford, *Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs*. 1960. Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2009. Pp. v + 400.

David Daiches. *Robert Burns*. 1950. Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2009. Pp. v + 334.

Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers, eds., *Fickle Man: Robert Burns in the 21st Century*. Dingwall, Ross-Shire: Sandstone Press, 2009. Pp. v + 319.

Larissa P. Watkins, *Burnsiana: A Bibliography of the William R. Smith Collection in the Library of the Supreme Council, 33^o, S.J.* New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Press, 2008. Pp. vii + 170.

With the 250th anniversary celebrations of Robert Burns's birth, 2009 has already proved to be a boon for current scholarship on the poet. The last major Burns event (the celebrations in 1996 surrounding the 200th anniversary of Burns's death) generated a number of important contributions to Burns scholarship, and the publication of the above volumes marks the beginning of another significant addition to the field. Particularly interesting in the current crop of studies is the focus on a number of key issues that have garnered much critical attention of late; Burns's relationship to slavery especially has been reinvestigated in light of Scotland's prominent role in the slave trade. There is also continuing interest in Burns's relationships with women, as well as lingering debate over the poet's purportedly "radical" politics. Attribution issues remain central in these studies, and there is even promise of "new" findings which should intrigue specialists and lay-readers alike.

Of the works above, Robert Crawford's *The Bard: Robert Burns, A Biography* is likely to reach the greatest number of readers outside Scotland. Originally published by Jonathan Cape in Britain, *The Bard* has been re-released by Princeton University Press for wider distribution. Well known within the Scottish studies community for his critical work as well as his poetry, Robert Crawford seems ideally situated and disposed to offer a new biography of Burns. As Crawford notes in his introduction, the last major biography, James Mackay's *Burns* (1992), has been discredited due to substantiated charges of plagiarism. Several other useful biographies of Burns—such as Catherine Carswell's *Life of Robert Burns* (1930), Franklyn Bliss Snyder's *Life of Robert Burns* (1932), and J. De Lancey Ferguson's *Pride and Passion: Robert Burns, 1759–1796* (1939)—stem from the early to mid-twentieth century. Crawford's critical work on Burns, including his collection *Robert Burns and Cultural Authority* (1996) and *Devolving English Literature* (1992), provides him with a strong awareness of current critical debates surrounding the poet. Crawford's introduction deftly captures the spirit of the heated controversy initiated by Patrick Scott Hogg's *Robert Burns: The Lost Poems* (1997) and Hogg and Andrew Noble's edition, *The Canongate Burns* (2001). Because Burns has remained a hot topic, particularly in Scottish newspapers, over the past ten years, it has been exceedingly difficult for Burns scholars and biographers to avoid polemical disputes. As Crawford attests, "Burns presents an extreme example of the tensions between the 'laundering process' of hero-worship and the less elevated recording of sometimes awkward facts, blemishes, gossip, [and] censored opinions" (p. 8). Because of this, Crawford wryly notes that "the twenty-first-century Burns biographer requires an instinct for self-defence, and, ideally, a Kevlar vest" (p. 9).

Crawford's biography manages to skirt major controversies while still offering a "round, unvarnished" account of the life as envisioned by biographer Robert T. Fitzhugh in 1970. *The Bard*, in Crawford's words, "aims simply to offer a clear, manageable account of [Burns's] life which gives some indication of what made him a

great poet" (p. 11). In this respect, Crawford's biography is quite successful in conveying the measure of Burns's poetic achievements; Burns's relationships to his Scottish predecessors Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson are thoroughly discussed, as is his significant indebtedness to Alexander Pope. Arthur Masson's *English Collection*, a work profoundly important for Burns's poetic development, is also examined in convincing detail. Crawford also claims to have discovered the book of English letters that Burns studied as an epistolary guide, identifying the work as John Newbery's small-format *Letters on the Most Common, as well as Important, Occasions in Life* (1756). This seems like a believable attribution, but Crawford does not fully explain how he arrived at this particular text. Other revelations include the publication of a Burns manuscript found by Crawford in the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum (given the annotated title "Noble Verses by the Bard to Clarinda—on an occasion when she had said that 'they must part'") and a new interpretation of the "Sylvander and Clarinda" relationship. Of this last, Crawford suggests that in a letter, "McLehose implies that she and Burns have had sexual contact of some sort" (p. 296). This bombshell is dropped on the reader rather casually, which leads to some related complaints with Crawford's biography. Though the narrative is lively and quite readable, the biography occasionally lacks detailed examination of key incidents in Burns's life. For example, Burns's residence at Irvine is discussed in only eight pages, even though this was a critical time for the young poet who suffered (by Crawford's own account) a "breakdown" there. Indeed, even at 400+ pages, the book often feels rushed. In addition, Crawford occasionally indulges in overly speculative judgments about Burns; for instance, Crawford claims that Burns's "'hypochondria' was the mental illness now known as depression" (p. 121). This leads him to suggest that "it may not always have been politically correct to admit that Scotland's national poet suffered from mental illness, but he did" (p. 121). While this is probably an accurate diagnosis, it is still very hard (in light of eighteenth-century medical discourse) to assert without qualification that Burns was clinically depressed. Other problem areas arise from the occasional appearance of the old "vernacular Scots vs. formal English" paradigm (which Crawford's own critical work has helped to dismantle) and cryptically titled chapters like "Rhinoceros" which may confuse rather than enlighten readers. That said, Crawford's *The Bard* is a welcome addition to Burns scholarship, offering a useful and very readable introduction to the life of Burns.

To mark the 250th Burns anniversary occasion, Humming Earth, a newly established publisher in Glasgow, has reprinted two major works of twentieth-century Burns scholarship: Thomas Crawford's *Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs* (1960) and David Daiches's *Robert Burns* (1950). Long out of print, both works remain essential reading for both Burns specialists and those interested in Scottish studies. Along similar lines, Oak Knoll Press has published the bibliography for the William R. Smith Collection in the Library of the Supreme Council, 33°, S.J., in Washington, D.C., entitled *Burnsiana*. The bulk of this collection consists of over 600 editions of Burns and 180 books about the poet; it also includes six Brash & Reid chapbooks. The introduction claims that the Smith collection is "the most complete collection of the literary works of Robert Burns and Burnsiana in North America" (p. vii), but it lacks several key editions (e.g., the Kilmarnock edition of Burns's *Poems*, Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*, Thomson's *Select Collection*, *Merry Muses*) and manuscripts. The volume does not mention other Burns collections in the United States such as the G. Ross Roy Collection of Burnsiana and Scottish Literature at the Thomas Cooper Library in the University of South Carolina, which has several of the editions above. The introductory essays provide interesting (albeit unscholarly) discussions of Burns's relationship with Freemasonry. On the whole, this volume will appeal most to those with a general interest in "Burnsiana" rather than in current scholarship on the poet.

Fickle Man, a collection of essays edited by Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers, aims to provide up-to-date critical analysis of Burns, as seen in the volume's subtitle: *Robert Burns in the 21st Century*. Consisting of many essays which originally appeared in *The Drouth* (described as "Scotland's Only Literary/Arts Quarterly" [p. 2]), *Fickle Man* wholeheartedly engages the current polemics surrounding Burns. As Rodger and Carruthers remark in their introduction, "our title alludes to the fickleness, perhaps, of Robert Burns in love, livelihood (song-writer as much as poet; farmer and then excise-man), mode of living (drawing room dandy; drinking den randy) and even in culture and politics (peasant poet, in large measure his own construction; polished prose pusher as well as, at his best, near perfect prosodist; Presbyterian; *philosophe*; Jacobite; Jacobin, at least up to a point; patriot for Scotland, for Britain and against the dastardly French of the 1790s)" (p. 9). Out of such apparent oppositions, the contributors to *Fickle Man* do not seek to reconstruct Burns but rather to explore him in all his heterogeneity. Such critical approaches have not always been popular; as the editors note, "what is perhaps most interesting and even astonishing about this work published here, is the extent to which more than 200 years after his death, discussions over the value and legacy of Robert Burns can still be controversial" (p. 2). Indeed, the editors highlight "the public outrage, and even expressions of warning—not to say also, threats—about the danger of opening 'unorthodox' discussions about Burns in the 21st century" that attended the earlier publication of several essays in *Fickle Man* (p. 2).

Throughout the volume there is a decided emphasis on the “explicitly manufactured material images of the poet” in the visual arts, sculpture, architecture, and film (p. 3). The book is divided into three sections (The Image of Burns, Burns and the Enlightenment, and Burns Abroad), with a broad-ranging selection of topics. Tim Burke’s essay “Labour, Education and Genius: Robert Burns and the Plebeian Poetic Tradition” offers an intriguing analysis of Burns’s ambiguous relationship with laboring-class poets, while Owen Dudley Edwards assesses Burns’s influence in Ireland past and present. In “The Vernacular Enlightenment,” Kenneth Simpson discusses Burns’s “radical use of poetic forms” (p. 102). Murray Pittock, in his interestingly titled “Nibbling at Adam Smith: A Mouse’s Sma’ Request and the Limits of Social Justice in the Scottish Romanticism of Robert Burns,” insists that “in order to confirm Burns in the front rank of writers of global significance in the Romantic era, we all have a responsibility to raise the level of critical debate” (p. 119). Editor Johnny Rodger’s essay “The Burnsian Constructs” provides a fascinating examination of the history of Burns monuments from the nineteenth to the twenty-first centuries, while fellow editor Gerard Carruthers in “The Word on Burns” explores “the chaotic textual history of Burns in terms of censorship, wrongly attributed works, bowdlerisation and even forgery [that have] made for a huge layer of muddied accretion around Robert Burns” (p. 33). Author or co-author of three additional essays in the volume, Carruthers investigates the most controversial issue addressed in *Fickle Man*, that of Burns’s relationship with slavery. Carruthers argues that Burns cannot be regarded (upon evidence of his literary works and elements of his biography) as an advocate for abolition; as Carruthers states, “that Burns, a man of undoubtedly genuine humanitarian spirit, is largely silent or maybe even confused on the Abolitionist issue should be a sober lesson to us all in how, for various potential reasons, we can lose sight of the big socio-moral questions that face us” (p. 174). Carruthers also weighs in on attribution issues (particularly regarding the “radical” poem “The Tree of Liberty,” which Carruthers believes was written by Alexander Geddes, not Burns) and discusses the disputed biographical incident of Burns purportedly sending confiscated cannonades to France (a subject also discussed in Crawford’s biography).

Fickle Man is a fine collection on the whole, though there are minor quibbles. The essays vary (sometimes greatly) in length and the amount of scholarship cited, though initial journalistic publication may account for some of this unevenness. The intended audience ranges from general to scholarly as well, which creates some inconsistency of tone and address. Overall, however, the editors have assembled a provocative volume that will spark much (let us hope) friendly debate about the continued vitality and presence of Scotland’s national poet in the twenty-first century. As with the other volumes in this review, it is my hope that collections like *Fickle Man* will prolong and extend scholarly interest in Burns throughout 2009 and beyond.

Corey E. Andrews, Youngstown State University

Sandro Jung, *David Mallet, Anglo-Scot: Poetry, Patronage, and Politics in the Age of Union*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2008. Pp. xiv + 176.

Many readers of this review will be intrigued, perhaps even excited, by Sandro Jung’s opening salvo: the literary worlds of mid-eighteenth century London were “a highly politicized environment which inspired poets to write about current events but which also utilized poets and other writers to confirm the divisiveness in politics originating in and perpetuated by the Court and Country parties” (p. 17). This refreshing study of David Mallet (née Malloch) and his literary career in London from 1723 to 1765 examines both his varied literary productions and their critical reception, and it does so with an eye to detail that has been lacking in the major studies of this remarkably entrepreneurial and innovative period in British literary history. Indeed, Jung supports his case for Mallet’s importance as a uniquely flexible literary impresario with skilled close readings of Mallet’s poems (notably *The Excursion* of 1728), successful tragedy (*Eurydice* of 1731), plays (including *Alfred* of 1740), and various editorial projects. He pays careful attention to contemporary works by Mallet’s friends and collaborators, ranging from the then-obscure James Thomson to the celebrated Alexander Pope, with important reference to the entrepreneurial roles of Aaron Hill. It is therefore ironic that this book’s success as a literary study entails some disappointment when we refer to its ambitious title and subtitle: for there is very little here on Scottish identity or community in mid-century London, little new discussion of the politics or social meaning of Mallet’s considerably wide (some would say mercenary) experience with patronage, and no mention at all of the Union or of its consequences among Mallet’s wide social circles.

Jung’s emphasis on Mallet’s ambitions as a successful poet leads him to observe, on the salient issue of his switching political loyalties around 1742, that “Mallet sensed the change that affected the Opposition and that, for that reason, he attempted to be as versatile a writer as possible” (p. 109). It is difficult to square this view with the more strident claim with which Jung opens this study, that when “his voice was variously utilized by the Opposition, the Government, or the Duchess of Marlborough,” Mallet was exhibiting a “complex personality” (p. 17).

Paradoxically, the Mallet who emerges from this book is shrewd, consistently ambitious, and quite happy to shift his political loyalties to put food on his table, to associate his name with fame, and to succeed in London's highly competitive literary marketplace, where political patronage could still prove more lucrative than anything one could procure from a bookseller's contract.

Mallet was immortalized by Samuel Johnson in his hostile "Life of Mallet" on numerous unfounded points, but one that requires discussion in Jung's book is Johnson's emphatic claim that Mallet "was the only Scot whom Scotchmen did not recommend." By pointing to the innovative literary fruit of Mallet's collaborations with such London-based Scots as John Home, Andrew Millar, Patrick Murdoch, and Thomson, Jung has opened new directions in literary approaches to this period. Jung delineates a mutual "fascination with the discourse and phenomenon of the sublime," which helpfully explains the characteristic "mobility and spirituality," "digressive as well as discursive nature of his poem[s]," and the "inherent fragmentariness" (pp. 46–47) of much Scottish literature that was published in London during this period. Unfortunately, the evocative adjective that Jung uses to define David Mallet in his title has not been elaborated in this primarily poetic study. I hope that Jung will return to these social and political dimensions in a more extensive monograph on the two generations of Anglo-Scottish poets that this learned book merely introduces.

Adam Budd, University of Edinburgh

Lyle Larsen, ed., *James Boswell: As His Contemporaries Saw Him*. Madison and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008. Pp. 256.

For years, scholars of Samuel Johnson have had books such as Aleya Lyell Reade's *Johnsonian Gleanings* (1909–1952) to aid them in codifying most of the biographical data about the Great Cham. Until now, researchers on James Boswell have had no such collection of scattered biographical data. Whereas Johnsonians in the early twentieth century were trying to remedy a deficit of information about Johnson, especially his shadowy earliest years, Boswellians have increasingly been overwhelmed by a glut of biographical information, given the eighteen volumes of *Boswell Papers* (1928–34), thirteen volumes of the Yale Trade Edition of the Journals (1950–89), nine volumes thus far of the Yale Research Edition of the Correspondence (1966–), and one volume thus far of the Yale Research Edition of the Journals (2008–). While the reaping of Boswell's bumper crop of memory into scholarly editions has proven such a monumental task, the gleaning of scattered odds and ends was not seen as urgent. This glut was what was left over after Boswell had carefully edited his remembrance of his actions and diarizing, stating, "I should live no more than I can record, as one should not have more corn growing than one can get in" (Journal, 17 March 1776). As Boswell noted around 1760 in "B———. A Song," "This maxim he says you may see, / We can never have corn without chaff."

Finally, this chaff has found its gleaner, and an assiduous one he is. In offering us his own gathering-in of Boswellian gleanings in this informative and entertaining anthology, Lyle Larsen does a valuable service to Boswell scholarship. The book is well-organized into the three classical periods of Boswell's lifetime: early (1740–1768), middle (1769–1785), and later (1786–1795). As the volume is about Boswell's being described by others as well as by himself, "Post Mortem Years" (1796–1836) are included as a fourth segment, to reflect posterity's initial verdicts, though Larsen's *florilegium* does not reach as late as Macaulay and Carlyle's pungent and deformative essays. Larsen's chronological periods appear on the running heads at the top of pages, a nice touch for the "end user." Each entry is attributed with a citation, often, but unfortunately not always, with page numbers.

Over ninety named authors appear in this book as anecdotalists or witnesses of Boswell, in addition to anonymous newspaper writers who fired on Boswell from the cover of concealment. The inclusion of these hundred or so voices suggests that Larsen has ventured beyond the usual confines of Thrall/Piozzi, Burney, and "Peter Pindar," where scholars normally hunt for pithy, or mean-spirited, observations about Boswell. Each anecdote has a heading identifying its author, making it easier to skim. The type and margins are generous, and the book reads comfortably. It will prove suitable not only for research libraries and Boswell scholars but also for bedsides, fire-sides, and other locales.

Larsen has deviated from his "original plan" by including selections from Boswell himself, including the important *European Magazine* life jokingly known as Boswell's Life of Boswell (pp. 18–19). The wisdom of his inviting Boswell to join the commentators upon himself might he doubted, since we already have adequate shorter versions of the journals (e.g., Mark Harris's problematic *The Heart of Boswell*, John Wain's *The [Abridged] Journals of James Boswell*, and Peter Martin's *The Essential Boswell*) and abridgements of the *Life of Samuel Johnson* and *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*. Others besides Boswell ought to be given a turn to speak, for a change.

Larsen demurs that "this book makes no claim to being encyclopedic. Such a compilation must necessar-

ily be selective” (p. 19). At two hundred pages of sources, the book is still rather slender. Non-specialists, general readers, and undergraduates will find the “Biographical Notes of Authors” helpful, and the five-page “Selected Bibliography” is of good service as well. An eight-page basic index must suffice to guide the researcher through the documents. Larsen is up to date with the Yale research and trade editions of Boswell documents, though not the 1928–1934 *Boswell Papers*, still of some value because it prints fragmentary or telegraphic journal notes omitted in the trade editions. He has also located and transcribed many newspaper articles and clippings about Boswell. Here he follows Lucyle Werkmeister’s important work on *Jemmie Boswell and the London Daily Press, 1785–1795* (1963). Since Boswell was never included in the important *Critical Heritage* series, Larsen’s inclusion of reviews of Boswell’s books helps to remedy that defect.

A few technical errors might have been addressed. For example, Boswell did not produce “his thirteen volumes of journals” (p. 18). Larsen surely means that Boswell’s many journals and journal-fragments in various states of completion, catalogued at Yale as J1–J121, were selectively published in the thirteen volumes of the trade edition.

Larsen’s anthology is a book that any library or scholar with a decent collection on Boswell or his ambit should own, though most will be tempted to emend and augment it as they recall Boswellian stories that Larsen either omitted intentionally or had not yet found. Let the gleaning begin...

James J. Caudle, Yale Boswell Editions

Matthew Gelbart, *The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music”: Emerging Categories from Ossian to Wagner*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xii + 287.

During the eighteenth century Scotland was recognized throughout the West as the *locus classicus* of “tradition,” the defining example of the power and influence of popular culture. Scottish song in particular was hailed as the highest manifestation of the spirit of the people and hence a major component of the national identity. Collections like those of Allan Ramsay, David Herd, Robert Burns and James Johnson, and Sir Walter Scott quickly became canonic and were frequently invoked by writers on Scottish literature. These facts are well known; but exactly why and how this should have happened has less often received the attention it deserves. That it now does so in Matthew Gelbart’s powerful and persuasive book is much to be welcomed.

It emerges that Scottish music is more interesting theoretically than might be apparent to generations reared on Jimmy Shand and “The White Heather Club,” and Scottish theorists and musicologists are a good deal more significant than is usually supposed. Gelbart shows that Scotland was not merely the peripheral source of evidence for edifices of high theory constructed in more developed centers elsewhere but the heart and soul of the whole enterprise. Not only did Scotland offer the raw materials of folkloristic and ethnographic study, but Scottish scholars also produced the creative thinking which led to the definition of “the folk” as a culture-producing as well as a culture-bearing entity.

Influential figures like Thomas Percy in *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* (1765) and Walter Scott in *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–3) promoted a “trickle-down” model, based on the idea that cultural products like the ballads were created by a courtly minstrel class long ago extinct, and that their songs had passed into the possession of the common people who transmitted them down the generations with increasing inaccuracy and artistic loss. But there was an alternative line of argument which envisaged a vitally creative role for the common people. Gelbart shows in detail how the theoretical superstructure for this idea was created. Thomas Blackwell and James Macpherson laid the foundations of the study of oral epic poetry in Scotland, and their work provided the ultimate inspiration for later Scottish scholars such as John Gregory, James Beattie, William Tytler, and Alexander Campbell, who, together with their nineteenth-century successors George Thomson, Finlay Dun, William Daune, William Motherwell, and George Farquhar Graham, created the modern concept of “the folk” and “folk tradition.” Nearly everything in the intellectual armory of later collectors and commentators—including giants like Francis James Child and Cecil Sharp—was in place by 1850 and was the creation almost entirely of Scottish scholars.

The two key concepts in this argument were, first, that the people were the creators rather than the mere custodians of “tradition”—so that pastoral airs, say, might owe their charming naturalness to the fact that they were composed by actual shepherds—and, secondly, that the process was ongoing. “Tradition,” although it contained things of great antiquity—as James Macpherson had insisted—was not something over and done with, which was progressively falling into ruin like a derelict building, but rather was being creatively renewed by each successive generation. This meant that it was not static or declining but growing and changing. Intertwined with this notion was a mounting sense that national identity was intimately bound up with the popular, “traditional,” and “folk” arts. This idea spread outward from Scotland, animating patriotically minded collectors and editors in national cultures throughout the developed world.

Gelbart suggests that concepts like “folk music” and “art music,” far from being fixed or external, were historical constructs developed during the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and that each depended for its definition upon the other. Since the “folk” strand came first, Gelbart devotes most of his book to charting its growth. Turning to the “art” music concept, he considers composers such as Beethoven, who won praise for combining the essence of popular tradition with their own original creativity, fusing “high” and “low” into a new synthesis that was considered the authentic voice of their respective nations.

The Invention of “Folk Music” and “Art Music” is an important work with a wealth of interesting things to say to students of the Enlightenment and the Romantic Revival. It represents a major contribution to the field. But there is one irritating flaw: there is no bibliography, so the reader has to switch between the index and the footnotes when checking sources. One hopes the publisher will remedy this situation when the book goes to a second edition.

William Donaldson, Open University

Ian Duncan, *Scott’s Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007. Pp. xix + 387.

The memorable title of Ian Duncan’s new book could hardly have been a better choice. The towering figure of Sir Walter Scott dominates the study, just as his monument commanded the skyline of nineteenth-century Edinburgh. The influence of Scott permeated Scottish culture, but since it is not easy to pin down or quantify, it is perhaps best approached through a resonant metaphor. His example was immensely inspiring to nineteenth-century Scottish writers, but many also found themselves unavoidably in his shadow. At the same time, Scott’s extraordinary achievement provoked less passive responses in some of his contemporaries and, as Duncan’s study develops, James Hogg emerges from the shadows to take the role of a kind of elusive double, mimicking some of Scott’s techniques and challenging his assimilations of the Scottish past. Elusive and resistant to clear identity, Hogg is another kind of shadow, as he follows the master’s successes, delighting in distortion and surprise. Hogg’s presence was inseparable, too, from the vibrant reviewing culture which grew up around the Romantic novel, at once supportive and adversarial. The question of whether Scott’s achievement had its own darker side, in terms of Scottish cultural identity and the transformation and eventual exhaustion of literary forms, is also addressed from a number of angles in this powerful exploration of nineteenth-century literary practices.

One of the many achievements of Duncan’s study is its willingness to pursue the Romantic novel through different avenues. The importance of the publishing and reviewing culture for the development of fiction in the early nineteenth century has never been demonstrated with such dense detail and theoretical acuity. Duncan’s ability to trace the networks of influence between key figures in the publishing trade, the reviewing culture, and the authors of fictional works makes this an invaluable contribution to our understanding of the novel in the Romantic period. Although excellent studies of the periodicals, of reading practices, of sales figures have recently begun to complement formal and contextual critical accounts of the novel and more traditional single-author studies, there has, as yet, been insufficient effort to integrate fully such different approaches to fiction. Duncan’s study reveals how publishers such as John Murray or William Blackwood contributed to the evolution of British fiction not just by publishing novels but, less obviously, by carrying reviews of certain books, by creating a space in their periodicals for the short story, and by commissioning authors of fiction to contribute influential critical opinions. The novel emerges from this study not so much as an easily recognizable literary form, but as a contested area, where the traces of different influences accumulate, under the critical light of the contemporary periodical press. As such, it forms a major contribution to the ongoing debates over the development of the novel in English, by revealing the complexity of the crucial period in which the experimental forms of the eighteenth century began to coalesce into the dominant genre of the nineteenth. Scott’s location in Edinburgh, with its contemporary intellectual, literary, social, and commercial networks and memories of oral culture, vanished Royalty, violent history, and national division, ensured that his novels developed an internal flexibility that allowed for romance elements to coexist with progressive history, for oral reminiscences to persist within a framework of modern legal understanding, for fiction to be revealed as fiction, without destroying its own fascination. Scott’s novels, which demonstrate their own distinctive development from *Waverley* (1814) to *Redgauntlet* (1824), embraced the tensions of both eighteenth-century Scotland and the emerging genre of the novel.

Rather than look to Defoe, Fielding, Richardson, or even Smollett for Scott’s literary ancestry, Duncan emphasizes the importance of both Scottish Enlightenment philosophy, which he sees diffused through the intellectual culture of early nineteenth-century Edinburgh, and the older, oral traditions of Scotland that were being overwritten by modern print culture. David Hume is identified as the key philosophical influence, his enquiries into the nature of human belief providing a new, comprehensive theoretical basis for the novel by showing that experience

was mediated by the imagination and that all representation was a kind of fiction. Hume's ideas may have provoked controversy in the period, but they were immensely enabling for the modern novelist and especially for the historical novelist. At times, the absence of parallels with the novel *South of the Border* does seem a little strange, though Duncan's study is so rich in detail that to include more extensive comparisons with English fiction might have weakened its density and intensity. Jane Austen's appearance is nevertheless startling in its brevity, given her widely acknowledged contribution to the novel in the Romantic period and Scott's own admiration for her work. Though not part of Edinburgh's intellectual circles, her novels nevertheless reflect Scottish Enlightenment thought, while also demonstrating the importance of other literary forms to the creation of the novel in the Romantic period. The resistance of *Scott's Shadow* to anything English means that the overriding narrative comes to a somewhat melancholy end, with the triumph of Thomas Carlyle's skeptical, essayistic *Sartor Resartus*, and Carlyle's determined removal to London. Scott may have suffered immeasurably during the crash of 1826, and contemporary Scottish novelists may have registered an exhaustion of their form in the years following, but this does not mean that his shadow vanished with his death and cannot be seen in numerous Victorian novels.

Duncan is at his best when demonstrating the fascination of the Scottish novel in the Romantic period. His readings of Scott's own works, as well as those of Hogg, John Galt, and Christian Johnstone, are invariably clever and challenging, and often brilliant. One of the pleasures of the book lies in the author's ability to articulate paradoxes, whether literary, philosophical, or cultural, as for example when the account of Jeffrey's diagnosis of the corruption of the republic of letters by market forces is followed by the pithy observation that the "problem, of course, is that the *Edinburgh Review* participates in the conditions it analyzes" (pp. 51–52). Later, Darcy Latimer's melancholy sense of isolation in a crowded coffeehouse in *Redgauntlet* is seen as an embodiment of the "historical and anthropological theme of modernization," and Duncan comments that "he is exemplary in the very conviction that he is unique" (p. 260). *Scott's Shadow* is full of sparkling insights of this kind, even though some are in danger of being overshadowed by the mass of different ideas and sheer range of references.

If there is any aspect of Duncan's title that may be misleading, it is the insubstantiality of a shadow. This is a deeply researched study and a culmination of many years of careful thought, as the recollections of earlier articles within the overarching argument underline. All those with a serious interest in early nineteenth-century Scottish literature, in the novel, in the rise of the reviewing culture, and above all in Edinburgh will find a great deal to think about in this book. And having read it once, they will want to read it again.

Fiona Stafford, Somerville College, Oxford

Sir Walter Scott, *Waverley; or, 'tis Sixty Years Since*. Edited by P. D. Garside. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. Pp. xvi + 641.

Sir Walter Scott, *Reliquiae Troctosienses, or The Gabions of the Late Jonathan Oldbuck Esq. of Monkbarns*. Edited by Gerard Carruthers and Alison Lumsden. Introduction by David Hewitt. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2004. Pp. xxii + 143.

For rather different reasons these two books constitute important landmarks in the publishing history of Walter Scott: a significant new edition of Scott's most celebrated novel, and a work by the same author never before published. *Waverley* is appropriately designated volume one in the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (EEWN). It is, though, one of the last to appear in this major editorial enterprise, which has almost reached completion in thirty volumes. Peter Garside, who has previously edited *Guy Mannering* and *The Black Dwarf* for the series, is one of Scottish literary studies' most knowledgeable and experienced editors; this new text is both an extraordinary work of scholarship in its own right and a fitting coperstone for the series it leads. As with all the EEWN texts, the historical, explanatory, and textual apparatus is extensive and authoritative; *Waverley* has been edited and annotated many times before, but it is hard to see this edition being surpassed. It makes several advances on Claire Lamont's hitherto standard *Waverley* of 1981, whose choice of first edition as copy-text was itself, fittingly, the model for the EEWN editors' practice. Garside adds further evidence to earlier volume editors' arguments for Scott's involvement in all stages of the revision and printing process; moreover, *Waverley* went through twelve subsequent editions in Scott's lifetime, and the editor has noted authorial changes to the second, third, and sixth editions, before Scott's major involvement in the creation of the Magnum in 1829. Here is further decisive refutation of the old *canard* of Scott's authorial sloppiness.

Most strikingly, Garside revisits Scott's account (in the "General Preface" to the Magnum edition of the Waverley Novels in 1829) of the stages of composition: he claimed to have begun the tale in 1805, laid it aside when a friendly critic dissuaded him from publication, and returned to complete it in 1813 after coming across it by chance while looking for fishing tackle. Such accounts of recovered manuscripts were standard practice in eight-

eenth-century writing, from Percy's *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* to Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, and readers knew perfectly well what degree of credence to accord them. Scott's has proved more resilient to critics' questions. But Lamont's edition usefully reviewed the evidence and suggested some pointed modifications; Garside returns to the issue here and offers a convincing case for dating the first section of the manuscript to 1808, with an intermediary return in 1810–11. He notes—as far as I am aware, for the first time—an advertisement for its publication in a book trade catalogue of John Ballantyne & Co. in September 1811. What prevented Scott from completing *Waverley* at this point? Garside's discovery opens ample space for further research.

His dating conjectures are corroborated by detailed work on the surviving portions of the manuscript, and by his suggestion that *Waverley* was in part Scott's response to Jeffrey's critical essay on *Marmion* in the *Edinburgh Review* in April 1808. Jeffrey had criticized the poem's excessive adherence to antiquarian detail; Scott's response—according to this account—was to produce a romance of universal human nature, “the same through a thousand editions,” which was also a work of real history and—in a veiled way—a commentary on contemporary cultural politics. *Waverley* does, though, have its own antiquary, in the character of Waverley's uncle, the Baron of Bradwardine, whom readers have found amusing and tedious in equal measure. Cosmo Comyne Bradwardine of Bradwardine and Tully Veolan obviously entertained Scott himself; a year after *Waverley*'s publication, he wrote *The Antiquary*, in which two competing antiquarians of differing social status and political persuasions compete for authority and precedence on a battleground of antiquities. Critics have found more of Scott in Jonathan Oldbuck, eponymous antiquary of the second *Waverley* novel and laird of Monkbarrow, than in any of his other characters. The late work published now for the first time as *Reliquiae Trotcosiensis, or The Gabions of the Late Jonathan Oldbuck Esq. of Monkbarrow*, seems to confirm that attribution.

Reliquiae does not belong in the EEW series, but Edinburgh University Press has sensibly published it as a uniform volume, distinguished from the novels by a different colored loose cover (maroon, to their navy blue). It is one of two important and hitherto unpublished manuscripts from Scott's library at Abbotsford, and appears now under the aegis of the Abbotsford Library Project Trust. Scott signed a contract for this work with Robert Cadell in 1831, but publication was halted by J. G. Lockhart on the grounds of the incompleteness and incoherence of the manuscript; the editors have had substantial work to do in constructing a reading text from a highly fragmented and at times incoherent manuscript, partly written in a “stammering” stroke-constrained hand. This is a meticulous exercise in scholarly restoration, and it is much to their credit that Scott's very recognizable voice comes through this late work, composed in declining health and unhappy circumstances. The editors, and David Hewitt's introduction, make a compelling case for *Reliquiae*'s importance as a “highly idiosyncratic, but most intriguingly fictionalised account of Abbotsford and its library.” A proem, in which Oldbuck and his friends bicker over the meaning of “Gabion” and debate the value of the proposed posthumous catalogue of the antiquary's collection, is followed by the catalogue, which Oldbuck's preface declares will deal successively with the repository of the antiquities, “that venerable house” (Trotcossey, or Abbotsford); the interior of the library; the “gabions” and their stories; and the grounds and environment of the house. The surviving text deals only with the first two, although it is somewhat confusingly divided into three parts.

So what is a “Gabion”? The narrator is a gourmet of words, but his explanation creates more uncertainties than it resolves: “The meaning of the word *Gabion*...is not to be sought for in any dictionary. It was of the venerable old gentleman Mr Ruthven's own coining, and it was well enough understood among his select friends, to mean nothing else but the miscellaneous curiosities in his closet humorously described in the poem.” Or, alternatively, “curiosities of small intrinsic value, whether rare books, antiquities, objects of the fine or the useful arts.” At a later point, gabions are explicitly distinguished from “works of merit” in the author's collection; but in the dictionary (where it *does* occur) gabion means a cylindrical wicker basket filled with earth, used in fortifications. Is some kind of defense being built here? The term, as David Hewitt astutely points out, “raises the question of whether antiquaries make antiquities.” *Reliquiae* repeatedly queries the value of—and the attribution of value to—the past. Structurally buttressed by editorial preface and proem, it is a parody of the *Waverley* series; no one could “do” Scott better than the Great Unknown himself. Given that we know he intended publication, and that he was systematically applying himself, ill health notwithstanding, to writing his way out of debt, one wonders whether there may also be an element of hoax on his readership here: just how much would they swallow (paying good money to do so)? This would suggest a different side to the ever-genial and magnanimous Scott. To my mind there is strong evidence of anger, frustration, and violent emotions in the late works, and the determined whimsy (“whim” and “whimsy” occur repeatedly throughout) points as much to non-compliance and determined inconsistency as to the gentler Sternean analogue it acknowledges. “Gabion” in this context is a misused word, a word out of place and twisted from its accepted signification. Like Lewis Carroll's truculent Humpty Dumpty, Oldbuck's words mean what he chooses they shall mean, and his reader, like Alice, must put up and shut up. The gabions are housed in a “Babylon which we have built” whose terms are idiosyncratic and unstable. *Reliquiae* returns and

gives new focus to a continuing preoccupation of Scott's writing back to *Waverley* and beyond, with the ways words and objects combine and mutually mutate as we construe an understanding of the past.

The "sweepings of the study of Mr. Jonathan Oldbuck" are also the leavings, the fragmentary shards, of the prolific, once-mighty inventions of the "Author of *Waverley*." "Nor are we to suppose," he goes on, "that such amusements of the mind are always to be considered as serious exertions of the understanding, or taken as proofs of the real intention or serious belief of the author." This is vintage Scott: the Scott of the preface to *The Fortunes of Nigel* who refused to take himself, or to allow his readers to take him, too seriously; the Scott who believed that the most fiction could or should aspire to was to lighten the burdens and provide temporary alleviation of the pains of life. It is also, here, a little harsher and a little sharper: Oldbuck has hardened with age, his eccentricities more set in non-compliance. But the old self-awareness remains, as he relaxes and "feels [him]self gliding into the true musing style of an antiquarian disposed in sailors' phrase 'to spin a tough yarn'." This is a collection of tough yarns, an exemplification of what Scott's contemporary Washington Irving called "storied associations:" digression is its point, and the over-filled mansion of Abbotsford/Trotcossey is also the well-furnished mind of its author and architect. Almost every book tells not only its own story but the story of its meaning for its antiquarian owner; from beyond the grave (this is avowedly a postmortem text) material artifacts are the repositories of a meaningful past connected to the present. But sometimes the objects fail to raise the associations that give them significance: there is a deeply poignant moment when—returning to an image Scott had used in his post-bankruptcy speech of 1826, acknowledging authorship of the novels—Oldbuck remarks, "my treasures are useless to me because the spell is lost." The text ends with the narrator "again stopped by a volume of some rarity, being an example of ... the manner in which a popular romance was followed by continuations." A fitting summary of the train of connections that links *Waverley* to these late recovered musings. Leavings the *Reliquiae* may be, but they retain the recognizable aura of the Author of *Waverley*, as near the end of his life he quite literally takes stock of his assets. A new work from Walter Scott, and an early favorite in authoritative new form, are treats indeed; both these books offer rich matter for further reflection.

Susan Manning, University of Edinburgh

Walter Scott, *Count Robert of Paris*. Edited by J. H. Alexander. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 562.

Walter Scott, *Castle Dangerous*. Edited by J. H. Alexander. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006. Pp. xvi + 424.

Walter Scott, *The Shorter Fiction*. Edited by Graham Tulloch and Judy King. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009. Pp. xvi + 263.

The three volumes under review—nos. 23a, 23b, and 24 of the Edinburgh Edition of the *Waverley Novels*—skillfully and ambitiously transform our experience and understanding of late Scott. *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous* were first published together as the four-volume *Tales of My Landlord (Fourth and Last Series)* in both London and Edinburgh on 1 December 1831 (though the volumes are dated 1832). In the Edinburgh Edition, however, they are published separately, and the "Introductory Address, by Jedidiah Cleishbotham, M.A." that Scott wrote in London for the *Tales* is placed in the Appendix to the Text for *Castle Dangerous*. This decision was made, J. H. Alexander explains, because Scott had envisaged *Count Robert* and *Castle Dangerous* as quite separate novels, and had acceded only reluctantly to his son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart's proposal that they be "made into a *Tales of my Landlord*." In preparing both novels for publication, Lockhart and Scott's publisher Robert Cadell made extensive (often drastic) cuts and alterations. What is particularly valuable about the Edinburgh Edition of *Count Robert* and *Castle Dangerous* is that it returns to the manuscripts and proofs to recover as much of Scott's work as is feasible; the base text is the first edition, but that text is widely emended. The editor's exceptional scholarship brings into focus not only Scott's artistry but also the motivation of the intermediaries. Alexander comments, for example, on Lockhart's work on *Count Robert*: "His censor's instinct is well developed and is applied in the interests of Protestant orthodoxy as well as sexual prudery. For the former one may cite his changing of 'the Satan of Christian mythology' to 'the Satan of monkish mythology' (270.34-35), and for the latter his deletion at 218.34-38: 'the negro-portress...intimated, that she had been in some sort a witness of his meeting with the Saxon damsel<, although she added, such rendezvous in that place were not altogether unusual, nor was Judith a severe censurer.>' (pp. 429-30)." Freed from the "major censorships" applied by Lockhart and Cadell, as well as from "many minor tonings-down and conventionalisations," *Count Robert* and *Castle Dangerous* emerge in the Edinburgh Edition as challenging and rewarding texts to study.

The Shorter Fiction covers the span of Scott's career as a novelist. It brings together all the stories and sketches that Scott contributed to periodicals: from *The Edinburgh Annual Register*, "The Inferno of Altisidora" (1811); from *The Sale-Room*, "Christopher Corduroy" (1817); from *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, "Alarming Increase of Depravity Among Animals" (1817) and "Phantasmagoria" (1818); and from *The Keepsake*, "My Aunt Margaret's Mirror," "The Tapestryed Chamber," "Death of the Laird's Jock" (1828) and "A Highland Anecdote" (1831). Of the eight pieces brought together in this volume, only three were included in the first collected edition of Scott's fiction, the *Magnum Opus*, published in 48 volumes between 1829 and 1833: "My Aunt Margaret's Mirror," "The Tapestryed Chamber," and "Death of the Laird's Jock." In his journal entry for 20 December 1830 Scott notes that Cadell had proposed "assembling all my detachd works of fiction [and] Articles in annuals." The Edinburgh Edition takes in the five "detachd works" omitted from the *Magnum* on the grounds that the omission does not appear to have been deliberate ("in a letter of 3 August 1831 Cadell lists only those stories included in *Chronicles of the Canongate* [1827] and *The Keepsake for 1829*, and he seems unaware of those which had appeared anonymously earlier in Scott's career" [p. xi]). The decision to include the five stories omitted from the *Magnum* is to be welcomed: the volume as a whole shows Scott's versatility as a writer and the range of his subject matter, his creative relation to the magazine industry, and his influential contribution to the development of the short story as a literary form. Graham Tulloch and Judy King's Essay on the Text and Historical Note provide a wealth of new information. We learn, for example, that in his depiction of the fantastical narrator of "Phantasmagoria," Simon Shadow, and of Simon's father, Sir Mickelmast Shadow, Scott draws not only on the eccentric narrators and characters featured in Scottish periodicals, such as Henry Mackenzie's *The Mirror* and *The Lounger*, but also on *Salmagundi*, a periodical paper written by Washington Irving with his brother William and James Kirke Paulding, which appeared in New York in 1807–8. This excellent volume will open up many new possibilities for critical work on Scott and his transnational literary and historical contexts.

Catherine Jones, University of Aberdeen

Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760–1860*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press, 2007. Pp. viii + 228.

In this study of writing on the Highlands between 1760 and 1860, Kenneth McNeil analyzes representations of the region in the context of British imperial expansion, an aspect of Highland identity which has not so far received sufficient attention. Although the well-documented Scottish identification with the Highlands was a means of asserting a role for Scotland within Great Britain, and Scots were active agents within the imperial project, the Highlands were also defined as "Other," the periphery to the English "Core." Thus, McNeil argues, representations of the Highlands swung between "Self" and "Other," and therefore provide an opportunity to consider the tensions and ambiguities that are a part of national and imperial identity-formation. Engaging with the work of such scholars as Peter Womack, Katie Trumpener, Leith Davis, and Caroline McCracken-Flesher, McNeil's book provides thoughtful reinterpretations of such central elements in the vision of the Highlands as the Ossian poems, Sir Walter Scott's Highlandism, George IV's visit, and Victoria's Highland journals.

Arguing that there was no one-time, fixed creation of Highland identity, McNeil provides a selective but historicized study of the ambiguities of that identity, while he also assesses the "cross-pollinations" between the Highlands and the empire in key texts by James Macpherson, Walter Scott, David Stewart of Garth, Anne Grant, and Queen Victoria. McNeil notes, for instance, that Macpherson's Ossian poems are a "double translation"—from Gaelic to English, and from oral to written form. He discusses Macpherson's conflict over his own intervention in the process of transforming the Highlands, of making "the Other" accessible. McNeil draws on the work of Mary Louise Pratt to consider David Stewart as an example of "autoethnography," but one which both resists and supports the imperial project. Similarly, both Anne Grant and Victoria see themselves "at home" in the Highlands but also position themselves as ethnographic observers, speaking from a distance.

The most significant contribution of this book is McNeil's efforts to situate Highlandism within an imperial context. McNeil argues that in *Rob Roy*, Scott, rather than consign the Highlands to the past, is interested in the nation's modernity. McNeil sees *Rob Roy* as a novel in which Scott considers the effects of economics and market forces on national and regional borders. Scott presents Scotland, Highlands and Lowlands, as a place formed by the circulation and exchange of blood and money. It is this vision of Scotland—a country formed by the circulation of kinship ties, or "tribal bonds"—that Scott puts forward in his stage management of George IV's 1822 visit to Edinburgh. Rather than "privatizing" and depoliticizing the Highlands in her published journals, McNeil argues, Victoria asserted an alternative view of her sovereignty, one in which the domestic space of the Highlands is also the center of her imperial reign, in a manner reminiscent of the "monarch-as-chieftain" role envisioned by Scott for George IV. In perhaps his most effective discussion of the back-and-forth links between the Highlands and empire, McNeil examines how the notion of Highland soldiers as "natural warriors" was manifested in the texts of the 1857 Indian

Mutiny, and subsequently became the roots of “martial races theory” which understood particular native groups as innate soldiers who could be recruited to serve the empire. Yet while this discussion of the export of “Highlandism” in an imperial setting is important, it seems oddly out of kilter with the other chapters of the book, which focus more squarely on texts about the Highlands themselves.

As the consideration of Highland warriors indicates, this book devotes considerable attention to gender in the writing of the Highlands, though with more discussion of masculinity than femininity. In addition to his study of the export of ideas of Highland warriors, McNeil also offers a reading of *Waverley* as a novel offering competing arrays of British masculinity in the context of the struggle against France. He pairs this discussion with an examination of David Stewart’s construction of Highlander soldiers as distinctively Highland, but also loyal to the crown and ideally suited for the service of the state in an expanding empire.

McNeil’s examination of the impact of Britain’s multi-national empire upon understandings of Highland identity is a welcome one, which will surely prompt considerable new thinking on representations of Scotland and the Highlands.

Katherine Haldane Grenier, *The Citadel*

Margaret Connell Szasz, *Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans: Indigenous Education in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2007. Pp xv + 285.

This highly original study comes from an author with a list of publications going back to the 1970s. Her early work was linked to the contemporary attempts of American Indian communities to assert their rights not only to compensation for past wrongs and land but also to a degree of respect for their own traditions that had been sadly lacking in the educational systems offered to them by American governments. Typically, Indians were offered education designed to ensure the eventual disappearance of all that made them distinct, and to absorb them into the dominant English-speaking culture of white America. From this theme Szasz moved to an interest in “culture brokers,” influential individuals who can be seen as mediating between a dominant and aggressive culture and their own indigenous traditions, which they often thought could be best served by absorbing major elements of the dominant culture but with a view to a new cultural synthesis that would preserve the distinctiveness of their own people. Over a long period, and with a close relationship to scholars in the University of Aberdeen, built up through academic exchanges, she has constructed this fascinating exercise in comparative ethnohistory, which culminates in a detailed comparison of two major figures in the history of cross-cultural eighteenth-century education. One is Samson Occam, the Mohegan Indian from southwest Connecticut who became an ordained Presbyterian minister, and the other is Dugald Buchanan, catechist, lay preacher, and the preeminent spiritual bard among eighteenth-century Gaelic poets.

The book starts with the historical background to the situation of the Gaels, Algonquians, and Iroquois, peoples who are central to its analysis. The historical range the author tackles with respect to the Gaels is vast, going from Columba to the Clearances, but with some help from the right people, like Donald Meek, she moves with a sure-footedness to which there is only the rare exception. One remark worries someone like the present reviewer who, given the underlying stability of populations in northeast Scotland, is almost bound to have Pictish blood. We Picts were a civilized, literate, early medieval, orthodox Roman Christian people, subjected to cultural genocide. By saying Columba brought us Christianity (even his biographer never claimed he converted a single Pict) and literacy, the author, whose central theme is “cultural colonialism,” ironically repeats the cant of conquest. Bluntly put, she is talking about conquest and cultural genocide—both pervasive aspects of European history since at least the Albigenian crusade, which used religion to justify a northern French conquest and cultural genocide of the distinctive culture of Provence. Spanish conquistadores and codex-burning friars in America were spectacular exponents of this technique, always justified by a religious mission. Lowland Scots, faced by the apparently incorrigible Jacobitism of many Highland clans, mostly Episcopalian in persuasion, but including a Roman Catholic minority, sought security in changing the religious and linguistic culture of the Highlands.

Central to the argument of this book is the record of the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge (SSPCK), which was founded in 1709 in Edinburgh by an impressive group of Lowlanders under a charter from Queen Anne. Its aim was to set up schools throughout the Highlands and Islands (its first one was, improbably, on St. Kilda), and through them to convert Highlanders to Presbyterianism and to the English language, in which alone pupils were to be taught. One of the many admirably clear maps in this volume shows just how widespread these schools eventually were. The SSPCK stuck stubbornly to its monolingual policy despite protests from intelligent teachers about the absurdity of teaching Gaels in a language they could not comprehend. Latterly the society did adopt a more liberal policy toward Gaelic, though it was clearly designed to facilitate the teaching of English, Presbyterianism, and loyalty to the House of Hanover.

Very similar pressures were being applied to the Algonquian peoples of New England. Fired by the pas-

sion generated by the evangelical revival or Great Awakening of the 1740s, men like Eleazer Wheelock, Samuel Kirkland, and David and John Brainerd were inspired to bring formal education to Indian youth. The SSPCK, whose charter had always envisaged a wider field of operations than Highland Scotland, contributed to the funding of this enterprise, showing far more flexibility than in Scotland. It cooperated across denominational barriers and applied limited funding shrewdly through local committees. In practice, Wheelock's Moor's Indian Charity School tried to convert Indian pupils into English-speaking, Evangelical Christians who would become teachers, preachers, farmers, and tradesmen. Indian girls, who made the school coeducational, though they followed a limited academic curriculum, were meant eventually to be appropriate helpmeets to the boys, whose culture was to be that of a white New England farmer. Limited in outreach, the school ran into grave problems like the inability of its Algonquian products to function effectively as missionary teachers in an alien Iroquois social context, where they could not even speak the language. Wheelock essentially gave up when he moved the school elsewhere. It eventually became Dartmouth College.

Finally, this book develops an original analysis of Occam and Buchanan structured around the concept of the "culture broker." Both came from tribal, non-English-speaking societies. Both accepted Evangelical Christianity in its Presbyterian form, but both were deeply attached to their indigenous culture. Both drew life-changing inspiration from the Great Awakening. They may even have met when they coincided briefly in Edinburgh during the hitherto neglected Scottish part of Occam's 1766 fund-raising tour in Britain. Both wrote spiritual songs for their people. Both were criticized (Occam even by his wife Mary) for going too far across the fine line between accommodation and assimilation. By translating the vitally important catechism into Gaelic in 1758, Buchanan laid the foundation for his selection as final reviser for the Gaelic New Testament of 1767, whose printing he supervised. Few if any have done more for Gaelic than he, but as both he and Occam found, the way of those seeking cultural balance is hard.

Well illustrated with photographs and maps, handsomely produced, and modestly priced compared with academic monographs in the UK, this important, well-written, and original book deserves the attention of a wide range of scholars on both sides of the Atlantic.

Bruce P. Lenman, Emeritus, University of St. Andrews

Susan Manning and Francis D. Cogliano, eds., *The Atlantic Enlightenment*. Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. xii + 209.

Susan Manning and Francis D. Cogliano have collected an interesting and insightful series of essays defining and exploring aspects of the "Atlantic" Enlightenment. In the introduction, they argue that "there is no Enlightenment without the Atlantic [Ocean]" (p. 1). By this they mean that the Atlantic served both as a geographical space through which enlightened ideas and knowledge traveled and as a conceptual space in which ideas and knowledge were produced, defined, and influenced by "transatlantic networks of exchange—of ideas, people, and commodities" (p. 17). The editors' intent with this volume is to promote an interdisciplinary approach to Enlightenment studies. The essays focus on the transmission of enlightened ideas between regions as diverse as Germany, Scotland, and Britain's American colonies, which shared attachment to or involvement in the intellectual and commercial world of the Atlantic. The essays cover the time period from the mid-1700s to the eve of the U.S. Civil War. Although the articles by Paul Giles and Thomas Ahnert examine British and German responses to the American Revolution, the essays primarily concentrate on a "North Atlantic Enlightenment" broadly viewed from a Scottish and Protestant perspective (pp. 9–10).

Sarah F. Wood and James Chandler examine literary works as well as commentaries upon them such as Cervantes's *Don Quixote* and William Hill Brown's *The Power of Sympathy* (1789). Wood considers *Don Quixote* an important part of the eighteenth-century literary canon on both sides of the Atlantic, through which men of letters such as Thomas Paine and Washington Irving interpreted contemporary events like the American and French Revolutions. Chandler explores the influence upon Brown's American novel, the first published following the Declaration of Independence, of Scottish moral philosophy and the theory of moral sentiments. As Chandler suggests, the theory of moral sentiments and the idea of sympathy as a mental power underwent significant development in the works of Scots like David Hume and Adam Smith. It also figured prominently in the thoughts and writings of American republicans like Thomas Jefferson and reflected the transmission of Scottish Enlightenment ideas to America in the late eighteenth century and their wide dissemination to the American reading public.

Several of the essays examine the transatlantic context and influence of Scottish *philosophes* such as David Hume, John Witherspoon, and Adam Smith. Emma Rothschild's article firmly places the official career and economic thought of the rotund and amiable David Hume within the context of an Atlantic world far removed from Edinburgh. Hume's *Political Discourses* (1752) were, Rothschild argues, particularly influenced by Hume's personal and official involvement in Atlantic commerce and diplomacy. There Hume laid out his principles of politi-

cal economy which, Rothschild suggests, reflected his belief that economic improvement, enlightenment, and civilization itself rested on a web of free, peaceful commerce and intercourse among nations, and his fear that the desire for conquest and empire, sentiments well-illustrated by Great Britain's difficult relationship with its North American colonies, would mark the end of free governments and civil society.

Peter S. Onuf also reflects on Scottish influences in America by examining the influence of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* on political economy in the antebellum United States. Onuf amply demonstrates how Smith's economic ideas, read and interpreted from historical and theoretical perspectives by Americans like Henry Clay and John C. Calhoun, were appropriated by both sides in long, acrimonious debates over free trade versus tariff protectionism and federalism versus states' rights—debates that increasingly took on sectional overtones in the 1840s and 1850s.

Both Hume and Smith thought and wrote a good deal about America but never personally crossed the Atlantic. Daniel W. Howe's essay explores the influence of Scottish moral philosophy on John Witherspoon—an Edinburgh-educated, Old Side Presbyterian emigrant to the American colonies in the 1760s—and through Witherspoon on both American higher education and revolutionary politics. As Howe effectively shows, Witherspoon's long and busy life ran through several "stories" (p. 63) written into the history of the revolutionary and early republican periods and illustrated the transatlantic nature of the Scottish Enlightenment. Witherspoon played an important role in Presbyterian ecclesiastical politics on both sides of the Atlantic. He actively participated in federal and New Jersey politics during and after the Revolution. Above all, his presidency at the College of New Jersey (Princeton) set the pattern for American colleges during the antebellum period, and his moral philosophy lectures widely disseminated Scottish common sense moral philosophy in the United States.

In all, this collection of essays is remarkably successful in promoting both a broader Atlantic perspective on the Enlightenment and a more interdisciplinary approach to its study.

Mark W. Bailey, Seneca College of Applied Arts & Technology

Andrew Hook, *Scotland and America: A Study of Cultural Relations, 1750–1835*. 2nd edn. Foreword by Richard B. Sher. 1975. Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2008. Pp. xxi + 262.

It is unusual to review what is substantially a reprint of an academic study first published well over thirty years ago (in 1975), but Andrew Hook's first monograph is an unusual book. Based on Hook's 1960 Princeton University doctorate, it remains a landmark study of cultural, and particularly literary, relations between the emerging United States and a Scottish nation whose print empire expanded throughout and beyond the period when Great Britain was forced to relinquish political control over its most energetic North American colonies.

Like works on eighteenth-century Scotland by David Daiches and Thomas Crawford, Hook's volume is well worth reprinting; and like some other significant scholars of Scottish literature, Hook came to his topic without much prior knowledge. In an engaging new Author's Preface, he explains that his doctoral project was suggested to him by the then chair of Princeton University's English Department, Willard Thorp. "What I knew of eighteenth-century Scotland," Hook recalls, "was no more or less than what had come my way as a student of English literature at the University of Edinburgh in the 1950s, and it must be said that that was not a great deal" (p. xvii). At Princeton, especially in the university's Witherspoon collection, however, Hook delighted in a wealth of material which he came to see as presenting later eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century Americans' view of Scotland as a land of learning, and as a land of romance.

Unable to publish his findings until 1975, since "publishers on both sides of the Atlantic showed little interest," Hook found, eventually, a sympathetic publisher in the once famous Glasgow educational house of Blackie. This meant his book was given some attention in Scotland but, because of distribution issues, comparatively little in America, where Garry Wills's *Inventing America* (1978) attracted considerable flak a few years later for its suggestion that Jefferson and his contemporaries owed deep debts to the Scottish Enlightenment. More recent bestselling commentators such as Arthur Herman have returned to related topics, including some essayed by Hook, but Hook argues that contemporary Scotophilia in the United States has also produced a too-credulous eagerness to see the American Declaration of Independence as an eighteenth-century Declaration of Arbroath.

Introducing this new edition of *Scotland and America*, Richard Sher, whose *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1985) has also stood the test of time, rightly praises Hook's volume for its awareness "of the human-made, contingent, and conflicting character of cultural meaning" (p. xii). Hook's study, ranging from early North American reactions to Ossian through to the nineteenth-century impact of Edinburgh periodicals on east-coast American literary culture, is consistently nuanced and subtle. It is also written with an engaging and exemplary clarity from which not all later students of its subject have learned. Some have, though, and in the early twenty-first century, when Hook's book can be set beside such magisterial studies as Ian Duncan's *Scott's Shadow* (2007) and Susan Manning's *Fragments of Union* (2002)—not to mention Manning's earlier *The Puritan-*

Provincial Vision (1990)—it is easier to appreciate just why *Scotland and America* has a foundational importance. It has become “classic ground” for all scholars of its topic, and is one of the relatively few books in literary studies to open up a significant field, yet remain to some extent unsupplanted.

For anyone interested in Scottish–American literary relations in the Enlightenment and Romantic periods (periods which are largely one and the same in Scottish culture), Hook’s volume remains the best starting point. Reproducing the original text photographically (and so not indexing the new prefatory material), the 2008 edition supplements this with a freshly revised bibliography in addition to the new foreword and author’s preface. Republished in Glasgow over thirty years after the original Blackie edition, *Scotland and America* should be relatively easy to get hold of thanks to Internet bookselling and print-on-demand technology; but it is still unfortunate that Hook’s thesis was never taken on by a major international publishing house which would have been better placed to help it command transatlantic broadsheet review coverage and so help bring it the intellectual attention it deserved when first written. Decades later, with plaudits from Sher, Manning, Colin Kidd, and others, it remains a book necessary to all university libraries, but also one refreshingly and commendably approachable. I salute it.

Robert Crawford, University of St. Andrews

Elaine G. Breslaw, *Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America: Expanding the Orbit of Scottish Culture*. Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2008. Pp. ix + 376.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton is best known as a commentator on eighteenth-century American life in his travel narrative, *Itinerarium: Being a Narrative of a Journey...from May to September, 1744*. In *Dr. Alexander Hamilton and Provincial America*, Elaine Breslaw expands our knowledge of Hamilton’s contribution to the American colonies by exploring the whole of his life. Her work successfully argues that in his attempt to refashion Annapolis society to his liking by introducing Scottish polite culture in the form of the Tuesday Club, Hamilton had a significant impact on the development of American polite culture and intellectual life.

The first section of the work, *Scottish Scene*, situates his family’s position in Scotland and Hamilton’s experience in Edinburgh before going to America in 1738. Here Breslaw places the Hamilton family in “gentrified circles” and Alexander himself firmly in the midst of the burgeoning club culture of Edinburgh. The second section, *Adapting to the New World*, focuses on the life events that led to Hamilton’s decision to emigrate to Maryland and his early adjustment to life as a doctor in the settlement of Annapolis. There were very few Scots in the region and Hamilton’s only relative in the colony was his brother. Like so many other immigrants isolated from family, friends, and countrymen, in addition to suffering from poor health, Hamilton had great difficulty adjusting to the New World and briefly considered returning to Scotland. Instead, he planned the trip recorded in the *Itinerarium*. During this tour he visited with Scots in places such as Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Outside Annapolis, he got a glimpse of what life in the colonies could be like—cultured, civilized, and convivial.

Before his journey north in 1744, Hamilton had decided to stay in the colonies. The third section of the book, *Settling Down*, details his efforts to put down firm roots in Maryland. It is also during this period that he made his greatest contribution to Annapolis’s social and intellectual life, and arguably to all the colonies, by founding the Tuesday Club in 1745. If he could not find cultured company in town, he would create it by educating men of suitable rank. The Tuesday was modeled on the Whin Bush Club Hamilton had known and loved in Edinburgh. The first eight members were primarily British educated, but soon their ranks grew to include others. Their meetings, held in private homes instead of public houses as in Edinburgh, consisted of conversations and satires on politics, religion, and other current events. Their intent was to discuss controversial issues with humanity and wit. The meetings often included music, and not just in private, for by 1751 several members were performing public concerts. The fourth section discusses the activities of this club as well as the final years of Hamilton’s life. The epilogue recounts the founding of many similar clubs in the colonies and their influence on creating genteel life in America.

Interwoven with the story of Hamilton’s life, derived from his publications and correspondence, is much rich detail about colonial life, medicine, mores, travel, migration, and music. While some of this material may be unnecessary to experts in these respective fields, it should prove valuable and interesting to the non-specialist or student. The extensive footnotes and the notes on the sources will also be useful for those new to the field. Several of Hamilton’s own illustrations of Tuesday Club activities provide visual context for his life. However, maps of the colony of Maryland and Hamilton’s travels in 1744 would have been helpful for geographic context.

Breslaw has provided an excellent transatlantic study of this immigrant success story, in which both sides of the Atlantic are shown to be important to Hamilton’s experience in Maryland. The work adds not only to the growing body of literature on the Scottish contribution to American culture but also to the literature on identity creation in the New World. Hamilton came to Maryland as a Scot but had to adapt to prevailing norms in the Chesapeake; at the same time he influenced the Chesapeake with his introduction of the Tuesday Club. Thus his

story reminds us that just as America remade the immigrant, the immigrant remade America.

Amanda Epperson, University of Akron

Allan I. Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Pp. xv + 382.

Allan Macinnes's most recent monograph is the latest addition to the already comprehensive, and often controversial, historiography that surrounds the Union of 1707. Macinnes begins with a detailed discussion of this historiography and how attitudes have been shaped by the contemporary debates of Lockhart of Carnwath, Clerk of Penicuik, and Daniel Defoe, and more recently by the political and economic controversies that have characterized twentieth-century scholarship. It is a pity that the timing of the book, although understandable, precludes any engagement with the other works published to coincide with the tercentenary of union, most notably Christopher Whatley's *The Scots and the Union* (2006), a project that I was involved with as a research assistant. This would have brought Macinnes's otherwise thorough analysis full circle.

Macinnes adopts a long-term approach to the topic, guiding the reader through the often complicated and seldom straightforward relationships between Scotland and England in the period from c.1603, and the several attempts to forge some form of political union. He identifies three distinct notions of state formation that influenced attitudes to union. These range from the Britannic model of imperial monarchy favored by James VI and I, to the Scottish concept of federative union championed by leading Covenanters, and the Anglocentric Gothic belief in the complete supremacy of the English Parliament, underwritten by the Revolution of 1688–89. This had a considerable impact on Anglo–Scots relations and negotiations for union in 1689 and again in 1706–7, with Scottish interests regarded as subordinate to those of England. In comparison, the Revolution settlement limited the court's influence over the Scottish Estates and, as a result, the relationship between the nations became increasingly strained in the years immediately before union. Consequently, incorporation was preferred as a means of guaranteeing English national security (against France and Jacobitism) and, in return, Scottish prosperity; Scots were moved by economic considerations.

This is where Macinnes's approach differs from the more established economic arguments set out by the likes of T. C. Smout and Chris Whatley. Both consider the Scottish economy to be in serious difficulty by the late seventeenth century and believe economic factors to be just as important as political maneuvering in the making of the Union. The Scots found it increasingly difficult to compete in a period of mercantilist policies and protectionism, and while not lacking in enthusiasm or entrepreneurial spirit, had neither the ways nor means to establish themselves on the world stage. The attempt to found a trading colony at Darien had been an ignominious and costly failure, and Scots' problems were exacerbated by a series of linked crises precipitated by war, a succession of poor harvests, and famine. Therefore, access to English markets was a means of promoting economic recovery. Macinnes, on the other hand, challenges what he seems to consider economic determinism and, like T. M. Devine, offers a more "optimistic" view of the Scottish economy from the Restoration. Here Macinnes focuses on Scotland's potentially lucrative transatlantic trade, the means by which Scots managed to circumvent the Navigation Acts, and the impressive networks established by Scottish merchants that stretched from the Baltic to the Chesapeake. Scots merchants were particularly adept at "tramping" and in terms of the carrying trade were considered legitimate rivals to their English competitors.

In some respects, the case for decline is attributed to an overreliance on official records and creative book-keeping that tends to exaggerate the level of dislocation and general impoverishment. While commerce was adversely affected by the several difficulties facing Scots in the later seventeenth century, these had only a marginal impact on the leading burghs engaged in overseas trade; it was the inland and small coastal burghs that were prone to financial ruin. For Macinnes, the Scottish economy was resilient enough to endure the crises of the 1690s and, although temporarily incapacitated, was far from irredeemably crippled. Yet, notwithstanding Scottish ambition and enterprise (at home and abroad), it is difficult to overlook the amount of contemporary evidence that reflects the extent of civic decline in Scotland. Although decline was by no means universal, the Convention of Royal Burghs received regular reports concerning silted-up harbors, ramshackle public buildings, ruinous housing, and insufficient trade. Even allowing for exaggeration, the extent to which the Scottish economy benefited from overseas trading networks in this period (outside of the few larger burghs with well-established contacts in the North American colonies) is still undetermined.

The closing section of the book (part IV) deals with the passage of the Treaty of Union by Parliament. Like Macinnes's earlier work on this subject, it is meticulously researched and helps to move the debate beyond the tired (but still popular) notion that Scottish politicians were little more than "rogues." He traces the complex factors that helped shape the three main political parties and persuaded Scots commissioners to support or oppose union. However, Macinnes's account deviates from recent work (particularly Whatley) in its interpretation of what

the Scots gained from the treaty. Rather than view the articles as an achievement (more so in light of the various concessions and amendments that benefited different Scottish trading interests), Macinnes contends that, based on the strength of the Scots' established commercial networks (and possible alternatives to incorporating parliamentary union), they resulted in subordinate Scots representation at Westminster and regulations that did not necessarily work to the benefit of Scottish trade. Scots commissioners did not take advantage of the English need for a stable political environment and failed to hammer out more favorable terms.

This is an important book that adds an extra facet to the Union debate. Throughout, it is well researched, and the extensive footnotes are a valuable source in their own right. By combining a more optimistic slant on the strength of the pre-Union Scottish economy with a more pessimistic evaluation of the effects of the Union for Scotland, *Union and Empire* is clearly deserving of a prominent place in the wide-ranging historiography of union.

Derek J. Patrick, University of Dundee

George K. McGilvary, *East India Patronage and the British State: The Scottish Elite and Politics in the Eighteenth Century*. London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008. Pp. vi + 288.

The thesis of this book will come as no surprise to historians of colonial South Asia, who have long noted the preponderance of Scots at all levels of the East India Company's administration in eighteenth-century India: India patronage was used to ensure the stability of the fledgling British state formed in the wake of the Union of Scottish and English Parliaments in 1707. The author argues that a clear link can be established between British politics in the post-Union period and the increasing presence of Scots in different institutions of the Company State. Scottish influence in India is traditionally traced to the policies of Henry Dundas, who became president of the East India Company's Board of Control in 1793. George K. McGilvary shows, to the contrary, that Company patronage was used to facilitate the management of Scotland from 1725 onward, following various incidents of Scottish disaffection (including the Jacobite rising of 1715), culminating in the riots against the malt tax in that year. First minister Robert Walpole was able to enlist the support of the Earl of Islay, who delivered political stability and the votes of Scottish MPs in exchange for a free hand with patronage and the authority to govern Scotland. John Drummond of Quarrel, an influential Scottish director of the Company, played a key role in the deployment of this patronage. The book explores Drummond's networks at home and abroad, and following Drummond's death in 1743, Argathelian control of civil, legal, and ecclesiastical positions in Scotland, as well as Company posts in India, through the offices of Lord Milton and Duncan Forbes.

The reader is offered a plethora of details about the working of kinship networks in Scotland and their manipulation through East India patronage (who knew whom and asked what of them) but no analytical framework within which to make sense of them. Families with electoral influence in Scotland were rewarded for support with placements in the Company's military and civil services—we are told how important Indian careers like those of Alexander Dalrymple, the Company's famous hydrographer (p. 108), and John Macpherson, governor-general of India (pp. 149–150), began with the trading of favors and votes between their families and government. MacGilvary mentions that Macpherson was a close friend of the Edinburgh *savant* Adam Ferguson but does not explore whether the relationship had any implications for the development of the Scottish Enlightenment, although he *does* observe on a couple of occasions that Indian largesse and the new experiences acquired there probably contributed to its flowering (pp. ix, 185). McGilvary's intuition opens a promising line of inquiry, which should be followed up with all possible speed. Modern scholarship on eighteenth-century India is beginning to show how knowledge-making practices acquired at Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen universities laid the foundations for the Company state and its government of India. Was there a feedback loop? Did returning Indian nabobs use their newly acquired capital to impart a particular Scottish character to the new British state?

The book includes a useful chapter on capital accumulation from 1720 to 1780 (pp. 184–202) and an appendix listing Scots who received or provided patronage between 1720 and 1779 (pp. 209–32). The author proposes, with justice, that the inflow of capital from India enabled the rapid development of Scottish agriculture, commerce, and industry in the 1760s and 1770s, although it is difficult to separate and quantify India capital from that accruing from other sources. The appendix, and indeed the book as a whole, could have been strengthened by reference to recent literature on eighteenth-century India, for example Burton Stein's splendid biography of Thomas Munro or Nicholas Dirks's research on Colin Mackenzie.

Minakshi Menon, University of California, San Diego

Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008. Pp. xii + 638.

This book is a detailed work of scholarship, completing Emerson's earlier *Professors, Patronage and Politics: The Aberdeen Universities in the Eighteenth Century* (1991) and bringing together the twenty-one articles

on the Scottish Enlightenment listed in his bibliography. Following the standard set by Richard Sher's *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (1985), Emerson has demonstrated the centrality of patronage for the flowering of thought in eighteenth-century Scotland. The Scottish Enlightenment emerged from the purging of Jacobites and strict Presbyterians, and the filling of vacant and newly created university positions under the political direction of the 11th Earl of Mar, then by the Squadrone, until they were superseded by Archibald Campbell, Earl of Ilay, later third Duke of Argyll. The third Earl of Bute and his brother, James Stuart Mackenzie, handled patronage from London after the death of Argyll in 1761, but the most effective political manager of academic patronage from 1780 was Henry Dundas, whose dominance was contemporaneous with the American and French revolutions. Dundas sponsored academics who were politically conservative, rather than scholarly or innovative. The grand thesis of Emerson's fine book is: "As the 3rd Duke of Argyll had helped to make the Scottish Enlightenment, Henry Dundas helped to end it" (p. 180). The cover of *Academic Patronage* features a brightly illuminated portrait of the duke on the top left and a dimly lit portrait of Henry Dundas on the bottom right.

Patronage, like the word "patronizing," has a negative connotation today that it lacked in the eighteenth century. All major writers of the eighteenth century depended on royal or aristocratic patronage, despite the fallacious claims of Hume and Smith that an independent existence was possible in the marketplace of ideas, or Johnson's and Gibbon's claim that booksellers were the modern patrons of literature. Emerson does not define the slippery concept of patronage. His use of "the gravy train" (for example, pp. 266, 369) as synonymous with patronage has a contemporary ring, and perhaps suggests Smith's negative assessment of feudal aristocrats unproductively frittering away their revenue on retainers, rather than investing in knowledge production. We tend to think of patronage appointments as sinecures or positions granted without open competition and regardless of merit, rather like what Patrick Cuming got for "his dull son, Robert," who inherited the chair of ecclesiastical history and did not lecture for the twenty-six years he held the chair (pp. 236, 242), Emerson provides abundant examples of such appointments at all Scottish universities. Indeed, he writes that "open competition for jobs had ended because in that age [1704 Glasgow] it was unnatural" (p. 51). Presumably, Emerson means that, in an age of instability, the reliable recommendations of the great were less divisive than a contest that would have pitted Presbyterians against Episcopalians, Jacobites against Whigs, Moderates against High Flyers, those promoting Union against those opposed to it.

Edmund Burke defined patronage as the tribute that opulence owes to genius, and Rousseau defined patronage as the consideration that wealth owes to talent. While these definitions may seem self-serving, Emerson indicates that the third Duke of Argyll appointed talented persons who were politically useful to him, whereas Dundas appointed men inclined to suppress American or French republicanism, regardless of their talent or academic competence.

Emerson distinguishes nepotism from patronage, or duties to one's family, kin, and friends from duties to needy and meritorious strangers, although many have equated the two. Indeed, the second Duke of Argyll thought his brother Ilay ignored the claims of family, kin, and friends in establishing his political network. Emerson indicates that "Ilay disliked giving the members of a single family more than one post in any college and he was against sons following their fathers in chairs. *Dislike* did not mean that he did not make such appointments, only that he had to be persuaded to do so" (p. 539). The characteristic feature of Scottish universities was the tendency of professors to hire their own sons and relatives, sometimes converting a chair into a heritable or vendible estate. In 1714, ten of seventeen of Glasgow University's staff were related to one another. Indeed, George Jardine's vetoing of his son's candidacy to replace Thomas Reid in the chair of moral philosophy is a striking exception to the rule. Emerson does not explain why Jardine did so but asserts that he blocked his son's candidacy for John Millar's chair in law because it did not pay well enough to compete with the bar (pp. 193, 199). Emerson claims "Dundas had abetted the professors' nepotistic ways" (p. 502), with the result that the entire faculty of St. Marys at St. Andrews became composed of the related families of Hills and Cooks.

An Augustinian Calvinist could use Emerson's data to argue that patronage, in the sense of outside political interference in the running of a university, was essential to repress the all-too-human propensity of fallen men to look to their own family or kin rather than to the common good or to buy and sell chairs regardless of the ability to teach the subject matter. The Augustinian holds that the people are best served when they are not given what they want. The Scottish Enlightenment was unpopular: the Jacobites purged in 1690 "were almost worshiped in the streets by persons of all ranks" (p. 376). The Squadrone and Argyll appointed Moderates, those who rejected the militant Calvinism of the mid-seventeenth century and who accepted the English practice of lay patrons appointing the clergy, unlike the Popular party Presbyterians who wanted local clerical selection and kirk independence. Emerson indicates that the introduction of lay patrons in Scotland facilitated the integration of the Highlands and Lowlands, "made the country more aristocratic in its management and more aligned with an England in which the fran-

chise was increasingly exercised by relatively fewer people" (p. 535). The mainstream of the Enlightenment, as J.G.A. Pocock and Knud Haakonsen have argued, was a conservative reaction to the English Civil War. Thus, a quibble with Emerson's remarkable work of scholarship: the antithesis between Argyll's appointment of radically innovative men and Dundas's appointment of unenlightened conservatives is perhaps overdrawn. Perhaps the ideas that were new at the time of the Union—Newtonian experimentalism and Lockean empiricism, their application to agricultural and medical improvements, the superiority of the "civilized" Lowlands to the "barbaric" Highlands, the suppression of political Calvinism by lay patrons, etc.—had lost their first freshness by the 1780s, and thus the energy for enlightenment waned for reasons independent of the inferiority of Dundas as a patron. However, Emerson rightly draws our attention to the fact that the third Duke of Argyll "was as much an originator and sustainer of the Scottish Enlightenment as any who wrote the books which make it memorable" (p. 141). It is very much to be hoped that the Campbells of Argyll will permit access to family papers for Emerson to write a much needed biography of this highly cultivated and intelligent man.

Edward G. Andrew, Emeritus, University of Toronto

Matthew D. Eddy, *The Language of Mineralogy: John Walker, Chemistry and the Edinburgh Medical School, 1750–1800*. Farnham, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. xxii + 310.

Among recent and significant scholarship on the nature and intellectual dissemination of the Enlightenment in Scotland and on the making, circulation, and reception of its ideas in and from different intellectual venues, attention has been paid both to the role of authorship, printing, and publishing, and to the importance of patronage. In regard to the first, Richard Sher's *The Enlightenment and the Book* (2006) has shown how the Enlightenment was a textual phenomenon, recoverable and even conceptually mappable from its printed works and discernible now in terms of book history in edition histories and in different formats according to audience. On the question of patronage, Emerson's *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2008) has addressed the importance of social and political influence in the appointment and subsequent careers of the Enlightenment professoriate, with reference to Glasgow, Edinburgh, and St. Andrews universities.

Matthew D. Eddy's focus is with principles, practice, and pedagogy. Eddy's particular concern is to disclose the classificatory practices and the languages of chemical taxonomy employed in the lectures of Rev. Dr. John Walker, professor of natural history at Edinburgh University from 1779 until his death in 1803. In contrast to many of his peers whose work appeared in print, Walker produced a large body of important work that remained unpublished during his lifetime. It included geological observations, teaching materials, a flora of Edinburgh and surrounding region (extending the earlier similar work of James Sutherland), anticipations of Linnaean classifications of the genus *Alga*, and an account of species of the genus *Salix*. Walker was church minister variously at Glencorse south of Edinburgh, at Moffat in the Scottish Borders (where he earned the sobriquet "the mad minister of Moffat" for his natural history collecting and experimentation), and at Colinton near Edinburgh. He was a close friend to William Cullen and Joseph Black among other Edinburgh Enlightenment luminaries. Yet he was no merely local man: his extensive correspondence networks, his active development of the natural history museum at Edinburgh through purchase and donation, and the fact that his many students came from England, Ireland, continental Europe, America, the West Indies, and Bengal, as well as from all parts of Scotland, show Walker to have been at the center of an Enlightenment world of collection, instruction, and classification.

The central focus of Eddy's detailed account is Walker's "chymical" language, that is, the classificatory practices in mineralogy and in the geology and chemistry of the earth's salts, waters, and airs which Walker used in teaching natural history to Edinburgh's medical students. The natural history of the earth did not easily reduce to order. Such systems as did emerge—for example, Linnaeus's binomial taxonomy, or the mineralogical schema of Cronstedt or of Bergmann—were not always agreed upon by other systematists elsewhere. Foucault has traced the epistemic "making visible" of systematic as opposed to emblematic natural history along broadly theoretical lines in *The Order of Things* (1970). Others have shown classification and description to be more evidently context- and time-specific (for example, the essays in Bender and Marrinan's 2005 book *Regimes of Description: In the Archive of the Eighteenth Century*). Eddy is careful to place his discussion in an Edinburgh context, but also to suggest that since Walker drew upon Bergmann, as did others, the classificatory principles taking shape within Edinburgh's medical teaching were shared with those at the heart of the nascent earth sciences in Scandinavia rather more than they were with others in Paris. Eddy has carefully sifted through Walker's papers and manuscripts to reveal Walker the nominalist, an empiricist who was highly skeptical of theoretical disquisition about, for example, the age of the earth or the cause of its geological diversity (a skepticism that helps to explain Walker's dismissal of Buffon's work and Walker's dispute with William Smellie over the chair of agriculture in 1790). The attention to detail and the thoughtful argumentation, using contemporary scholarship and modern work in Enlightenment studies, present a compelling case for Walker's importance in these terms.

Following a short introduction which outlines the languages of systematics, the book has five main chapters. These take us from Walker's education and life, through his "chemical education" and the context (chemical and in terms of patronage) behind his early work on mineral waters, before turning to Walker's own travels as a natural historian and mineralogist, to his teaching principles and to the chemical foundations of geology in the later Scottish Enlightenment. Seven appendices cover aspects of Walker's chemical nomenclature and his mineralogical systems and, helpfully, give lists of his correspondents and of his students.

This book gestures toward but stops short of being a biography of one of the Enlightenment's lesser-known but important figures. Neither is it a dry history of Enlightenment taxonomy in the abstract, read philosophically, so to speak. It is an important study of the methods used to order the earth so that its products might be made intelligible, here in medicine, to enlightened audiences, initially students, who would take these ideas into different social and intellectual communities. It is thus—perhaps surprisingly, given the intrinsic nature of the subject matter—an engaging account of the ways in which earth knowledge was made useful, of the importance of collecting and observational practices, and of work in the field and in the classroom. If, then, it is an important book for historians of the Enlightenment earth sciences, notably but not alone in a Scottish context, it ought not to be overlooked by all those interested in the ways in which ideas were taught, discussed, and categorically placed before being, if ever they were at all, printed and patronized by enlightened others.

Charles W. J. Withers, University of Edinburgh

Francis Hutcheson and James Moor, *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus*. Edited and with an Introduction by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne. Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2008. Pp. xxxi + 213.

Johann Gottlieb Heineccius, *A Methodical System of Universal Law, with Supplements and a Discourse by George Turnbull*. Edited and with an Introduction by Thomas Ahnert and Peter Schröder. Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2008. Pp. xxi + 687.

Francis Hutcheson famously criticized David Hume for lacking "a certain warmth in the cause of virtue." He was attacking Hume's work as an anatomist of morals in his *Treatise* and, we may assume, he thought his own work better displayed the work of both anatomist and moral painter, as Hume later put it. But one need not express warmth in the cause of virtue only in one's scholarly work. One might, as well, provide for readers edifying moral discourses. And so in a letter to his friend Thomas Drennan on 31 May 1742, accompanying some copies of a new translation of *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* printed by Robert Foulis, Hutcheson commented that he thought the volume would sell well in Belfast, and "I am sure it is doing publick good to diffuse the Sentiments" expressed in the work (p. ix).

Despite Hutcheson's enthusiasm for the project (and for Foulis's endeavors), Hutcheson's name did not appear as translator or annotator of the work. This fact, along with his letter to Drennan challenging him to identify which parts of the work had been translated by the "very ingenious Lad," James Moor, and which parts by Hutcheson himself, raises a number of intriguing questions that are addressed by the editors of this volume: a no less ingenious—but hardly laddish!—James Moore and Michael Silverthorne. Their introduction is splendid, persuasively identifying the division of labor between Hutcheson and Moor, placing the *Meditations* in its Glaswegian and Scottish Enlightenment contexts, and addressing the significance of Hutcheson's notes to the translation. Mistakes are few, all of them occurring in the section discussing Hutcheson and Christianity. To take but one example, from Hutcheson's note that "A continued innocence of manners is preferable to even the most thorough repentance after gross vices" and "the advantage of 'being always straight and upright rather than one rectified and amended,'" it does not follow that Hutcheson was "unimpressed by the Christian doctrine of repentance after vice" (p. xxiii). Perhaps, rather, Hutcheson was echoing the admonition that, as Jesus taught, readers are "to be perfect, as their father in heaven is perfect." One can certainly think it better to be a moral saint than a moral lout without believing that repentance after vice is unimpressive and unimportant. Still, this is a fine addition to the Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics series, with a model introduction.

George Turnbull's annotated translation of Heineccius' *A Methodical System of Universal Law* was published in London in 1741, well after he had left Aberdeen and Scotland, though only shortly after the appearance of his *Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy* (1740), also published in London. Turnbull's encyclopedic knowledge is, as always, impressive in his notes on Heineccius. But readers of this work, especially Turnbull's own short treatise, "A Discourse upon the Nature and Origine of Moral and Civil Laws" and the supplement on the duties of subjects and magistrates, both of which follow his translation, will wonder about the relation of this work to the rest of the corpus. Unfortunately, they will get only a little help from this edition's introduction although, oddly enough, references to the *Principles* occur almost as frequently as references to Turnbull's notes to Heinecc-

cius. Was Shaftesbury but a “youthful” infatuation of the much earlier written, though only recently published, *Principles*?

Readers will appreciate this volume of Turnbull’s work, but they will also want to consult Terence O. Moore’s introduction to Turnbull’s *Observations upon Liberal Education* as well as Alexander Broadie’s introduction to *The Principles of Moral and Christian Philosophy*, both of which are also available in this series, to gain a fuller and richer understanding of Turnbull.

Thomas D. Kennedy, Berry College

Francis Hutcheson, *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*. 2nd edn. Edited and with an Introduction by Wolfgang Leidhold. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2008. Pp. xxxii + 271.

The first Liberty Fund edition of Hutcheson’s *Inquiry* appeared in 2004, part of the new *Collected Works and Correspondence of Francis Hutcheson* being assembled under the aegis of Knud Haakonssen’s Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics series. It was not well received. Daniel Carey expressed serious reservations in this publication (no. 19, Spring 2005: 17–18), and Christoph Fehige provided extensive and detailed criticisms in a review essay in the *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* (13 [2005]: 563–74). Having noted extensive problems with almost every aspect of Wolfgang Leidhold’s edition, Fehige advised against using it without first checking the eighteenth-century original editions, and expressed the hope that there might soon be either a revised edition or else “a long list of errata.” Sensibly, Liberty Fund, Haakonssen, and Leidhold have chosen the former course of action, and it should be said immediately that this new edition is a vast improvement on the first. Problems with the transcription of Hutcheson’s “moral mathematics” have been solved. The indexing has been improved. Crucially, the textual notes, in which are noted the differences between the editions of the *Inquiry* seen through the press by Hutcheson himself, now take into account the fact that the textual history of the *Inquiry* is more complex than Leidhold admitted in the first Liberty Fund edition. There are sixty pages of textual notes where there were forty-eight before, and it appears possible to track the differences between the three versions of the 1725 edition, between the three versions of the 1738 edition, and between the first version of the 1738 edition and the 1729 edition. Fehige called Leidhold’s first attempt at editing the *Inquiry* “philological mayhem.” Things are much more orderly now.

There do, it is true, remain some causes of concern. The criteria for selecting what calls for comment in editorial footnotes and what does not continue to be somewhat opaque. To give just one example, Hutcheson concludes Section VI of Treatise I with the following rather cryptic remark: “Grandeur and Novelty are two Ideas different from Beauty, which often recommend Objects to us. The Reason of this is foreign to the present Subject. See *Spectator* No. 412.” Hutcheson could rely on complete editions of *The Spectator* being easily available to any reader of his *Inquiry*. The modern editor cannot, and some indication of what is said in *Spectator* no. 412 would have been useful. On the opposite page, by contrast, Leidhold chooses to tell us that John Milton was an English “poet and author.” Hutcheson’s italics remain absent from this revised edition, although they are retained in Aaron Garrett’s Liberty Fund edition of the *Essay and Illustrations*. The bibliography has been updated and expanded, but not so far as to include either Thomas Mautner’s *Francis Hutcheson: Two Texts on Human Nature* or Agostino Lupoli’s Italian edition of the *Inquiry*, two bibliographical treasure troves for all students of Hutcheson, including students of the *Inquiry*. The introduction still eschews detailed analysis of the text, engagement with the history of interpretations of the *Inquiry*, and exploration of its influence, in favor of remarks on political freedom which have the air of being included just because the word “liberty” is in the name of the publisher.

Both Carey and Fehige expressed puzzlement at the text upon which Leidhold chose to base his critical edition. Of the four original editions of the *Inquiry*, Leidhold selected the *second* as the basis of his Liberty Fund edition. A much more obvious choice would have been the fourth and final edition. A case could also be made for using the first. But to use the second seems just perverse, absent an explanation of the choice. The explanation given in the first Liberty Fund edition was that the second edition “is the first corrected text.” This hardly served to make things clear. Now Leidhold says that the second edition “was chosen for its philosophical relevance.” And that is all he says. My point is not that it is inconceivable that there is a good reason to use the second edition as the basis of a critical edition of Hutcheson’s *Inquiry*. It is simply that what that reason is remains a mystery.

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María Isabel Wences Simon, *Sociedad civil y virtud cívica en Adam Ferguson*. Prologue by Eusebio Fernández García. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2006. Pp. 302.

María Isabel Wences Simon, a professor at the Universidad Carlos III in Madrid, bases this book on her prize-winning 2003 doctoral thesis. The prologue by the director of her thesis, Eusebio Fernández García, discusses the value of Ferguson’s conception of civil society.

Wences Simon characterizes the aim of her book as demonstrating how Ferguson sets forth a combination of liberalism and civic humanism that should also contribute to current political reflection. Along with her introduction, the book is composed of six chapters: one on the “golden age” of Scotland, a second on Ferguson as archetype of the enlightened Scot, and then chapters on human nature, the historical and institutional background of Ferguson’s conception of civil society, commerce and the corruption of public spirit, and virtue and civil society. To the reader new to Ferguson, the book may prove valuable. However, to the reader already familiar with Ferguson’s thought, it is disappointing. The thesis of the book is not altogether original and is not developed in a sufficiently probing manner. The claim that Ferguson is an advocate of civic virtue is a well-traveled (though not always well-justified) thesis. Relying heavily on the work of J.G.A. Pocock, the author does little to advance this discussion. From the earliest pages of the book, she invokes the idea of “civic virtue,” but she does not offer any account of what is meant by that phrase until page 222, and there the discussion is vague and general. Wences Simon seems to be both knowledgeable and appropriately sympathetic, but one cannot help thinking that there is, beneath these pages, a fine and original work that cannot escape an exposition that often lacks analytical development.

There is another kind of flaw. In the second chapter, the author seems to have, in several instances, simply translated from the works of Jane Fagg and David Kettler. The close similarities between Wences Simon’s sub-headings and some of those in Fagg’s biographical introduction to volume 1 of Vincenzo Merolle’s *The Correspondence of Adam Ferguson* (1995) might be coincidence, except that there are also instances in which Wences Simon appears to be translating elements of Fagg’s text. I offer several examples, quoting first from Wences Simon’s book, then providing, in square brackets, my fairly literal translation of her Spanish, and finally giving the relevant quotation from Fagg’s biography.

In the first section of the chapter, Wences Simon notes Ferguson’s early education and how he subsequently studied Greek and mathematics at St. Andrews. She then writes: “*Hizo sus estudios de teología en la Universidad de Edimburgo bajo la dirección de los profesores John Gowdie y Patrick Cuming, concentrándose más en la doctrina que en las controversias teológicas*” (p. 47). [He undertook his studies in theology at the University of Edinburgh under the direction of Professors John Gowdie and Patrick Cuming, concentrating more on doctrine than on theological controversies.] Compare Fagg, following her account of Ferguson’s study of Greek and mathematics: “At Edinburgh he studied divinity with Professors John Gowdie and Patrick Cuming, concentrating on doctrine rather than theological controversies” (p. xxi). Two sentences later, Wences Simon writes: “*Pudo asistir a las clases de filosofía moral que impartía William Cleghorn, el principal discípulo de su anterior profesor John Pringle y además intercambiar ideas con sus compañeros*” (p. 47). [He was able to attend the moral philosophy classes imparted by William Cleghorn, the principal disciple of the previous professor, John Pringle, and he was also able to exchange ideas with his companions.] Similarly, Fagg writes, just one sentence after the one quoted above: “He must also have attended moral philosophy lectures given by William Cleghorn, the principal substitute for Professor John Pringle” (p. xxi). Yet at this point in Wences Simon’s narrative, there is no citation of Fagg’s biographical introduction. The first citation to it occurs on p. 48, when she references Fagg for confirmation that the intellectuals that Ferguson encountered at Edinburgh would later recall these years as among their happiest. This citation suggests that Wences Simon drew upon Fagg only for this particular item.

In the next paragraph, Wences Simon discusses the theology students at Edinburgh and asserts: “*Estos estudiantes de teología junto con otros jóvenes clérigos compartieron una fraternal amistad con la familia del arquitecto Adam. Sus hijos mayores, John y Robert, primos de William Robertson, invitaban con frecuencia a su casa a los amigos universitarios convirtiendo el hogar de los Adam en un amistoso espacio de encuentro y tertulia*” (p. 48). [These theology students, together with other young clerics, shared a fraternal friendship with the family of the architect Adam. Their oldest sons, John and Robert, cousins of William Robertson, frequently invited their university friends to their house, thereby converting the Adam’s home into a friendly space for meetings and conversation.] There is a reference to John Fleming’s 1961 book on Robert Adam but not to Fagg. However, Fagg’s biography contains the following statement, also referenced to Fleming’s book: “These divinity students and young clerics also enjoyed the company of the family of architect William Adam. Adam’s oldest sons John and Robert, first cousins of William Robertson, frequently brought home their university friends. The Adam home was a welcoming and stimulating setting” (p. xxii). Although Wences Simon occasionally cites Fagg, this is not a sufficient remedy for what is, all too often, an unacknowledged translation of Fagg’s sentences. Other such instances may be found by comparing Wences Simon’s and Fagg’s respective texts on p. 49 and p. xxii; p. 51 and pp. xxiv, xxiv–xxv; p. 54 and p. xxvi; and p. 56 and p. xxviii.

Wences Simon has also incurred a debt to David Kettler. Some of the sentences in her second chapter seem to be translations of statements in the biographical chapter in Kettler’s *The Social and Political Thought of Adam Ferguson* (1965). Wences Simon writes: “*Ferguson se presentó en la Facultad a principios de agosto de*

1759 dispuesto a preparar sus clases teóricas y prácticas. Todos, incluyendo sus protectores, se quedaron impresionados cuando el naciente profesor preparó en tan solo tres meses, entre el 4 de Julio y el 1 de octubre que empezaba su curso, el programa de su material iniciando así lo que serían cinco brillantes años como catedrático de filosofía natural” (p. 60). [Ferguson was presented to the faculty at the beginning of August, 1759, ready to prepare his theoretical and practical classes. Everyone, including his supporters, was impressed when the new professor prepared in only three months—between July 4 and the October 1 starting date of the course—a program of material that initiated what would be five brilliant years as professor of natural philosophy.] The first sentence of these lines is a translation from Fagg: “Ferguson was presented to the faculty on 1 August 1759 and immediately went to work preparing his lectures and experiments” (p. xxxi). But the second sentence is a translation from Kettler: “Everyone, including those who had sponsored him, was even more surprised when Ferguson prepared adequate lecture notes in the three months between July 4 and October 1 and embarked on a successful five-year tenure as a popular teacher of natural science” (p. 51).

In another instance, in writing about David Hume’s opinion of Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society*, Wences Simon writes: “Esta opinión, basada en la lectura de algunos pasajes que el author había escogido, no cambió con el paso del tiempo. Con la lectura completa del libro y a pesar del prestigio que éste ya tenía, Hume escribió, un año después y al mismo lector, lo siguiente...” (p. 73). [This opinion, based on a reading of some passages that the author had selected, did not change with the passage of time. With the reading of the whole book, and despite the prestige that it was already acquiring, Hume wrote, a year later and to the same reader, the following....] This passage is followed immediately by a quotation from Hume’s letter to Hugh Blair of 1 April 1767. Compare Kettler: “This opinion, based on an examination of sections selected by the author, was not changed by the passage of time, a reading of the whole book, or the widespread success of the publication: Hume wrote to the same correspondent a year later:” (p. 58)—and here Ketter quotes from the same letter from Hume to Blair.

These are but some examples of plagiarism in the second chapter of Wences Simon’s book. It is lamentable that a scholar of real talent has committed such errors, even if inadvertent. We have, alas, a book that forwards the importance of civic virtue while omitting to practice the real virtue that Adam Ferguson prized.

Eugene Heath, State University of New York at New Paltz

Eugene Heath and Vincenzo Merolle, eds., *Adam Ferguson: History, Progress and Human Nature*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008. Pp. 253.

Eugene Heath and Vincenzo Merolle, eds., *Adam Ferguson: Philosophy, Politics and Society*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009. Pp. vii + 247.

These two volumes are the latest in the growing body of recently published, original essays devoted to the life and work of Adam Ferguson and his role in defining the Scottish Enlightenment’s contributions to political and social theory. It is, of course, extremely difficult to review a collection of some twenty essays, each on a distinct aspect of Ferguson’s thought and each by a different contributor, in a relatively small amount of space. However, despite the fact that these articles cannot help but vary in quality, it is fair to say that the editors, Eugene Heath and Vincenzo Merolle, have done an admirable job in providing Scottish Enlightenment scholars with much valuable material on Ferguson’s life and work. The articles in the first volume tend to concentrate on Ferguson’s understanding of history and his theory of progress, while the second volume contains essays on his sociology and his ethics and politics.

In the first volume, John Brewer offers some worthwhile insights into Ferguson’s personality as they emerge in his correspondence, while David Allan explicates Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society* as reflecting the problems that beset eighteenth-century Scotland. Unfortunately, Jane Fagg’s catalogue of books that Ferguson borrowed from the University of Edinburgh library is of limited use, since it cannot be supplemented by a listing of Ferguson’s own personal library or by the books to which he had access at the Advocates’ Library, whose holdings were then possibly the best in Scotland. The essay’s primary weakness—no fault of Fagg’s—is its heavy concentration on classical authors, which adds little to what we already know of Ferguson’s sources from the large number of footnotes in his *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*. David Raynor’s brief essay on the role played by a voluntary militia in Ferguson’s social theory points to the problems he faced in delineating the role of ongoing martial spirit in a society dedicated to commerce.

I confess to finding David Kettler’s article on Ferguson’s analysis of empire and revolution somewhat disappointing, particularly since so much of it consists of quotations from his lectures, which readers could have uncovered for themselves. Nor would it have been particularly difficult to cull Ferguson’s views from his more popular published works. Additionally, Kettler’s annotations add little to our understanding of Ferguson’s political

thought. I am equally disappointed in the essays by Fania Oz-Salzberger and Craig Smith, both of which deal with the central role played by action in Ferguson's thought. Anyone who is at all familiar with Ferguson's writings is aware of this, and neither article strikes me as offering anything original in this regard. Yasuo Amoh's article on Ferguson's views of the American and French Revolutions impresses me as fundamentally flawed. It is far too simplistic to refer to Ferguson's economics as essentially "mercantilist." Nor can his understanding of the events in France be characterized as sympathetic, even as early as 1789. Not only are Amoh's premises questionable, but his attempt to discuss Whig attitudes to these two world-historical events without reference to Edmund Burke is, I think, an essential failing.

The essays by Iain McDaniel on Ferguson's history of the Roman republic and what it teaches us of his views on military government, and by Annette Meyer on Ferguson's historiography, are workmanlike and informative. Possibly the best of this volume's essays is Jeng-Guo Chen's perceptive discussion of the role of religion in shaping Ferguson's social thought. Chen cogently argues that Ferguson's conclusions regarding the evolution of political and social institutions as the product of human action but not of human design are informed by his belief in a providential order, and that the history of civil society is, at least in part, the history of the unfolding of a divine plan.

Of the eight essays that comprise volume two, two are biographical: Michael Fry's on Ferguson's Highland roots and Bruce Buchan's on Ferguson's career as an army chaplain and how it shaped his views on war and martial spirit. David Raynor—a contributor to both volumes—and Vincenzo Merolle each contrast Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* with Hume's essays, and both suggest that, inasmuch as Ferguson's conclusions in so many areas were at odds with those of Hume, Hume could not help but have severe reservations about Ferguson's monograph. While there is little new in these two essays, they do remind the reader that Hume's interests were more philosophical than those of Ferguson, who approached his analysis of institutions from a sociological perspective. The intellectual relationship between Adam Smith's ethical views and how they relate to Ferguson are treated in Jack Russell Weinstein's article on sentiment and sympathy.

Lisa Hill offers a thought-provoking interpretation of the large number of seeming contradictions in Ferguson's social thought by pointing out the transitional nature of his work, situated between devotion to classical antiquity and admiration for an emerging commercial society. I find it somewhat difficult to accept Michael Kugler's conclusions regarding Ferguson's provincialism, especially in light of Ferguson's arguments about the moral progress of mankind and his optimism about a well-ordered commercial society. Nor does it strike me as sensible to claim that "a provincial ideology was the social and moral recipe for reconciling the integrity and convictions of the small home regions to the dynamic demands of modern civilization." Such reconciliation was hardly necessary in an intellectual whose work was central to Enlightenment thought not only in Scotland but throughout Europe. Christopher Berry's essay on Ferguson's stadial theory and the simultaneity of development for the various arts—commercial, political, and fine—is interesting but adds little to our understanding of the broader outlines of Ferguson's social theory; nor is it adequate for explaining why Ferguson embraces some historical societies while rejecting others.

The last essay in the second volume is written by one of the editors, Eugene Heath, and concerns Ferguson's most crucial contribution to sociology: the insight that social institutions are the products of evolution and the unintended consequences of countless individual actions, each aiming at some distinct end. Heath's is a well-crafted article touching on the philosophical, particularly the ethical, dimensions of this view and its eighteenth-century context. I wish that Heath had devoted more time to a discussion of its political implications, but this preference probably reflects my private interests.

I shall offer one minor criticism, which has to do not with the editors or contributors but rather with the publisher. One would think that in a two-volume work whose combined selling price is £120/\$198, Pickering & Chatto would have been prepared to underwrite the costs of printing footnotes rather than endnotes. Even more annoying, the endnotes for all the articles appear together at the end of each volume, requiring readers to leaf through forty pages of small type in order to uncover the citations for which they are searching—a process further complicated by the use of short titles after the first full citation to each work. On the whole, however, Ferguson scholars are well-served by these two volumes, whose entries—though unavoidably uneven—provide much useful information on this crucial, and too-long neglected, Scottish Enlightenment figure.

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D. Bell, *Edinburgh Old Town: The Forgotten Nature of an Urban Form*. Edinburgh: Tholis Publishing, 2008. Pp. xiii + 430.

Dorothy Bell is an academic who lives and works in Edinburgh. This book is a conversion of her doctoral thesis. In a little under 450 pages, and with over 200 illustrations, the author demolishes some false dichotomies

that still shadow scholarship on the architecture of eighteenth-century Edinburgh and constructs convincing arguments to consider the city's urban forms and spaces within their proper contexts, using primary archival and graphic sources, accurate topography, and critical analysis of publications on Edinburgh's "Old Town" architecture. For anyone interested in the city's architecture and development, as well as Scottish urban architecture and planning, this book is well worth reading and purchasing.

Bell sweeps away the analysis of Edinburgh as a contrast between Old and New Town: one dilapidated, the other resplendent; one desolate, the other vibrant. Such unhelpful dichotomies are replaced with well-illustrated examples and arguments which show that Edinburgh had sophisticated planning and building throughout its boundaries. The "Old Town" was a place where many innovations in the design and construction of urban domestic architecture and public buildings took place. Case studies are usually illustrated with designs taken from the Edinburgh City Archives' Dean of Guild archive collections. This use of primary archival material to illustrate Edinburgh's architectural history is long overdue, and Bell is to be congratulated for highlighting the quality of the archive and for using it to illustrate, and demonstrate, her points about house types, urban spaces, and methods of construction. The book is especially strong on the city's architecture prior to 1746, but it does not shy away from discussing later periods and events. Another welcome and important piece of analysis is the graphic illustration and examination of the 1752 pamphlet to improve Edinburgh, usually attributed to Sir Gilbert Elliot, Lord Minto. For the first time, readers can see examples of urban planning from Turin and Berlin, and enter the imagination of the author and informed readers prior to Edinburgh's major improvement acts from 1753 to the end of the century. The consistent construction projects in Edinburgh throughout the 1730s and 1740s, followed by improvement acts from the 1750s to 1790s, were key turning points in the city's history. Bell provides an account of these projects, proposals, and plans utilizing primary sources and removing prejudices founded on abstract aesthetics and secondary source material.

Despite the appeal of this book, readers should not expect it to be a panacea for scholarship on the architectural history of Edinburgh in the eighteenth century. The book has some shortcomings which are not necessarily the author's fault. Despite the value of publishing the Dean of Guild plans, the method of publication does not always do them justice. Readers of architecture books who expect to see plates that fill entire pages will be disappointed. Scanned images are all too often squeezed into pages and give black-and-white linear impressions of the designs, which sometimes do not reflect the inked originals in the archives. Furthermore, although the author has generous room to amplify ideas in the book's endnotes, the bibliography does not embrace contemporary scholarship on eighteenth-century Edinburgh and its architecture. For this reason, it is clear that this book is a conversion of a thesis written some years ago.

The good news is that it found a publisher. However, those who are inspired to head to their bookshops to find it on the shelves will be disappointed. The book can be purchased online, by contacting Tholis Publishing. I hope that it sells well, and that Bell follows up this book with further publications which take readers into Edinburgh's eighteenth-century properties to discuss and experience the materials, spaces, and forms of the house types identified in her first book.

Anthony Lewis, Glasgow Museums

William Roy, *The Great Map: The Military Survey of Scotland 1747–55*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2007. Pp. 400.

Rosemary Gibson, *The Scottish Countryside: Its Changing Face, 1700–2000*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007. Pp. xi + 196.

Instigated by Major-General David Watson (c.1713–1761) but more usually associated with its chief surveyor, William Roy (1726–1790), the Military Survey of Scotland began life in the aftermath of the 1745 rebellion as a direct response to the inadequacies of existing maps and as an essential part of Cumberland's strategy to subdue the Highlands. Roy, the son of a gardener from Lanarkshire, started his survey at Fort Augustus in 1747, working initially as the project's sole surveyor. By the time the survey ended in 1755, the whole of mainland Scotland had been mapped, a huge undertaking, which at its height involved around sixty personnel, split into seven surveying parties who spent the summer months out in the field. Each autumn the surveyors would return to Edinburgh Castle, where the measurements and sketches from their field books would be translated into the finished map at a scale of one thousand yards to the inch. Published as part of Birlinn's Limited Editions imprint, in association with the National Library of Scotland, *The Great Map* provides a magnificent edition of this remarkable map. Measuring 450 by 290mm (17.7 by 11.4 inches), clothbound and printed on fine-quality paper, the map is beautifully reproduced in full color over 342 pages. The map itself is compiled from two overlapping copies of the survey: the

“fair copy,” which covers Scotland north of the Forth/Clyde line, and the rougher, “protracted” or working copy, that maps the southern part of the country. A visual index is also included along with a gazetteer listing the parishes and burghs covered by the map, and a comparison table that relates the plates in the book to the original thirty-eight strips of the map held in the British Library.

The map is introduced by three excellent essays: Yolande Hodson examines the cartography of the map and the life and career of William Roy, who by the time of his death had risen to the rank of major-general and had become Britain’s most influential surveyor; Chris Tabraham explores the immediate historical context for the production of the map, showing it to be a key component in the post-Culloden military strategy; and Charles Withers places Roy’s achievement in the wider milieu of international Enlightenment map making. Although all three authors stress that we should view the map as Roy himself described it, “rather...a magnificent military sketch than a very accurate map of a country” (p. 38), it nonetheless remains a remarkable source for the historian of eighteenth-century Scotland, and one that gives a unique overview of a country on the brink of dramatic agrarian and landscape change. In addition, the map itself is “a masterpiece of mid-eighteenth century draughtsmanship” (p. 8) and a work of art in its own right. No small part of this is due to the renowned watercolor artist Paul Sandby, who as a young man worked as draftsman on the survey and is believed to be largely responsible for the exquisite coloring of the “fair” copy of the map. As Hodson vividly describes, “the slopes of the hills and mountains, pale grey at the bottom, rise through deepening layers of charcoal to black and make a stunning visual contrast to the pale ochres, green wooded valleys, blue running waters, blue and green watery morasses, and carmine-inked lines of masonry structures of lower elevations” (pp. 13–14). Although *The Great Map’s* £200 price will put it beyond the reach of most individuals, this is a superb edition and well worth lobbying your librarian for. A searchable, online version of the map is also available from the National Library of Scotland (<http://www.nls.uk/maps/roy/>).

If *The Great Map* provides a snapshot of an essentially “pre-improved” landscape, Rosemary Gibson’s *The Scottish Countryside* provides compelling evidence of the dramatic changes that followed. Although spanning the period 1700–2000, the book deals mainly with the long eighteenth century (over two-thirds of the illustrations date from this period). Based on the 1997 exhibition at the then Scottish Record Office, *The Scottish Countryside* is organized around ninety-three carefully chosen illustrations drawn from the National Archives of Scotland’s vast collection of plans. The book is divided into a general introduction and eighteen chapters, each focusing on a particular theme. Although many of these deal with the specific effects of agrarian change, with chapters on “Enclosure,” “Drainage,” and “Tree Planting,” communications and rural industry are also well represented, while more general chapters such as “The Old Face of the Country” and “The Highland Landscape” give more a general overview. Each chapter consists of a short introductory essay, followed by a number of detailed and beautifully reproduced full-color images (mostly plans but also including some drawings and photographs) chosen to illustrate a particular aspect of the topic, and each is accompanied by a well-researched and insightful commentary. Although aimed at the general reader, the commentaries and chapter introductions are excellent, giving detailed, scholarly, and clearly written summaries of the themes covered. The text is fully footnoted and the book includes a thematically organized bibliography. The only notable omission is a lack of any discussion of the surveyors themselves or the development of their profession and methods. Although Gibson does include a separate bibliography on cartography at the end of the book, a separate chapter on this subject would have enhanced what is already an illuminating and valuable book.

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Anne-Marie Kilday, *Women and Violent Crime in Enlightenment Scotland*. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press for the The Royal Historical Society, 2007. Pp. x + 183.

Anne-Marie Kilday has written a solid, informative book about the incidence and types of violent crimes committed by Lowland Scottish women between 1750 and 1815, based on more than 4,000 records from the High Court of Judiciary, the highest criminal court in Scotland, in that period. The chapters are organized by the kind of crime committed—violent homicides, infanticides, assaults, popular disturbances, and robberies—and for each kind of criminal activity, Kilday tells us how Scottish women’s records compare to those of women of other countries (usually France and England) and also to their male counterparts. Her treatment of the secondary literature on the subject is equally thorough; the plentiful footnotes appear comfortably at the bottom of the page and the bibliography is extensive.

Scottish women turn out to have been fiercer than the women of other countries: their assaults and robberies were more violent, shed more blood, and were directed at persons rather than property. Even in their homicides, although there was a propensity for poisoning, Scottish Lowland women strangled, drowned, or brained their victims with pokers, cudgels, or stones, slashed them with razors, or stabbed them with knives, with a violence that

Kilday calls "startling." In most murders, women acted alone; three-quarters of them were husband killings (mariticide): 88 percent were committed against relatives or acquaintances. "Most of the fifty-seven women indicted for homicide were unmarried, a significant proportion being widows (p. 57)," writes Kilday with unexpected black humor. As was (and is) true everywhere, women committed less crime than men. Only 21 percent of the total indictments for homicide were brought against women as opposed to 79 percent of homicides charged to men. Men's patterns of murder as found in the Judiciary Court in this period were unlike women's *modus operandi* too; only 27 percent of them killed people they knew and they did not always act alone. Kilday suggests that duels and drunken brawls with strangers account for some of this difference. Still, 21 percent of all homicide statistics was a higher proportion of murdering women than one finds in the records of other countries. In Surrey in this period, only 13 percent of the murder charges were brought against women, although the level of indictment in Essex in the early seventeenth century went as high as 16 percent.

Similar patterns for women's indictments can be found in relation to other crimes as well. In infanticide, an exclusively female crime, Lowland Scottish women used "shocking and unusually bloodthirsty measures...in comparison to infanticidal mothers elsewhere" (p. 60). In assault cases too, a higher proportion of women were indicted than in other countries, and their attacks were bloodier and more violent. In these indictments, women attacked particular people for particular grievances—a man who refused to repay a debt, an excise officer searching invasively for smuggled goods, a "scab" who worked where locals refused intolerable working conditions, or a landowner who ignored the community will in choosing a minister. Many assaults and public disturbances were directed at merchants or distributors who raised prices on foodstuffs—potatoes or grain—or who tampered with weight or degraded quality. Groups of women would break into the containers of meal or potatoes at ports or other transportation points and distribute the grain or potatoes at a "fair" price; the money they collected would then be returned to the farmer or meal-seller to whom it was due. The women indicted in such cases, as Kilday points out, were trying to rectify the disruption of customary relations of the market, the church, or the workplace. But the court records show them as more brutal and focused in their attacks than their male counterparts. Although attacks by women were less frequent than by men, comprising only one-third of the total number, they were more likely both to show premeditation in their choice of weapons and to direct their destructive violence toward persons rather than property.

Kilday explains a great many other things in this book—how the judicial system worked after the Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747; what it *meant* that women's crimes were tried at the highest court in the land; what kinds of punishments were meted out to men and women tried for the same crime; whether women acted alone or in groups, whether married or unmarried; and so on. But the overwhelming message of the book is that Lowland Scottish women who were arrested for violent crimes were more physically brutal than women elsewhere, proportionally more violent than men, and more instrumentally focused in their violence. Throughout her book, but especially in the conclusion, Kilday speculates as to why this might be so.

Fewer social restrictions were placed on Lowland women than elsewhere in the "pre-modern" period, she argues. Scottish women had long been involved in overt civic action and popular protest, and the "ease with which they participated in the economic sphere, appears to set Scottish women considerably apart from their English counterparts during the pre-modern period" (p. 17). "Scottish women were also increasingly and regularly involved in legal, political and civic matters" (p. 149). Their economic independence took them outside the domestic sphere "so that they increasingly saw themselves as potentially the equals of men" (p. 149). Add to this the fact that women retained their maiden names following marriage, and that *feme covert* did not apply in Scottish law, and a picture begins to emerge of women who never inhabited as "separate" a "sphere" as women did elsewhere.

Their participation outside of the home may explain why women took action as they did, and why their arrests for homicide, assault, and public disturbance were higher than those elsewhere; but it does not explain the degree of violence in their attacks. Perhaps violence was seen as more legitimate in Scottish society, Kilday suggests; perhaps women's crime was *reported* as more violent because their actions violated gender norms as well as legal and social codes. But it seems to Kilday a contradiction that women's crime should have been so physically violent at the time of the Enlightenment. Using Norbert Elias's formulation about the growth of manners and politeness in Europe, she asks: "why did the "civilizing process" falter during a period when Scotland was at the forefront of intellectual and philosophical progress, and when the nation was experiencing an incomparable economic transformation?" (p. 155).

I think she is asking the wrong question. Few women have ever had equal access to the laws of any country or have been treated as equal citizens under the law. Virginia Woolf wrote, famously, "As a woman I have no country." Nor do most women share the benefits of large-scale capitalist advances. It seems to me that most of the criminals that Kilday reports on were taking the law into their own hands, attempting to redress justice; their appar-

ent motives can be distinguished from the kind of drunken mayhem or robbery for personal gain that characterize more of men's criminal activity in the same period. These women appear to be protecting life as they knew it, both in the kirk and in the community, in the most direct and effective way they could.

Let me remark in closing that as I was reading this book, I felt that Anne-Marie Kilday was writing about the violence of her subjects with some relish—and I notice as I write this review that I, too, feel a faint thrill in recounting these statistics and facts. It puts me in mind of a friend who described what it was like for her, as a woman, to go out for lacrosse, and to slam into other bodies on the field after a lifetime of sublimated anger and restrained physicality. And this was in the late twentieth century. Women's violence is not neutral now and it was not neutral then. This careful, intelligent book helps one to think about this issue and teaches us much that is worth knowing about Scotland in the age of Enlightenment.

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Bob Harris, *The Scottish People and the French Revolution*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2008. Pp. viii + 340.

Bob Harris is an accomplished scholar who has contributed substantially over the last two decades to our understanding of eighteenth-century British political culture, having written authoritatively on both Scottish and English history. His interest in Scottish politics in the 1790s led to the publication of an edited collection of essays by noted scholars, *Scotland in the Age of the French Revolution* (2005) (reviewed in no. 21, 2007, pp. 22–23). He pointed out in the preface to that work that the collected essays were not sufficient to supersede Henry W. Meikle's *Scotland and the French Revolution* (1912), and that it was time for a "proper, modern replacement." The book under review, while advancing our knowledge, is not that replacement.

The Scottish People and the French Revolution begins with a chapter on the origins of Scottish radical politics. There follows a learned account of the Scottish press, including a section on the role of the English press in Scotland. Chapters 3 and 4 analyze political movements from 1792 to 1794, one on Scottish radicalism and the other on the loyalist response, while in chapter 5 the author executes a similar task for the period 1797–98. Chapter 6 explores the relationship between politics, government, and the harvest failures of the 1790s.

In large part, Harris addresses an agenda that he first laid out in the earlier volume of essays. First, he fills a lacuna in existing scholarship, namely the "British" dimension—by which he means the connections between Scotland and England—and its impact on Scottish political movements of the 1790s. Second, on the question of whether Scottish religion was a seedbed of radicalism, he provides significant evidence to the contrary, demonstrating that evangelicals both within and outside the established church opposed radicalism and supported the government. Third, he reaffirms, in general, the traditional view that Scotland was more conservative than England, demonstrating that the forces of loyalism were stronger than those of radicalism. And fourth, in the chapter on harvest failures, he addresses the commonly held idea that Scotland's governing class was more paternalistic than England's; he concludes that government at the local level was still attached to traditional methods of dealing with food shortages, while the upper echelon of the governing elite had embraced the notions of a market economy. On each of these topics, Harris makes contributions to scholarship. Most impressive is the range of his research. Citing an amazing array of primary sources, he can rightly claim that this book "take[s] us a deal further into local and regional conditions than other historians have yet managed" (p. 7).

On the other hand, this is not a book for anyone not already schooled in the narrative of Scotland in the late eighteenth century. There is neither an overview of the events of the 1790s nor a narrative structure running through the book, which might have helped readers to keep their bearings. Unexplained references to events and persons abound, and there is a good deal of repetition. Although most chapters begin with an overview, the book as a whole has no meaningful architecture. The disparate elements are unified only by the time-frame, the focus on what might be called popular politics (as opposed to electoral politics—which were of course still restricted to the elite—or the decisions made at Whitehall or Westminster), and a recurring discussion of the Scottish-English connection. The title is also misleading: it is largely assumed that Scottish politics, whether radical or loyalist, was a response to the French Revolution, and the relationship between the two is only occasionally addressed directly. Indeed, much is explained without reference to France. For example, although the discussion of the latter years of the decade begins with the French invasion threat of 1797, it demonstrates that the strength of Scottish volunteerism was motivated more by fear of being dragooned under the terms of the Militia Act than by fear of France. This book also has a more tentative quality than Harris's other work: "probably," "perhaps," "may," "certainly," "no doubt," and "appear to be" turn up twenty-five times in chapter 3 alone, and this pattern is to be found in all the chapters except the one on the press. In spite of these flaws, however, this book will contribute to scholarly debate because of its remarkable research and the integrity and evenhandedness with which it is deployed.

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