EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society

BASKING IN THE S.A. SUN

Magnificent weather was just one of the many factors that made the ECSSS conference in St. Andrews so thoroughly enjoyable. Set in the modern Gateway on the university's North Haugh site, the conference extended from 2 to 5 July 2009. Conference organizer David Allan, ably assisted by his wife Katie, saw to it that all went well. The conference began on Thursday afternoon with a welcome from the university's principal, Louise Richardson, and a plenary lecture on "The Improvers Reconsidered" by Scotland's historiographer royal, T. C. Smout. This was followed by a truly sumptuous reception, co-sponsored by the Institute for Scottish Historical Research and the St. Andrews Scottish Studies Network, and introduced by the ISHR's leader, Roger Mason. Friday 3 July featured four conference sessions, each with three concurrent panels on topics as varied as Edinburgh architecture, Allan Ramsay, language and national identity, Hume's political philosophy, and the theory and practice of agrarian improvement. A first-ever "young scholar's panel" featured talks by undergraduate and master's students at the University of Washington, the University of Guelph, and the University of Edinburgh. A late afternoon walk around historic St. Andrews managed to attract the only rain of the weekend, but it turned out to be a passing shower. The weather cleared for the conference dinner in the magnificent Lower College Hall, St. Salvator's Quadrangle (sponsored by the School of History). After dinner Knud Haakonssen presented the society's Lifetime Achievement Award to the philosopher Sandy Stewart, who has done so much to raise the standard of Scottish Enlightenment research and especially editing. Then it was up the stair to a star-studded ceilidh, hosted by the kilted founding president of ECSSS, Ian Simpson Ross. Among the many highlights were a melancholy ballad sung by Ruth Perry, a haunting rendition of Burns's "Ae Fond Kiss" sung by Kirsteen McCue, and fiddling by Stella Wilkie—playing the fiddle of the eighteenth-century virtuoso Niel Gow. Our only regret was that time did not permit Ruth Perry and William Donaldson to break out the "Scottish Enlightenment Songster" that they had prepared specially for the occasion. But Willie was seen gathering up the copies for another opportunity at the Aberdeen conference in 2011!

There was another big day of conferencing on Saturday the 4th of July, including a plenary talk by Knud Haakonssen on "Thomas Reid and the Enlightenment in 1788," two panels on Scotland and America (at one of which the American Declaration of Independence was read!), a roundtable on Adam Ferguson that continued discussion from a panel on Ferguson the previous day, and panels on connections with the classical world, religion, early eighteenth-century politics, and Boswell and Johnson—not to mention a panel on Scottish music that (happily for the rest of us) gave Ruth Perry and Willie Donaldson another opportunity to perform. That completed the intellectual portion of the conference. But the festivities did not really conclude until Sunday the 5th, when an optional excursion took a busload of merry conference-goers to Blair Castle in Perthshire.

David, ECSSS is in your debt for organizing one of the best conferences in the society's history.

ALL READY FOR PRINCETON

At press time, all systems are go for ECSSS's first-ever conference in Princeton, New Jersey, to be held at Princeton Theological Seminary from 24 to 27 June 2010. This conference brings ECSSS together with the host Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, headed by the conference organizer, Gordon Graham. Another co-sponsoring organization is the International Adam Smith Society, with which ECSSS last met jointly at Arlington, Virginia, in 2001. In keeping with the general theme—"Thomas Reid, William Cullen and Adam Smith: The Science of Mind and Body in the Scottish Enlightenment"—the conference will feature plenary talks by Aaron Garrett on Reid and

Guenter B. Risse on Cullen, to mark the 300th birthdays of those two formidable figures. There will be twenty regular panels on a wide range of subjects, including a graduate-student panel and three round tables on recent books devoted to Adam Smith and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. An excursion to the New Jersey Grounds for Sculpture is also planned. A more detailed account of the conference will appear in the Spring 2011 issue.

ABERDEEN IN 2011

Next year ECSSS returns to northeast Scotland for its first conference in Aberdeen since a memorable one in 1995. The conference will be hosted by the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen (www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss), under the expert direction of Professor Cairns Craig. The dates of our meeting are from 7 to 10 July 2011, and the conference theme is "The Arts and Sciences of Progress." Among other things, we will be commemorating the 250th anniversary of James Macpherson's Ossianic poetry (roughly speaking, since the origins can be dated to 1760, 1761, or 1762). Professor Fiona Stafford of Oxford University will be revisiting that topic in a plenary lecture. A second plenary talk will be delivered by Professor Colin Kidd of Glasgow University. Of course, David Hume's 300th birthday will be duly noted, though we will leave the main celebration of that event to the Hume Society/IASH conference in Edinburgh just one week later (see below). Music, painting, and the arts will also be highlighted at our conference, and we expect to make good use of the "Scottish Enlightenment Songster" that William Donaldson and Ruth Perry compiled last year. Proposals for papers and panels on eighteenth-century Aberdeen and environs, Jacobitism, Scottish Episcopalianism, Highland culture, Scotland and Ireland, and the notion of "progress" in the arts, literature, science, and society (including tensions with poverty, degeneration, and decline) will be particularly welcome. For more information, see the Call for Papers that is enclosed with this issue.

On 12–15 April 2012 the society will hold its annual meeting at the University of South Carolina in Columbia, SC. In July 2013 we hope to meet at the Sorbonne in Paris, pending final approval.

HUME'S 300TH BIRTHDAY!

The 38th annual conference of The Hume Society, a tercentenary celebration of every aspect of Hume's work, will take place 18–23 July 2011 in the magnificent eighteenth-century setting of the Old College at the University of Edinburgh. Organized by ECSSS member James Harris of St. Andrews University, the conference is co-hosted by the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the university.

It is hoped that many of those members of ECSSS traveling to Aberdeen for next year's annual meeting will also be able to attend this conference just one week later. The plenary speakers will be Annette Baier, David Fergusson, Don Garrett, John Pocock, and Amartya Sen. There will be panel sessions on Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment in India; Hume's moral psychology; the reception of Hume in France; and Hume as literary stylist. Accompanying events will include a reception and introduction to the Hume manuscripts held at the National Library of Scotland, a guided walking tour of Hume's Edinburgh, and a trip to Berwickshire to visit the site of Hume's family home in Chirnside and the nearby Palladian masterpiece Paxton House. The deadline for paper proposals is 1 November 2010. For further information, see the Call for Papers that is posted at www.hume2011.org.

NEW ECSSS LEADERSHIP

The society was sorry to learn that a recurring medical problem made it necessary for Ken Simpson to step down as ECSSS president before his two-year term was complete. But we were heartened to hear that Ken is now feeling much better. The society was doubly fortunate that its vice president, Mark Spencer of Brock University in Ontario, was able and willing to take over as president. Mark in turn appointed Board member Catherine Jones of the University of Aberdeen as the new vice president, and Catherine immediately rose to the occasion by standing in as acting president at the St. Andrews Conference.

***SCOTS IN LONDON* APPEARS!**

Spring 2010 brought the arrival of the latest volume in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series, and the third to be published by Bucknell University Press: *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (for a full list of publications in the series, visit the ECSSS website at www.ecsss.org). Edited by Stana Nenadic of the University of Edinburgh, who also contributes an enlightening introduction and one other chapter, *Scots in London* had its genesis in a workshop that Stana organized in November 2004. The book is far-ranging in its coverage, including essays on artists, physicians, musicians, military men, businessmen, school girls, unfortunates who came before the Old Bailey, and political activists during the era of the French Revolution, as well as a few prominent individuals such as James Boswell, James Beattie, Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, David Mallet, and the architect George Steuart. A review of this volume appears in this issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, and a flyer with discount prices for ECSSS members

is enclosed. In addition, at press time—though we cannot be sure how long it will last—Amazon.com is selling the book (postpaid within the USA) for US$49.28, which is an even lower price than the publisher can offer to our members!

Although the society receives no profits from our publications, we rely on sales to keep the series going and to keep the volume prices down. You can help not only by purchasing your own copy of this fine new title but also by arranging for your university or institutional library to buy it too. Furthermore, if you have an idea for an edited or co-edited multi-author collection of essays on an important and under-studied topic in eighteenth-century Scottish studies, contact the executive secretary of ECSSS to see if the society might be able to publish it in this series.

ECSSS AT ASECS

ECSSS members made a very good showing at the annual meeting of the American Society for 18th-Century Studies, which this year was held 17–21 March in Albuquerque, New Mexico, at the splendid Hotel Albuquerque at Old Town. The program included two ECSSS-sponsored panels. A Friday morning session, chaired by Mark Spencer (Brock University), focused on "Scotland and the American Enlightenment," with papers by Roger Fechner (Adrian College) on "Francis Alison and John Witherspoon's Critiques of Francis Hutcheson's Concept of the Moral Sense," Toni Vogel Carey (Independent Scholar) on "Scotland and Harvard Yard: The Dominance and Decline of Scottish Common Sense in the American University," and Corey E. Andrews (Youngstown State University) on "The Pleasures of Wyoming: Thomas Campbell and America." Friday afternoon featured an ECSSS-sponsored roundtable discussion entitled "Situating Scotland, Ireland, and Wales in Eighteenth-Century Studies." Organized and chaired by Juliet Shields (University of Washington), the roundtable comprised contributions by Leith Davis (Simon Frasier University), Sharon Alker (Whitman College) and Holly Faith Nelson (Trinity Western University), Mike Hill (University at Albany, State University of New York), Jeff Strabone (University of South Florida), and James Mulholland (Emory University). Both sessions were well attended, and the audiences engaged in lively discussion periods following the formal presentations. Several other ECSSS members participated as chairs or presenters in other panels. A number of members also mixed at an informal ECSSS luncheon at a private setting put on by the hotel's staff in Cristobal's Restaurant.

Next year, for the third straight time, ECSSS will sponsor two panels at the ASECS meeting, which will be held in Vancouver, British Columbia, from 17 to 20 March 2011. ECSSS president Mark Spencer (mspencer@brocku.ca) will once again organize one of the panels, titled "David Hume: Happy 300th Birthday!" Papers will be particularly welcomed on topics that link readings of Hume's writings (or their impact) to aspects of Hume's life. The second ECSSS panel at the Vancouver meeting is being organized by Evan Gottlieb (evan.gottlieb@oregonstate.edu) of Oregon State U. Titled "Negotiating Dualism in Scottish Literature and Culture," it will investigate the many ways that Scottish writers and thinkers of the long eighteenth century engaged with various dualisms, especially in the wake of Descartes' influential formulation of the "mind-body" divide. Papers may address specific responses to Descartes or a wider range of characteristically Scottish dualisms (e.g., city of man/ city of God, savage/civilized, sacred/secular, rational/ emotional, center/periphery). Anyone interested in participating in these panels should contact Mark or Evan, or respond to the Call for Papers when it comes out on the ASECS website (http://asecs.press.jhu.edu). ECSSS members are also encouraged to sign up for the luncheon that ECSSS will sponsor at the Vancouver meeting.

REID AT 300

In celebration of the tercentenary of the birth of Thomas Reid, the two universities where he taught, Aberdeen and Glasgow, held a joint conference from 21 through 26 March 2010, with delegates moving from one city to the other half way through the week. The conference took as its title "Thomas Reid from His Time to Ours." More than sixty papers addressed Reid's work in its historical context, its subsequent influence, and its contemporary relevance to philosophical, psychological, and social issues. Plenary lectures were given by James Harris (St. Andrews), Laurent Jaffro (Paris), Rebecca Copenhaver (Lewis and Clark), Udo Thiel (Graz), and Paul Wood (Victoria). This international set of speakers was made possible in part by a grant from the Mind Association, and the conference also benefited from support from the British Society for the History of Philosophy, which used it as the venue for its annual conference. The proceedings are being gathered for future publication, with the intention of producing both a collection of essays to be issued by a major publisher and at least one issue of the *Journal of Scottish Thought*, which is published by the Centre for Scottish Thought at the University of Aberdeen. The number of delegates and the range of issues addressed underlined the expanding interest in Reid and his work, inspired, in part, by the ongoing Edinburgh University Press edition of his works. The Press hosted a reception in Glasgow at which Knud Haakonssen, editor of the edition, was

able to update delegates on the forthcoming volumes that he, Alexander Broadie, and Paul Wood are now preparing for the press (see story below), while in Aberdeen there was a reception for the launch of Sabine Roeser's edited collection, *Reid on Ethics*, published by Palgrave. In acknowledgment of Reid's historical significance, the town councils of both cities hosted receptions for the delegates, allowing them to enjoy the grandeur of very different but equally imposing civic architectures. The principal organizers of the event, Cairns Craig (Aberdeen) and Alexander Broadie (Glasgow), were pleased at the manner in which the conference's two-center approach had stimulated the lively exchange of ideas, and the general organizing committee—which also included Knud Haakonssen (Sussex), Paul Wood, Rebecca Copenhaver, Catherine Wilson (Aberdeen), and Sandy Stewart (Aberdeen)—was sufficiently encouraged to discuss the possibility of reestablishing the Thomas Reid Society as well as a regular publication focused on Reid studies.

THE EDINBURGH REID

Volume 7 of the new Reid edition is in press and will appear in June. It is a critical edition of the *Essays on the Active Powers of Man*, edited by the general editor of the series, Knud Haakonssen, and James A. Harris. The text is based on that of the first edition of 1788, and the editors have made detailed use of the extensive background material in Reid's manuscripts, especially his lectures, papers to learned societies, and reading notes. Detailed links to the manuscripts are provided, and these can now be conveniently followed on the University of Aberdeen's refurbished Thomas Reid website: www.abdn.ac.uk/historic/Thomas_Reid. Volume 8 in the series, *Thomas Reid on Society and Politics*, is being prepared by Knud Haakonssen and Paul Wood and will appear in 2011. The series is published by Edinburgh University Press (Penn State Press in the Americas).

SCOTLAND & GENEVA

At the Sussex Centre for Intellectual History, Knud Haakonssen and Richard Whatmore have been conducting a collaborative, British Academy-funded project on "Calvinism and Enlightenment: Comparative Studies of Scotland and Geneva." This is an attempt to explore in some detail the intertwining of Calvinist theology with Enlightenment ideas in the two countries from the late 17th to the late 18th century, looking at both direct interactions and parallels. Workshops were held during 2009, with some twenty participants, including ECSSS members Thomas Ahnert, Knud Haakonssen, Colin Kidd, and Sandy Stewart. It is expected that the project will result in a collection of essays and a web site with extensive source materials, especially concerning Geneva.

CALL FOR SCOTT

ECSSS member Caroline McCracken-Flesher has issued a Call for Papers for the Ninth International Conference on Sir Walter Scott, which will be held at the University of Wyoming, 5–9 July 2011. In keeping with the conference theme, "Walter Scott: Sheriff and Outlaw," there will be plenary talks by Jenni Calder on "Sir Walter Goes West: Scott's Frontier Legacy" and by Judith Wilt on "Piratical Paradigms: Scott's Pirates and Successors," as well as workshops conducted by Penny Fielding, Alison Lumsden, and Matthew Wickman. For information on submitting a proposal before the deadline on 15 November 2010, visit the conference website located at www.uwyo.edu/scottconf2011/cfp.html.

RSE CELEBRATES ENLIGHTENMENT

The 2009 Edinburgh Festival included an ambitious program of lectures and discussions on the (mostly Scottish) Enlightenment, sponsored by the Royal Society of Edinburgh. There were twelve separate events, covering Visual Art and the Enlightenment; Scotland Exports the Enlightenment; Islam and the Enlightenment; Utopian and Dystopian Ideas; Science and Tolerance; Music and the Enlightenment; Witchcraft and the Theatre; Science and the Enlightenment; The Face of the Enlightenment; The New Science of Good and Evil; The Enlightenment and the Academies; and Political Economy: Adam Smith and Others. Among the ECSSS members who participated were Alexander Broadie, Roger Emerson, Knud Haakonssen, Charles Withers, and Paul Wood.

ESHSS IN DUNDEE

At press time in May, the Economic & Social History Society of Scotland was about to hold a conference in Dundee on "New Perspectives on Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century Scotland" (7–8 May 2010). The listed program included a plenary lecture by Christopher Whatley and various panel talks by other ECSSS members, including Alasdair Raffe on religious history, Rosalind Carr on eighteenth-century debating societies and femininity, and Philipp Rössner on customs and Atlantic trade.

ROBERTSON LANDS CAMBRIDGE CHAIR

ECSSS past-president John Robertson, longtime fellow at St. Hugh's College, Oxford, has been appointed to the prestigious chair of political thought (formerly the chair of political science) at Cambridge University. Held by Quentin Skinner for almost two decades (1978–1996), the chair recently became vacant after

the retirement of its most recent occupant, Gareth Stedman Jones. John Robertson has established himself as one of the foremost experts on the political thought of David Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment, and more recently his 2005 book, *The Case for Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760*, set a new standard for the comparative study of Scottish and Italian thought during the Enlightenment era (see James Moore's review in this issue).

IN IT FROM THE OUTSET

The first issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, published in spring 1987, contained a list of 122 individuals who signed on as members of ECSSS in its first year. Almost a quarter of a century later, some have moved in other directions in their work, and several have passed away, notably Leah Leneman, Neil MacCormick, Rosalind Mitchison, Charles Peterson, W. Stanford Reid, George Shepperson, and Derick Thomson. But more than forty percent are still members of the society, using membership figures through the end of 2009. They are: Mike Barfoot, James Basker, Paul Bator, Christopher Berry, O M Brack, Jr., Leslie Ellen Brown, Greg Clingham, Linda Colley, Alastair Crawford, Marlies Danziger, Peter Diamond, Douglas Duncan, Roger Emerson, Roger Fechner, Henry Fulton, Howard Gaskill, Anita Guerrini, Knud Haakonssen, Ronald Hamowy, Andrew Hook, Ned Landsman, Bruce Lenman, David Lieberman, William Lowe, Roger Mason, Carol McGuirk, Vincenzo Merolle, Hiroshi Mizuta, James Moore, Alexander Murdoch, John Murrin, Andrew Noble, Mark Noll, David Fate Norton, John Pocock, David Raynor, Jane Rendall, John Robertson, Ian Simpson Ross, G. Ross Roy, Richard Sher, Kenneth Simpson, Jeffrey Smitten, M. A. Stewart, Gerald Sullivan, L. Gordon Tait, Eric Wehrli, Christopher Whatley, Charles Withers, Paul Wood, and William Zachs. The second issue in spring 1988 listed more new members, and again many are still in the fold: Yasuo Amoh, Barbara Benedict, Jane Fagg, Mark Goldie, Thomas Kennedy, Robert Maccubbin, Stana Nenadic, Nicholas Phillipson, John Radner, Fiona Stafford, Gordon Turnbull, Virginia Wills, and John Wright. We are very fortunate to have such a large and distinguished body of loyal members who have kept the society vibrant over the years.

IN MEMORIAM: DOUGLAS MACK

We mourn the passing in December 2009 of Douglas S. Mack, professor emeritus at the University of Stirling and founding general editor of the Stirling/South Carolina Edition of the Works of James Hogg. Besides his prominent role in the ongoing Hogg revival, Douglas was a distinguished scholar of Scottish literature in the Romantic period, best known for his 2005 book *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire*. He also edited Sir Walter Scott's *The Tale of Old Mortality* in the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Corey Andrews has been promoted to associate professor with tenure at Youngstown State U., which has also appointed him Distinguished Professor for Scholarship for 2010...**Johanna Archbold** completed her Ph.D. at the Centre for Irish–Scottish and Comparative Studies, Trinity College Dublin, with a thesis on late 18th- and early 19th-century Dublin periodicals in the context of the Atlantic world (Edinburgh and Philadelphia); she is now a research fellow at TCD and coordinator of the Book History Research Network (www.tcd.ie/CISS/bhrn)...**Christopher Berry** lectured in Japan on Adam Smith and David Hume in March 2009 and in China on Smith nine months later...following his retirement as professor of logic and rhetoric in Oct. 2009, **Alexander Broadie** has been appointed an honorary professional research fellow in the History Dept. at Glasgow U. Alexander's *A History of Scottish Philosophy* won the Saltire Society Scottish History Book of the Year Award for 2009 and appeared in paperback earlier this year...**David Brown**'s new title at the National Archives of Scotland—head of collection development—reflects a reorganization which places the outreach services and private records branches under David's direction...in 2008 **Rosalind Carr** completed her Ph.D. in English literature at Glasgow U. with a thesis entitled "Gender, National Identity and Political Agency in Eighteenth-Century Scotland"...during 2008–9 **Jeng-Gho Chen** continued his work on "Ideas of Society and Friendship in the Scottish and Chinese Enlightenments" as a fellow at Harvard-Yenching Institute... this summer **JoEllen DeLucia** will participate in an NEH seminar on "The Aesthetics of British Romanticism" at the U. of Nebraska...**William Donaldson** has been a visiting lecturer at MIT...in Dec. 2009 **Denis Drosos** organized a successful conference in Athens on Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment...**Ian Duncan** has been named co-chair of the editorial board of the journal *Representations* and general editor (with Suzanne Gilbert) of the Stirling/South Carolina Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg. His book *Scott's Shadow* was named the Saltire Society/National Library of Scotland Research Book of the Year for 2008...**Matthew Dziennik** was a fellow at the Thomas Jefferson Library in Monticello during the spring, focusing on Jefferson's views of Highlanders...**Matthew Eddy** has been promoted to senior lecturer at the U. of Durham...**William Gibson** has left the National Institute of Education in Singapore and is now operating an editorial services and aca-

demic consultancy in the same place (www.corporate-english.asia), while continuing to pursue his work on Smollett...**Evan Gottlieb** has been promoted to associate professor with tenure at Oregon State U...**Simon Grote** is finishing his Ph.D. at the U. of California at Berkeley with a dissertation on aesthetic theory in early eighteenth-century Germany and Scotland... **Anita Guerrini** has been named a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science...after receiving his Ph.D. in English from the U. of California at Santa Barbara in 2009, with a dissertation on "Reading Character: Familiar Correspondence, Social Identity, and Print, c. 1735–1820," **Sören C. Hammerschmidt** has accepted a position as a postdoctoral research fellow in the "research on authorship as performance" project at the U. of Ghent...**Ryan Hanley** has co-edited a 5-volume secondary-source compilation entitled *Enlightenment: Critical Concepts in Historical Studies* (Routledge, 2009), which reprints writings on the Scottish Enlightenment by **Nicholas Philipson**, **John Robertson**, and **Richard Sher**, among others...**Colin Heydt** spent this past academic year as the 2009 ACLS Fellow working on practical ethics in the thought of Hutcheson, Hume, and Reid, and in March he gave a plenary lecture on that subject at the CSSP conference on Practical Ethics at the Princeton Theological Seminary...**Sandro Jung** is now a tenured faculty member in the English Dept. at the U. of Ghent...in 2009 **Karen McAulay** completed her doctorate in the Music Dept. at Glasgow U. with a thesis entitled "Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting c. 1760–1888"... **Kirsteen McCue** has been promoted to senior lecturer in the Dept. of Scottish Literature at Glasgow U., where she is also associate director of the Centre for Robert Burns Studies...**Kevin McGinley** is currently a lecturer at Orkney College, UHI Millenium Institute...in 2009 **Ralph McLean** completed his Ph.D. in English at Glasgow U. (supervised by **Colin Kidd** and **Gerry Carruthers**), with a thesis on "Rhetoric and Literary Criticism in the Early Scottish Enlightenment"...despite his retirement, **Vincenzo Merolle** continues to produce *2000: The European Journal*; the December 2009 issue featured a front-page article on *Humphry Clinker* by **Ronnie Young** and an article on Smollett, Burke, and Hume by **Frits van Holthoon**...students of early 19th-century Scottish common sense philosophy may be interested to know of Cristina Paoletti's 2006 book *La difesa dell-errore. Senso commune e filosofia positiva in Thomas Brown*...on 2 March **J. G. A. Pocock** delivered a public lecture on the reception of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall* at the Sussex Centre for Intellectual History... **Adam Potkay** has been appointed the William R. Kenan, Jr. Professor of Humanities at the College of William and Mary...**Clotilde Prunier** has successfully completed the "habilitation" to the rank of professor by submitting a synthesis of her research papers entitled "Scottish Catholics in the 18th Century: Civilization, Networks, and Humanities Computing"...in addition to his volume of essays that is reviewed in this issue, **John Reid** published *Nova Scotia: A Pocket History* in 2009...following his retirement from George Mason U., Boswell scholar **John Radner** now has emeritus status...in June 2009 **G. Ross Roy**, a past recipient of ECSSS's Lifetime Achievement Award for his contributions to Burns studies, was honored with an honorary doctorate of letters from Glasgow U.; the event is warmly described by **Rhona Brown** at www.electricscotland.com, including photos of Ross and **Gerry Carruthers**, who proposed the award...**Patrick Scott** has retired from the U. of South Carolina as distinguished professor of English and director of special collections at the Thomas Cooper Library...**David Shuttleton** has been promoted to senior lecturer of English literature at Glasgow U...**Clifford Siskin** is now the Henry W. and Alfred A. Berg Professor of English and American Literature at New York U., where he is developing his "re-enlightenment" project...ECSSS president **Mark Spencer** is pursuing research on the American Enlightenment during a 3-year appointment as the Chancellor's Chair for Research Excellence at Brock U...**Fiona Stafford** has been promoted from reader to professor of English language and literature at Oxford U...**Jeff Strabone** spent 2009–10 as a postdoctoral fellow at the U. of South Florida, serving as co-director of the DeBartolo Conference; in Sept. he starts a new position as assistant professor of English at Connecticut College...**Tara Wallace** has been promoted to professor of English literature at George Washington U...in 2009–10 **Matthew Wickman** of Brigham Young U. began a dual appointment at BYU and Aberdeen U., where he is a senior lecturer in the English Dept...**David Wilson** of Iowa State U. spent the winter and spring as the Eleanor Searle Visiting Professor in the History of Science at Cal Tech... **Charles W. J. Withers** has co-edited *Geographies of the Book* (Ashgate, 2010), which includes his insightful essay on Mungo Park...**John Wright**'s *Hume's "A Treatise of Human Nature": An Introduction* was published by Cambridge U. Press in 2009...**Jonathan Yeager** received his Ph.D. from the U. of Stirling in 2009 with a thesis entitled "John Erskine (1721–1803): Disseminator of Enlightened Evangelical Calvinism," which he is currently preparing for publication by Oxford U. Press...in New York City last December, **William Zachs** gave the Breslauer Lecture (sponsored by the British Library) on collecting Boswell and Johnson.

Antiquarianism Versus Creativity in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Scottish Song

Karen E. McAulay, Royal Scottish Academy of Music and Drama

> I have no wish to strip from the minstrel the robes of Percy, and cover him with the rags of Ritson....But before I proceed to draw a farther parallel between the poet and the critic, as I am speaking of imaginary things, and periods of darkness and tradition, it may be as well to listen to the claims of the Bards of Ireland, who, with the Welsh, desire to take precedence in all that concerns our national music and song.

These are the words of the poet Allan Cunningham (1784–1842), "forger" extraordinaire, from his *The Songs of Scotland, Ancient and Modern* (1825, 1:29). Like James Macpherson more than half a century earlier, it took little more than one generation for him to be lauded, not as a forger, but as a poet.

In hinting at the distinction between the collector and the creative artist, Cunningham hit upon the central issue upon which the activity of song collecting was founded during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The question was, had a song arisen anonymously from the depths of the collective consciousness—in which case it could be collected and codified as emanating from "antiquity"—or could it be ascribed to a more recent individual? The study of Scottish song collecting forces us to recognize the extent to which this repertoire was seen as part of Scotland's "cultural capital." It was so significant that it formed the subject of considerable debate, and questions of origin and authenticity were of paramount importance.

Although "Scottish" songs had achieved considerable popularity in England even prior to the 1707 Act of Union, and collections of Scottish songs (with or without their airs) proliferated during the eighteenth century, my research takes as a starting point the year 1760, when—by pure coincidence—two young Highland song-collectors embarked on significant journeys. Both were noted collectors, one of verses, the other of tunes, and their published collections were to prove highly influential in Scotland's subsequent cultural history.

One of these collectors, James Macpherson (1736–1796), set off on the Highland quest for Ossianic verse that would mark the start of his meteoric rise to both fame and notoriety. The other, Joseph MacDonald or McDonald (1739–1763), was leaving Scotland, never to return, and his journey to Calcutta marked the end of his tune-collecting expeditions. It fell to his older brother Patrick (1729–1824), an Argyllshire clergyman, to bring their tunes to public attention in 1784, in *A Collection of Highland Vocal Airs, never hitherto published. To which are added a few of the most lively Country Dances or Reels of the Northern Highlands, & Western Isles: and some Specimens of Bagpipe Music, etc.* Although the contents were described as "vocal airs," this was nonetheless an instrumental collection. Divorced from their lyrics, the appeal of these Highland tunes was their provenance and, consequently, a repertoire of hitherto unknown material from a seemingly primitive source. Both Macpherson and MacDonald were, in a sense, tradition-bearers. The degree to which each was transmitting tradition, as opposed to creating it, is open to debate, although the intentions of the former were perhaps less honest than those of the latter.

Although my research has focused on collectors of Scottish "songs with their airs" (to use eighteenth-century parlance), parallels have constantly arisen with contemporary song collections *without* music. In the first instance, these music collectors also made reference to their literary peers in their own prefaces. Additionally, because of the sheer volume of literary sources, there has until now been more discourse in the literary world than among musicologists about the song (poem) collectors' underlying motives, both in original sources and in modern commentaries. For example, far more has been written about Thomas Percy's ballads, or Macpherson's Ossian publications, or indeed about Joseph Ritson's considerable output, than about the MacDonalds' *Highland Vocal Airs*, Alexander Campbell's *Albyn's Anthology* (1816–18), or Robert Archibald Smith's *Scotish Minstrel* (1820–24). More scholarly attention has been paid to two collections with which Robert Burns was involved, namely James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* (1787–1803) and George Thomson's *Select Collection of Original Scotish Airs* (1793–99, subsequently reissued as *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* [1801–1805, with vols. 5 and 6 appearing in 1818 and 1841]). Similarly, James Hogg has attracted a great deal of attention on account of his texts, although the balance is being redressed by recent and forthcoming research into Hogg's tunes for the Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg.

Additionally, much valuable work has been done on forgery and fakery in studies such as Susan Stewart's *Crimes of Writing: Problems in the Containment of Representation* (1991), Mary Ellen Brown's *William Motherwell's Cultural Politics* (2001), K. K. Ruthven's *Faking Literature* (2001), and Margaret Russett's *Fictions and Fakes: Forging Romantic Authenticity, 1760–1845* (2006). Scholarship in this area has made vast steps forward since William Montgomerie published an article in the May 1958 issue of *Review of English Studies*, which dis-

missed Robert Archibald Smith's fakeries and fabrications as a worthless fraud.

Since my central theme is song *collecting*, this article inevitably concentrates more on the antiquarian obsession with gathering songs—lest they perish and disappear—than the more artistically arranged collections, often by Continental incomers, with their more elaborate musical settings, extra instrumental obbligato (or "essential") lines, and extravagant ornamentation of the melodies. Indeed, the common thread in many of these late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century song collections can best be summarized as "first catch your butterfly," for these songs were regarded as rare specimens, to be presented in the most simple, "authentic" forms possible, and pinned down in musical "museums" for enthusiasts to pore—and argue—over. What constituted authenticity, of course, was a moot point, and this gave rise to lengthy discussions about modality and its origins, traditional instruments, the best form of accompaniment (generally, as sparse as possible), and a no-frills absence of trills, appoggiaturas, and other twiddles and twirls. These are all recurring themes which pervade the antiquarian model of song collection during this period.

In order to understand the contemporary passion for collecting Scottish songs, one needs to look no further than William Tytler's *Dissertation on the Scottish Music*. After James Beattie's "Essay on Poetry and Music, as They Affect the Mind" (published in Beattie's *Essays*, 1776), Tytler's *Dissertation* was probably the most influential discourse on the history of Scottish music for antiquarians and collectors of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. William Tytler (1711–1792) was an Edinburgh lawyer and historian, and a founding member of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1780. His *Dissertation* was first published anonymously in 1779 as appendix no. 8 to Hugo Arnot's *The History of Edinburgh* and subsequently reprinted in various publications.

Tytler's purpose was to track down the origins of the earliest melodies "and to trace the history of our music down to modern times." The opening to his *Dissertation* gives a good idea of late eighteenth-century Scottish antiquarian thinking, not to mention illustrating the close parallels with poetry:

> The genius of the Scots has in nothing shone more conspicuous than in Poetry and Music. Of the first, the Poems of *Ossian*, composed in an age of rude antiquity, are sufficient proof. At this day they are admired both in our own country, and in the nations on the Continent, by every person of unprejudiced taste; and will continue to be so, as long as there shall remain a true sense of the sublime in poetry. The peevish doubt that some have entertained of their authenticity, appears to be the utmost refinement of scepticism.
>
> The Scottish Music does no less honour than its poetry, to the genius of the country. The old Scots songs, or melodies, have always been admired, for that wild pathetic sweetness which distinguishes them from the music of every other country. (Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1779, p. 624)

At the end of the first paragraph of this passage in the versions of the *Dissertation* that appeared without attribution in Tytler's *Poetical Remains of James the First, King of Scotland* (1783), p. 195, and again under Tytler's name in 1792—in the first published volume of *Transactions* of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (where Tytler himself had recently read it), p. 469—there appears an extra sentence that is not to be found in either the 1779 or 1788 editions of Arnot's *History of Edinburgh*: "As genuine remains of *Celtic* Poetry, the Poems of Ossian will continue to be admired as long as there shall remain a taste for the *sublime and beautiful*." The phrase "*sublime and beautiful*" is, of course, an allusion to Edmund Burke's influential *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757); Burke's theory of the beautiful, the sublime, and the picturesque can be widely traced in fiction, travel writing, and music commentary until the early nineteenth century.

Tytler's *Dissertation* had a particular influence on Johnson, Burns, and Ritson. For a short time, Tytler's pronouncement about the correct kind of accompaniment for Scottish song became almost a "gold standard" for antiquarian publishers of song collections:

> The proper accompaniment of a Scots song, is a plain, thin, dropping bass, on the harpsichord or guittar. The fine breathings, these heart-felt touches, which genius alone can express in our songs, are lost in a noisy accompaniment of instruments. The full chords of a thorough bass should be used sparingly, and with judgement, not to overpower, but to support and raise the voice at proper pauses.
>
> Where, with a fine voice, is joined some skill and execution on either of those instruments, the air, by way of symphony, or introduction to the song, should always be first played over; and, at the close of every stanza, the last part of the air should be repeated . . . the performer may shew his taste and fancy on the instrument, by varying it *ad libitum*. (Arnot, *History of Edinburgh*, 1779, p. 640)

Tytler's reference to a "thorough bass" alludes to the practice, rapidly becoming outdated, of providing a figured bass line, which could be played by a keyboard player, with or without a cello for added volume and resonance.

The keyboard player would "realize" the numerical symbols (figures) above the notes by interpreting them as chords, much as a modern pop song is provided with guitar chord symbols.

We know from Burns's letter to James Hoy, librarian to the Duke of Hoy, on 20 October 1787, about the forthcoming Edinburgh edition of Burns's *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, that Tytler and the poets James Beattie and Thomas Blacklock were also involved in the *Scots Musical Museum* project. (*The Letters of Robert Burns*, 2nd edn., eds. J. De Lancey Ferguson and G. Ross Roy, 1985, 1:163) It therefore comes as little surprise that, following Tytler's guidance, Johnson and his musical arranger, Stephen Clarke, decided from the outset that a thorough bass was, indeed, the "proper accompaniment" for their *Scots Musical Museum* settings.

When Ritson published his own *Scotish Songs* in 1794, he prefaced the songs with a substantial "Historical Essay on Scotish Song." There he quoted almost verbatim Tytler's prescription about accompanying Scottish songs, although he himself chose to print only the melodic line without accompaniment. Later that same year, Burns paraphrased Tytler's advice (without specific attribution) in a letter to George Thomson dated 19 October 1794: "Let the harmony of the bass, at the stops, be full; & thin & dropping through the rest of the air; & you will give the tune a noble & striking effect." Although we do not know whether Burns had read Tytler's *Dissertation*, he had definitely seen Ritson's publication, which may have been the source of his comments.

Patrick MacDonald enlisted a competent amateur musician, the Rev. Walter Young of Erskine (c.1745–1814), to assist with the musical arrangements and the preface for *Highland Vocal Airs*, and it is interesting to read MacDonald's and Young's comments regarding the actual transcription and subsequent presentation of the melodies in this collection. The transcription methodology of Joseph MacDonald is described in some detail, demonstrating a respect for musical authenticity well ahead of his time. It appears that Joseph had, "attempted, as nearly as he could, to copy and express the wild irregular manner, in which they are sung: and without regarding the equality of the bars, had written the notes, according to the proportions of time, that came nearest to those, which were used in singing" (*Highland Vocal Airs*, p. 2). This suggests that Joseph's informants did not necessarily perform these songs in strict time (as one would normally find in any conventionally notated music), and that Joseph had attempted to reflect this irregularity in his transcriptions. In *Highland Vocal Airs*, Joseph's notation of the North Highland airs was basically adhered to, but some slow airs had apparently been sung in such a "wild, artless and irregular" manner that, despite Joseph's earlier efforts, Patrick MacDonald and Young took the editorial decision to reduce the airs to equal bars for publication, in order to make them more intelligible to the general public. They assured the reader that the notes were absolutely as Joseph had transcribed them; only the rhythms had been regularized, and care had been taken to keep them close to the tunes which Patrick had often heard his brother perform—and, indeed, in some cases had known since childhood. As an indicator of their honesty, they listed the numbers of the airs which had thus been editorially altered.

Patrick also included in the book some tunes that he had collected. In regard to these, he chose the "set" of an air that seemed to him "the best, and the most genuine" (*Highland Vocal Airs*, p. 4). His transcription method involved playing back the transcription to the performer, presumably on the fiddle. Playback is a fairly standard practice to this day, if mechanical recording devices are not being used. A few grace notes (ornamental notes, normally added by the performer, and—depending on their nature—sometimes printed in small notes above the melody line in publication) were added in order "to give some idea of the style and manner in which the airs are performed." Patrick also transcribed some bagpipe music, though he thought a piper might have done them more justice.

The two clergymen, Patrick MacDonald and Walter Young, were joined in their endeavors by the eminent antiquarian John Ramsay of Ochtertyre (1736–1814), who contributed the "Dissertation upon Highland Poetry and Music" that followed Young's preface. The terminology in which they described their collection is characteristic of the era in which they lived. As befitted the concept of Scotland as a somewhat "primitive" country, with "wild" scenery and natives, the music was described in like terms. Thus, to add to the "wild, irregular manner" of performance, MacDonald and Young speak of "untutored Highlanders" and "native harpers," while Ramsay alludes to Highland bards and the "native simplicity and nakedness" of Highland melodies, commenting that "peculiar manners, and peculiar music, though a subject of ridicule to the fastidious and illiberal, will be regarded by him as features, by which the Almighty hath distinguished nations (the great families of the earth) from each other." Similarly, MacDonald and Young's descriptions of performance practice suggest that, if contemporary skilled musicians (we can infer that this means the classically trained "art" musicians) tended to use what we would now call *rubato* (a certain latitude on the part of the performer in departing from a strictly regular rhythm) for expressive purposes, then this was indicative of a return to nature. It was therefore not surprising if the "untutored Highlander"—closer to nature—had a similar tendency to dwell on "long and pathetic notes," or to rush other parts, with no determinable regular beat. It was, after all, only natural.

The idea that folk music could deteriorate over time is a recurrent theme in many of these early published

collections, and it is indicative of uneasiness with the idea of an oral, unwritten tradition. With perhaps an unconscious harking back to Rousseau's concept of a primitive age of innocence becoming corrupted over time, MacDonald and Young similarly suggested that their Highland folk tunes had become corrupted through the ages. Writing about harp music, which had now fallen from fashion and was hardly ever heard, they commented that "those [tunes], which have been preserved by tradition, may naturally be supposed to have been gradually degenerating. To render these airs therefore more regular, especially in their measure, is, in fact, bringing them nearer to their original form" (*Highland Vocal Airs*, pp. 3–4).

The notion that songs from the oral tradition were inevitably decaying was also elaborated on by Joseph Ritson, whose underlying philosophical stance is quite clearly outlined, not only in the "Historical Essay" prefaced to his *Scotish Song*, which forms a very useful and cogent summary of his editorial methodology, but also in other writings, and particularly in his *Letters from Joseph Ritson, Esq, to Mr George Paton, to which is added, a Critique by John Pinkerton, Esq, upon Ritson's Scotish Songs* (1829). Perhaps the strongest message emerging from the "Historical Essay" is the antiquarian's view that all these beautiful songs would soon perish, either becoming distorted or actually disappearing, particularly because many were sung by ordinary working peasants, and hence transmitted by oral tradition. It was therefore imperative, in Ritson's view, that such songs be committed to print and preserved in a reliable form.

Dave Harker's *Fakesong* (1985) highlights Ritson's efforts to take down or have friends transcribe songs from live performers for his regional collections, although Ritson was often frustrated in his efforts. There is truth in Harker's suggestion that these endeavors signify a move toward a greater acceptance of oral tradition. However, this analysis is simplistic, for Ritson betrays a somewhat schizophrenic attitude toward oral sources, simultaneously expressing appreciation of the live tradition and not fully trusting it. Despite Ritson's rhetoric about the humble origins of his songs, the sources for many song texts and airs were actually published collections, and he would appear not to have gleaned much, if anything, from the oral peasant tradition. Indeed, although Ritson had embraced the idea that traditional songs might emanate from the "vulgar," he remained suspicious about the accuracy of oral transmission from those same people.

Ritson assured the reader that much work had gone into the publication, including several journeys to Scotland collecting materials. He drew texts from Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* (1723) and David Herd's *Ancient and Modern Scots Songs* (1769), besides songs from Mary Queen of Scots, James I, Hart's *Godlie and Spiritual Songs* (1621), John Forbes's *Cantus* (1662, 1666, and 1682), and Scotch songs from D'Urfey and others of his acquaintance—hardly the humble origins that Ritson so much wished for! One of Ritson's biographers, Bertrand H. Bronson, rightly states that Ritson endeavored to show "that accuracy was not incompatible with elegance" (*Joseph Ritson: Scholar-at-Arms* [1938], 1:195). He had taken pains to spell the Scottish words correctly and to adhere to his printed sources of the song-texts, flagging any obvious typographical errors. One must remember that Ritson was not merely presenting a collection of songs but also providing historical background, and there seems to have been a drive to set the record straight with regard to some of the assertions in Tytler's earlier *Dissertation*. Ritson insisted that Tytler had failed to establish the dates of the oldest Scottish tunes because he had been guided "rather by fancy and hypothesis than by argument or evidence" (*Scotish Songs*, 1:lxxxiv). To Ritson, hard facts were all-important. Taking issue with Tytler's certainty about various tunes, he stated that some of Tytler's examples were not in the Scottish idiom. By contrast, Ritson promised that his own essay would aim "to collect such evidence as can be procured to illustrate the antiquity of the tunes in question," but he insisted that they could not be traced as far back as the fourteenth century (*Scotish Songs*, 1:xci).

This article began with Allan Cunningham's comparison of "the robes of Percy" with "the rags of Ritson." It is now possible to begin to explore what Cunningham meant by this comment. The whole question of fakery, extending beyond literature and folk-song to the visual arts, is a subject which has aroused considerable interest in recent years, and indeed is a subject of some significance in literary studies. For example, the chapter "Scandals of the Ballad" in Susan Stewart's *Crimes of Writing* examines some of the reasons for the many imitations of this folk genre in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Stewart's essay covers a period slightly earlier, but overlapping with that of this article, for it is bounded in broad terms by Allan Ramsay and Lady Wardlaw at the start, and Sir Walter Scott at the end. However, just as the ballad collections (i.e., collections of texts) were quite patently *not* collections of pure, unadulterated folk material, but rather a nostalgic evocation of a noble, feudal past, seeking to eschew modernisms in a manner which quite simply would not have been characteristic of a constantly evolving oral tradition, so we can detect similarities with the ways in which the collections of "songs with their airs" strove to record the collectors' perceptions of simple folk melodies, while all the time regularizing and imposing their own contemporary interpretation on the very material they sought to preserve.

Stewart's observations also serve to reinforce the fact that fakery was not something new in the early nineteenth century. By inference, what had changed in the nineteenth century was not the activity itself but atti-

tudes toward it. For example, Stewart highlights Allan Ramsay's frank admission that he and some of his friends wrote new verses for a number of old tunes, and she goes on to observe of Thomas Percy: "It is clear that throughout Percy's literary endeavors, authenticity was not a value in itself and was certainly not a consideration equal to that of aesthetic value or taste" (p. 112). One can contrast this approach with the rather different attitudes displayed in the 1820s by Allan Cunningham in poetry or Robert Archibald Smith in song writing.

Margaret Russett's *Fictions and Fakes* reveals that the early nineteenth century was rife with arguments about precisely where and when creativity becomes fakery, with various literary devices employed to that end. One might also note that both Russett and Stewart cite several examples of the "found manuscript" as a literary form; for example, Hogg's *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824) was based on a "manuscript" found in a field by a shepherd. Conversely, James Macpherson's manuscripts did exist, but some may have been no more than his own transcriptions of oral Gaelic tales, rather than original Gaelic manuscripts. The story of Percy's ballad manuscript, allegedly found on the floor being used for firelighters, was regarded as fraudulent by many, although it eventually emerged that the manuscript did, indeed, exist, regardless of what Percy's editorial policies might have been with the contents.

Furthermore, the question of original-versus-imitation goes beyond literature to the fine arts, for art historians were discussing the same phenomenon in American print culture of the 1830s. (For example, *Godey's Lady's Book* of September 1831 advises the artist to make "an imitation, not a copy;—an exercise of the same process.") It becomes clear that imitation was seen much more as imaginative art in its own right than as a tawdry copy intended to deceive.

As already noted, earlier compilers such as Patrick MacDonald and James Johnson made much of the fact that they were preserving their heritage of songs and tunes before they became irretrievably lost. Indeed, the same can be said of their early nineteenth-century successors. Captain Simon Fraser, a retired Army man who published his father and grandfather's Highland tune collection in 1816 as *The Airs and Melodies Peculiar to the Highlands of Scotland and The Isles*, and Alexander Campbell, an Edinburgh musician who published *Albyn's Anthology* in two volumes between 1816 and 1818, stressed that they were aiming for "authentic" versions of the tunes and simple, uncluttered accompaniments. Similarly, Ritson, south of the border, was anxious to save these rare artifacts in as pure and accurate a form as possible, whereas George Thomson's aim (at least in his earlier publications) had been "to collect all our best melodies and songs," and to create "accompaniments to them worthy of their merit." To that end, the later revision of his collection reports that he "consulted every Collection, old and new" (*Original Scottish Airs*, 1:1). (One might add, parenthetically, that the musical settings provided by Thomson's eminent European composers were anything but uncluttered, with Beethoven's in particular being very much high art music.)

Taken in this context, comments by Hogg and Robert Archibald Smith, barely a couple of decades later, betray a cynicism that is not apparent in earlier collections. At the very least, it is a recognition that the preservation of songs was the prevailing preoccupation among antiquarians, and these remarks also demonstrate the significance that was credited to newly "discovered" songs. The first, fifth, and sixth volumes of Smith's *Scotish Minstrel* contain prefaces that clearly indicate the concerns of contemporary Scottish music collectors. However, the same assurances which sounded so earnest and laudable in the earlier collections now seem to employ similar terminology more as a formality, to imbue the compiler with the appropriate sense of authority. Thus, the preface to the first volume of the *Scotish Minstrel* assures readers that the music and poetry "are national, as we have scrupulously avoided the insertion of any airs or verses, however beautiful, that are not of Scotish origin."

Next, Smith's preface highlights the inclusion of "hitherto unpublished" songs, and likens folk music to the wild flowers of nature, gathered from "the peasantry," rather than being art-songs. This is a common metaphor in writings of this period; for example, Sir Walter Scott had earlier alluded to "garlands of song" and "wildflowers" in his *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–3), but he took the imagery several steps further by including the land itself in his metaphor: "Like the natural free gifts of Flora, these poetical garlands can only be successfully sought for where the land is uncultivated; and civilisation and increase of learning are sure to banish them, as the plough of the agriculturalist bears down the mountain daisy." (vol. 1, 1802, pp. 23–24). Allan Cunningham used very similar imagery; indeed, the language in his confession to a friend about his contributions to R. H. Cromek's *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (1810) is even more poetically flowery than Scott's:

> The critics are much of the same mind as yourself. Your conjecture is not very far wrong as to my share of the book. Was it the duty of a son to show the nakedness of his own land? No, my dear friend. I went before and made the path straight. I planted here and there a flower—dropped here and there a honeycomb—plucked away the bitter gourd—cast some jewels in the by-paths and in the fields, so that the traveller might find them, and wonder at the richness of the land that produced them! Nor did I drop them in vain. Pardon the confession, and keep it a secret. (Quoted

in David Hogg, *The Life of Allan Cunningham, with Selections from his Works and Correspondence*, 1875, p. 124).

Moreover, in his article "Concerning the Conception of Authentic Folk Music," Walter Wiora remarked upon very similar references on the Continent, in connection with his researches into the work of Zuccalmaglio (*International Folk Music Journal* 1 [1949]: 14–19). This is a rich seam to mine at a later date, with the potential for useful insights into the whole area of fakery and mischief as evidenced in music and literature around the second quarter of the nineteenth century.

Drawing upon and developing Allan Cunningham's comments about Ritson, one can plot a continuum for Scottish song collectors, with the obsessive accuracy of the antiquarian collector at one extreme, as exemplified by Ritson himself, and the creative artist at the other. At the critical point where collecting meets creativity, we find, on the one hand, the collector Alexander Campbell, endeavoring to publish an art-music collection, and on the other, Hogg and Smith publishing collections of Scottish and Border repertoire with a generous measure of their own creativity thrown in. That this was a contemporary cultural issue and not merely limited to Scottish song collectors is evidenced by the parallels in literature. This dialogue evidently peaked during the second quarter of the nineteenth century, after which it gradually waned.

Thus, Cunningham's comment at the beginning of this article is more prescient than one would at first imagine, for it invites us to explore the conflict between the antiquarian's quest for authenticity and the creative artist's imaginative urges. The latter perturbed antiquarians, because they could no longer boast of folk origins, whereas more creative artists like Cunningham and his contemporaries James Hogg and Robert Archibald Smith resented this denial of their creative, *Scottish* impulses. Every song had a moment of inception, somehow and somewhere. To satisfy both antiquarians and poets, however, that "somewhere" had to have been Scotland.

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Dr. John Boswell's Punch Bowl (c. 1766): An Authentically "Boswellian" Toast

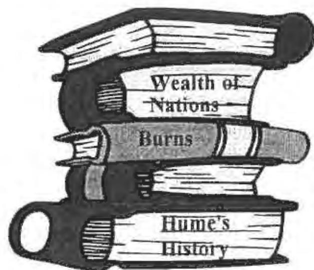
James J. Caudle, Yale Boswell Editions

In eighteenth-century Scotland, a punch-bowl was a symbol of, and a focus for, jovial sociability, not just within urban clubs but within the family circle at home. In James Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides* (1785), the following bit of "Boswelliana" appears only in the first, and most indiscreet, edition. "My shrewd and hearty friend...who had preceded us in a visit to this chief [Macdonald], upon being asked by him, if the punch-bowl, then upon the table, was not a very handsome one, replied, 'Yes, if it were full.'" But punchbowls could be of interest when empty, or especially when emptying. They often had secret messages in their interiors that could only be seen by guests as the punch was ladled out, glass by glass, revealing the motto or toast therein.

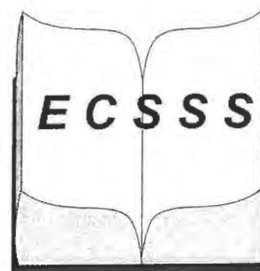
The privately owned family punch bowl (c. 1766, Chinese manufacture, reign of Qianlong) given by Bruce Boswell (1747–1807) to his father Dr. John Boswell (1710–1780)—uncle of the famous biographer, James Boswell (1740–1795)—contains on its exterior various elements of family history, and the provenance of the bowl: "This Bowl was made / Att canton in. China. / by orders of Bruce Boswell / Son of Dr. Boswell. / and then Mate to Captain / Macleod of the L. Mansfield. / East Indiaman for a Present. / to his Father."

Inside the bowl is this sentiment or toast: "Here's to Ye / Weil may Ye A'be. / Ill may Ye never See. / Here's to Your Rouee Tree. / God Bless the King Hye. / Our Absent Friends / and Companie." The "King Hye" is perhaps a reference to the *Ard Rí Alban*, the "High King" of Scotland. The "Rouee" tree is perhaps the Rowan tree, known in Scots as the "Roun" tree, later to be celebrated in the song *The Rowan Tree* by Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne (1766–1845). In Celtic mythology, it was associated with rejuvenation and protection against witchcraft.

This toast is part of the tradition of "Toasts and Sentiments" popular in the later eighteenth century, a representative sample of which may be found in *St. Cecilia...A Select Collection Of Scots And English Songs...Together With...The Most Celebrated Toasts And Sentiments* (Edinburgh, 1779), pp. 371–76. The toasts and sentiments in the *St. Cecilia* are in English rather than Scots, and are generally genteel, though some are buckish in tone. In *Traditions of Edinburgh* (1825), Robert Chambers described, with some horror, the role toasts played in the heavy-drinking traditions of the late eighteenth century, in genteelly competitive boozing such as the drinking game known as "Drinking to Save the Ladies" (2:271–82). Bruce Boswell's choice of a toast is either genuinely traditional to the family or part of the literary resurgence of neo-traditional song and poetry written in Scots, a renaissance in which his more famous cousin James played a small but spirited part.



BOOKS in REVIEW



The Trial Continues: Ossian in the Court of Literary Appeal

A Review Essay by
Gauti Kristmannsson, University of Iceland

Hugh Trevor-Roper, ***The Invention of Scotland: Myth and History***. Edited by Jeremy J. Cater. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2008. Pp. xxi + 282.

Thomas M. Curley, ***Samuel Johnson, The*** **Ossian** ***Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. x + 338.

Jack Lynch, ***Deception and Detection in Eighteenth-Century Britain***. Aldershot, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. xiii + 218.

Two hundred and fifty years after the publication of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, and then *Fingal* and *Temora*, the poems of Ossian are still capable of fueling controversy. Those poems are at the heart of the three books under review here; without them, they would never have been written. To be sure, two of them cast their nets wider, and yet the poems of Ossian remain their largest, and only living, catch.

The interesting question is, why? After all, James Macpherson's work, whether defined as a translation or as an original—a fake in the former case, worthless for its pretence in the latter—was long ago removed from the canon, despite its huge influence on the development of western literature and aesthetics. Literary historians and encyclopedists have hardly wasted a word on the poems, except to stamp them "spurious" and move on, sometimes mentioning Dr. Johnson's heroic exposure of the fraudster Macpherson. And yet Ossian has raised his head again, very much to the chagrin of Johnson's fan club. Those whom Thomas M. Curley sneeringly calls "revisionists" have reintroduced and even reproduced Macpherson's poems in a new edition: *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works*, edited by Howard Gaskill with an introduction by Fiona Stafford (1996).

Nationalism, at least in its cultural variety, seems to be the driving force, both in the eighteenth century and now. This is certainly Trevor-Roper's explanation for the myth-making of the Scots. In fact, he has them already conspiring collectively against the Picts in the ninth century and claims—without any reference—that "whispers have reached us of a temporary tactical alliance with the Norse" (p. 7). Two pages later he adds: "The process [of distorting and obscuring history] began, it seems, spontaneously among the Scots: as a bid to capture history, like everything else, from the Picts" (p. 9). No hiding of prejudice here. But the large number of claims like these diminish the book's trustworthiness as an analysis of what Trevor-Roper apparently sees as genetic mythopoeical mania among Scottish intellectuals through the centuries.

The Invention of Scotland is divided into three parts, each of which deals with one kind of Scottish myth: the political, the literary, and the sartorial, as he calls them. The first type concerns Scottish historiography from Fordun to Buchanan, including figures like John Major and Boece. It is obvious from this part's title, however, and the treatment of the texts, that Trevor-Roper sees historiography as a political instrument. It is equally obvious that his own text is a political tract, written to influence contemporary politics, as his editor, Jeremy J. Cater, readily admits in his foreword. After asking what it was "that brought Trevor-Roper back to writing on Scottish history at that time," Cater answers: "the prospect, or the spectre, of 'Scottish devolution'" (p. xi). Posing as an analysis to debunk forgery and fakelore in Scottish historiography and literature, *The Invention of Scotland* in fact constructs a

continuum of Scottish nationalist thought that parasitically thrives on the cultural output of other peoples (Picts, Irishmen), in the process deliberately lying and cheating almost indiscriminately in an attempt to promote the Scots as a "*Kulturvolk*" (p. 24).

The second part, on literary myth, chronologically follows the political one, on the grounds that "when a society renounces politics, it can find other ways of expressing its identity" (p. 75). The inference is that since political power had been relinquished, the Scots had to seek other avenues for their national identity, a thesis reminiscent of George Davie's *The Democratic Intellect* (1964). In keeping with the "determination to drive all interpretation as far as it would go," as Cater says of Trevor-Roper's method (p. vii), the author begins by claiming that there was no native Scottish literature when the Scots started looking for it (p. 76). The following chapter tells a familiar story of fraud and falsification, and indeed theft of a heritage that was challenged by "the true proprietors of Ossian: the Irish" (p. 112). Trevor-Roper tries to reconstruct in some detail Macpherson's journey into the Highlands and the way in which the poems came into being, focusing on the assistance that the poet Lachlan of Strathmashie may or may not have rendered in creating the epics. Completely lacking is any discussion of the translation and editorial work done in Edinburgh, where the text that became *The Poems of Ossian* was created.

The final chapter in this middle and major part of the book then recounts the eighteenth-century controversy. This chapter demonstrates how dated the book is: Johnson's early role in the "war" against Ossian is apparently unknown to Trevor-Roper, who begins with the journey to the Hebrides in 1773. Although he recognizes that Johnson's prejudice led him astray in the manuscript debate, he fails, like so many other commentators, to draw the logical conclusions from this fact. The other hero of this chapter is John Pinkerton, whose unenlightened racial views are not always printable nowadays. In the end, there is nothing new in this chapter or the rest of the book for those who have been studying Macpherson and Ossian lately.

Trevor-Roper, probably rightly, let the manuscript lie unfinished for the last two decades of his life. Why, then, has it been published now? It can hardly be a favor to his memory, in particular when one reads the bigoted, if not racist, comments on the Scots in a purportedly scholarly work, published by a distinguished university press. Phrases such as "Scottish culture had always been sustained by forgery" (p. 204) inform the prejudicial and distorted view of the book from beginning to end. The editor can hardly be taken seriously when he claims that "for the polemical origin of the impulse to write the book, no apology is surely necessary. Once the research and the writing began, the normal controls of objective scholarship were applied" (p. xiii).

Thomas M. Curley's *Samuel Johnson, The* Ossian *Fraud, and the Celtic Revival in Great Britain and Ireland* reiterates the standard character assassination found in so much Ossianic criticism, Trevor-Roper's included: Macpherson was not amiable; indeed, he was a "literary liar" who fabricated bogus Celtic literature. Like Trevor-Roper, Curley applies the term "mafia" to Macpherson's supporters. Actually, as I read the texts published during the first two decades of controversy, Macpherson was generally more moderate in vocabulary and usually resisted the name-calling to which he was subjected.

Curley's book begins with an "introductory survey of scholarship on Ossian" that "briefly reviews the enormous amount of scholarship published about Macpherson since 1800"—briefly being the operative word, because it omits some important names and misses the mark on others (p. 1). There is nothing mentioned in any other language than English, not even Gaelic primary texts. After this introductory survey, the so-called revisionist scholars who are to be corrected are hardly mentioned, if at all. But then, it is easier to argue with the dead than with the living.

The moral arrogance of the book is revealed by the know-it-all manner in which it deals with Macpherson's actions. In fact, Macpherson did have manuscripts and transcribed oral material, and he edited the text in a way that had been done many times before, deleting and adding material of his own. The controversy might be about the quantity of interpolations, but Curley dismisses all scholarship which dares to consider the text in this way.

The first chapter informs the reader that a "great deal of new and important information is marshaled here to show that Johnson was the arch-enemy of falsehood in the *Ossian* business, not only for offending against morality but also for violating authentic history and the simple human trust that makes society possible" (p. 2). However, Johnson's behavior was not always consistent with such noble motives, and to Curley's credit, it must be said that he does not avoid those issues, as he does the arguments made by modern scholars. One example is the touchy issue of the accounts of parliamentary debates that Johnson published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* during the early 1740s. Since Johnson fabricated those debates, Curley asserts that Johnson and Macpherson "both launched their careers by a literary fraud" (p. 22). But then sophistry comes into play: the author writes that "a guilt ridden Johnson privately tendered warnings to the unwary and, virtually on his deathbed, took pains to make amends by identifying his debates for posterity" (p. 22). A truly touching deathbed scene, but even if a confession, for example in a court of law, may accord some leniency for the defendant, the "crime" is nevertheless punishable. For the

record, it is also wrong that Johnson launched his career with this literary fraud, for he had already published a "translation" of Lobo's *Voyage to Abyssinia* (1735), with a preface acknowledging the "great liberties" he took there.

In the second chapter, on Macpherson's "violation of literary truth," Curley claims to be setting "forth the most thorough examination of the overall spuriousness of *Ossian* to date" (p. 2), which is quite something for a chapter of just twenty-three pages. Here the trial is conducted: not only the title smacks of juridical jargon, but also arguments such as the accusation of "premeditated imposture" (p. 32). But as in all trials, testimony and evidence are interpreted by the advocates, and their work cannot be labeled as "objective" because they tend to select their evidence on the basis of how useful it is. An example is the selective definition of translation. Rather than attempt to define the term himself, Curley uses some (but not all) of Johnson's dictionary definitions, and then concludes disingenuously that "perhaps the definitive statement on the fidelity expected of translators appeared in Johnson's *Life of Dryden*" (p. 26). He then cites Johnson, who had simply reworded Dryden's definition. Curley could have consulted *The Idler* 68/69 (1759), where Johnson discusses the rocky road from literal to poetical translation in English literature, until Fanshaw was able to "assert the natural freedom of the Muse." A little further on, Johnson claims that the "paraphrastic liberties have been almost universally admitted." Curley could also have cited Johnson's *Life of Pope*, which admits that Pope's version of Homer is not entirely Homeric, indeed claims that "Homer doubtless owes to his translator many Ovidian graces not exactly suitable to his character."

The book is riddled with such contradictions, which are inevitable when such a high moral ground is claimed. Every time the author cites Johnson's assertions on Erse manuscripts, the lack of Gaelic literature, or the impossibility of oral transmission, he must qualify his words with a kind of "yes, but"—yes, Johnson was wrong about the surrounding facts, but he was right about the central one. The same applies to many issues regarding Johnson's own behavior. In the meager passages on Thomas Percy, there is no mention of Percy's construction of a pedigree for the minstrels or that his "translation" from the "Islandic" of the *Five Pieces* was almost certainly from the Latin. Percy's editorial tampering with the ballads in the *Reliques* is also passed over as "editorial liberties" (p. 36).

Curley's considerable unease when discussing ghost-writing also indicates the problem that the author creates for himself by calling for an absolute literary truth. His hero, the "sturdy moralist," fails the test time and again. The act of publishing a text in someone else's name is viewed not as "a matter of deceitful collusion but as a well-honed professional activity in editing and instructing, analogous to an academic's monitoring the performances of less experienced student writers in the form of subsidiary hands-on assistance to improve communication, stimulate productivity, and promote knowledge" (p. 56). But in all the universities I have heard of, students who deliver papers written by others fail their courses, even if the act happens to "stimulate productivity."

Contradictions continue in the chapter dedicated to Johnson's *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*. Despite the author's claim that this chapter "sheds much new light" (p. 2), most of the information is familiar. What is new, however, is the attempt to lambast other scholars for their "careless revisionism" in criticizing Johnson's "imperial vision"—illustrated by the view that a people without manuscripts have no literature, or that the Scots were half-civilized by the Union. Although the chapter includes several quotations that underline exactly this vision, Curley tries to construct an ameliorating development by claiming that "English patriotism gradually gave way to empathetic ambivalence and eventually to openhearted sympathy toward a revered way of life endangered by modernity" (p. 86). Curley also claims to deliver a "groundbreaking investigation of Johnson's Irish connections to the Celtic Revival and to opponents of *Ossian*" (p. 2). I am not sure about the "groundbreaking" aspect, since other writers (including this one) have previously published on this subject. But this chapter does provide some new information, for example on the attempt of Charles O'Conor and George Faulkner to hire Johnson to do some pamphleteering in 1757.

The book's final chapter allegedly "uncovers Johnson's last word on *Ossian*, as enunciated by his forgotten friend, the Scottish-Gaelic linguist, William Shaw" (p. 2). Shaw may be forgotten in Johnsonian studies, where his presence is probably an embarrassment, but in Ossianic studies Shaw is well remembered and often discussed—for example in the other two books under review here. This chapter is filled with even more defensive qualification than the ones before, because Shaw was obviously a rather dubious character. Although Johnson may have considered him useful, the question remains, as Curley implies, who used whom? According to Curley, a polemical appendix to the second edition of Shaw's *An Enquiry into the Authenticity of the Poems Ascribed to Ossian* (1782)—a pamphlet originally published in 1781—"constituted Johnson's last lengthy exercise in ghostwriting near the end of a distinguished career not infrequently dedicated to helping other authors meet the demands of literary productivity" (p. 232). Curley reprints and annotates the polemical appendix here, as he did in an article on the same subject in Jennifer J. Carter and John H. Pittock's *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment* (1987). Although he has softened his claims about the extent of Johnson's role in composing this work, his continued use of the term

"ghostwriting" to characterize Johnson's involvement suggests that Johnson not only participated in literary fraud at the beginning of his career but near the end of it too. This was of course not the author's intention in this exercise in hagiography, but the moral high ground asserted throughout the book simply cannot sustain the reality of the great man himself, or of anyone else, for that matter.

Jack Lynch's *Deception and Detection in the Eighteenth Century* comes as quite a relief after the previous works; at least it does not contain the same sense of bigotry and prejudicial moralizing. This is not to say there are no preconceptions, but they are of a more methodical nature. Lynch looks not "directly at the frauds themselves, but at the controversies they spawned and the critics who sought to bring the perpetrators to justice" (p. vii). Again we are confronted with the trial metaphor, which might explain the fury of the controversies, even when they are "only" about the textual provenance of a literary text.

Lynch is concerned not solely with literary fraud, however, but also with how deception was dealt with in the eighteenth century, and he is expressly empirical in attitude, if not always in method. In an attempt to find out "what authenticity meant in the eighteenth century," he tries to "focus on the arguments actually advanced by the disputants in these cases, rather than offering my own speculations about their ulterior motives" (pp. 4 and 9). There are problems with this methodology. By leaving aside the question of motive, he must assume that claims and works by the figures he covers—Mary Toft, George Psalmanazar, Elizabeth Canning, William Lauder, James Macpherson, Thomas Chatterton and William Henry Ireland—were deceptions, even though they were very different kinds of imposters in his view. Lynch barely addresses the problem of other possible deceptions and claims he has done his "best to avoid empty rhetorical questions" such as "why is Macpherson's reworking of the Ossianic stories any worse than Percy's reworking of his ballad sources? (Implied answer: It's not)" (pp. 8–9). I do not think that these are empty rhetorical questions, because they throw light on the reasons why two texts may be judged by two different measures. If different measures are used, the methods must at least be examined.

This point is most obvious in Macpherson's case. In a sense, he was both at the beginning and at the end of traditions. His amalgamation of oral and written material, edited, interpolated, and heavily contextualized, had often been practiced before on the borderlines of oral and written cultures. Examples may be found in old Icelandic and English manuscripts. The oldest Icelandic manuscript containing Eddic poems is the *Codex Regius*, which has been dated around 1270. Like the *Widsith* from the *Exeter-book*, it contains persons and events from central Europe and as far back as the fourth century. Whenever these poems were composed, they circulated in oral form for centuries, and they circulated in a variety of languages. When they came to be written down, they were of course corrupt and each version differed, and the scribes interpolated and edited them in various ways.

Macpherson, aided by the Edinburgh literati, also started the new tradition of collecting, editing, and indeed rewriting oral folk culture, as Walter J. Ong noted in his 1982 book, *Orality and Literacy* (p. 16). Lynch agrees when he notes that Macpherson's method was little different "from that of Zacharius Topelius in assembling the *Kalevala* from oral tradition in 1822" (p. 13). He is also correct that the "crime for which Macpherson was convicted as history's most perfidious literary faker was nothing more than the attribution of a group of poems to an author" (p. 86). However, Lynch sometimes slips on the facts. Although Topelius collected some of the folk poetry used in the *Kalevala*, it was Elias Lönnrot who assembled the epic, and he first published it in 1835. Similarly, when emphasizing the difference between author function and the ancient culture in which the author is placed, he wrongly states that Hugh Blair's example of a "barbarous nation," as opposed to the authority of the author, is the "ancient Scots" rather than the Norse. Blair had quoted what he thought to be "true Gothic poetry" to contrast with the Ossianic, so perhaps the author was not fully divorced from his nation in Blair's mind (p. 87). The construction of the author did, however, work for and against the poems, and perhaps their status is directly linked to the status of the author in the literary system.

Despite these minor errors and preconceptions, Lynch's book is informative and helps to explain one aspect of the eighteenth-century fakery controversies. It would, however, have profited from the wider perspective which it consciously excludes.

Reading these three books is a bit like going through a trial once again, as if stuck on a stair in M. C. Escher's picture of the Tower of Babel. Trevor-Roper's book fits perfectly in an age-old Scotophobic tradition, with ancestors such as John Wilkes and T.W.H. Crosland, and it can be read as a prosecution of a people for their propensity to lie and cheat in the promotion of their own interests. Curley and Lynch focus on the individual, with the difference that Curley both prosecutes and convicts James Macpherson in order to promote his own hero, Samuel Johnson. The interpretation of the evidence is completely one-sided. For Lynch, judgment has already been passed, and he therefore misses some of the vital issues regarding the controversies surrounding *The Poems of Ossian*. But in the end, all three books prove that it is high time to go beyond the sometimes Kafkaesque criminal trial surrounding one of the more important texts in Western literature and examine it for what it was and is: a work that represented a paradigm shift and thus ushered in a new literary era.

John Robertson, ***The Case for the Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples 1680–1760***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005. Pp. xii + 455.

Is it possible to think of the Enlightenment as an intellectual, social, and political phenomenon that unfolded in similar ways in different parts of Europe? John Robertson presents the case for the Enlightenment in this way in a closely argued, copiously researched, and original work of scholarship. He argues that in Scotland and in Naples, two nations geographically remote and seemingly very different, one may discover a similar intellectual trajectory in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. He finds in both nations a transition from an Augustinian mindset preoccupied with the sinfulness of our fallen human nature to an Epicurean understanding of the passions and their usefulness in social life. The outcome of this movement of ideas was the emergence of political economy and proposals for the prosperity of societies and the betterment of mankind.

This is a distinctive construction of the Enlightenment, quite different from other interpretations, several of them lucidly and helpfully summarized in the opening chapter. Robertson presents his case for the Enlightenment in the form of a dialogue with J.G.A. Pocock, whose notion of a plurality of enlightenments in his *Barbarism and Religion Volume One: The Enlightenments of Edward Gibbon, 1737–1764* (1999) has made it "impossible or redundant to think of 'the' Enlightenment as one coherent intellectual movement" (p. x). Whereas Pocock distinguishes a variety of enlightenments—Socinian in England; moderate in Scotland; enlightenments of the *erudits* and of the *philosophes* in France; an enlightenment designed to secure a balance of power in Europe, following the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713—Robertson identifies a single enlightenment that occurred in similar ways in two different national contexts. The claim that it is possible to maintain a unitary conception of enlightenment invites comparison with Jonathan Israel's *Radical Enlightenment* (2001), emanating from the Netherlands and the philosophy of Spinoza, which was taken up in England by John Toland in his attack on priestcraft, then by d'Holbach and the philosophers of the "high enlightenment" in France. Robertson makes no claim for intellectual exchanges between Scotland and Naples. His argument is that, notwithstanding their isolation from one another, the two nations had political, social, and political histories with remarkable similarities.

Both Scotland and Naples were governed by absentee kings and courts: Naples by the Spanish Hapsburg monarchy, Scotland by a king and noble lords resident in London. The economy of both nations was challenged: in Naples by the paucity of arable lands and a rapacious but otherwise idle feudal nobility; in Scotland, there were improving landlords, particularly in the Lowlands, but the weakness of Scotland in the absence of support from England was evident in the inability of the Scots to bring the Darien venture to a successful conclusion. The frustrations experienced in their political and economic initiatives were compensated, in some degree, however, by an Augustinian mindset promoted by Franciscans, Dominicans and Jesuits in Naples and by an insistence on Reformed dogmatism in the churches and universities of Scotland.

In the minds of Scholastic Augustinians, the only lasting happiness available to mankind was union of the soul with God, experienced, albeit imperfectly in this lifetime, by a longing for beatitude or perfect happiness. It followed from this dogmatic premise that atheism must be severely punished. In Naples, a defense of atheists was mounted by lawyers and men of letters; scholasticism was impugned, Epicureanism defended. In Scotland, there was no public outcry when a student at Edinburgh University, Thomas Aikenhead, was tried for heresy in December 1696 and executed scarcely two weeks later. In Naples, a culture of enlightenment was already in place by the end of the seventeenth century. At its center was a private library, owned by a wealthy merchant, Guiseppe Valetta, which became a meeting place for philosophers, jurists, and men of letters. Gilbert Burnet, the elder, visited Valetta in the 1680s; the third Earl of Shaftesbury was his guest during his last visit to Naples from 1711 until his death in 1713 (p. 106). Valetta, Francesco d'Andrea, Pietro Giannone, and others found in the writings of Pierre Gassendi, in particular, a persuasive synthesis of Epicurean natural and moral philosophy with Augustinian Christianity. However, the same synthesis could also be used, as it was by Pierre Bayle, to argue for the possibility of a society of atheists.

Bayle occupies a pivotal place in Robertson's narrative. His religious convictions were Augustinian, as Elisabeth Labrousse established, in scholarship properly described by Robertson as "magisterial" (p. 15). It is equally significant that his philosophy of morals was Epicurean. Bayle argued that the moral life of mankind is for the most part unaffected by religious convictions. Human conduct is directed by the prevailing passions of men and women. And among those passions, avarice and ambition, and desire for the approval of others, determine the lives of most people. The moral principles that guide us are those of Epicurus, as they were represented by Gassendi: the principles of utility and agreeableness.

In Scotland, the reception of Bayle was mediated by Bernard Mandeville, who did not disguise his indebtedness to "Baile." If he did not document the extent of that debt, it was because—as he put it in *Free Thoughts on Religion, the Church and National Happiness* (1720), p. xvi—he "imagin'd that it would be unpleasant, if not disgustful, to see the same Name so often repeated in the Notes." Mandeville agreed with Bayle that philosophy must

be kept distinct from theology, natural and revealed, but he went beyond Bayle in explaining "how the clergy had made the church [and philosophy] the instrument of their authority over the laity" (p. 265). Robertson, consistently generous in acknowledging the scholarship of others, draws upon the work of E. J. Hundert and Maurice Goldsmith to describe Mandeville's thinking as "a renewed and reinvigorated combination of the Epicurean and Augustinian accounts of man developed by French moral philosophers at the turn of the century, above all by Bayle" (p. 269). It was, however, Mandeville and not Bayle, who thought that virtue and vice had their origin in the artifice and cunning of skillful politicians and men of fashion who had persuaded others that restraint of the passions is virtue and indulgence of them vice. It was an argument that was seized upon by Mandeville's critics in Scotland: by Francis Hutcheson, but also by Hutcheson's critic Archibald Campbell. Both thought that the idea of virtue was not the result of artifice; it was natural and instinctive, brought to mind by a moral sense: by the perception of benevolence or kind affection (Hutcheson), by desire for esteem (Campbell). Hutcheson thought that Campbell was himself an Epicurean, an accusation that did not sit well with Campbell (p. 288).

Unlike French moral philosophers of the seventeenth century—Gassendi, the Baron des Coustures, Bayle, and Saint-Evremond—Hobbes and Mandeville did not describe themselves as Epicureans, although they were so described by others (e.g. by Hutcheson). The same reluctance is evident in regard to David Hume, who distinguished himself from the licentious Epicureanism of the "the man of elegance and pleasure" in his *Essays Moral and Political* (1742), and from Epicureans who would reduce all the passions to self-love in *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751). Robertson makes the case for Hume as an Epicurean moralist: "Hume had cut through the difficulties which Mandeville brought upon himself by opposing virtue to the passions—and had returned to the subtler moral Epicureanism of Bayle. For Bayle, it will be recalled, the passions were moral to the extent that they were 'utile et agréable'; Hume used the self-same formula" (p. 296).

Hume's account of the passions and morals reflects the priorities of modern Epicureans: an emphasis on pride; on love as esteem; on sympathy with qualities of character that are useful and agreeable; on justice as an artificial virtue, where "Hume put himself clearly on the side of Mandeville, and before him, of Hobbes, against those who held that men are naturally sociable" (p. 301). The discussion of Hume includes the "omitted nobler parts of the Treatise: miracles and divine providence" and a substantial review of "The Natural History of Religion," where Hume argued that a society of atheists is preferable not only preferable to a society of idolaters but also to a society of theists.

Hume, however, did not live in a society of atheists. In Edinburgh, he enjoyed the company of moderate clergymen (Hugh Blair, William Robertson, and Adam Ferguson) with whom he could engage in friendly disagreement. It was also a "society of improvers" who were receptive to Hume's thoughts on the subject of political economy. Here Robertson agrees with Istvan Hont, in *Jealousy of Trade* (2005), in finding in Hume's *Political Discourses* "a frequent if not continuous engagement with the arguments of [Jean-François] Melon's *Essai politique sur le commerce*" (p. 363) of 1734. Melon's arguments for the benefits to society of commercial life and his defense of luxury constituted a more accessible (i.e., less provocative) statement of Mandeville's thesis, and it no doubt formed a significant part of the context of Hume's *Political Discourses* (1752). But it is also relevant for Hume's differences with Melon that the latter had been secretary of the Compagnie des Indes and an associate of John Law. He thought, as Law did, that commerce would benefit from public credit, that the issuance of stock in government companies would increase circulation of goods and services. Hume, like Montesquieu, disagreed: no benefits to commerce would follow from the use of public stock as a medium of exchange; such use would have the effect of depreciating the value of the official currency and precious metals. And worse, stock in companies such as Law's would fund the expansion of empire and create disastrous increases in government indebtedness. Robertson puts Hume's disagreement with Melon and other advocates of commercial empire in this way: "Commerce was not an alternative means to achieve empire, as Melon had suggested; it was an alternative to empire *tout court*" (p. 371). The Neapolitan economists Genovesi and Galiani also found much to engage them in the work of Melon and other advocates of commerce in the eighteenth century. Robertson concludes his book on this note: "political economy and the progress of society represented, in the longer term, the best available prospect for their countries, the kingdom of Naples just as much as Scotland. That was their case for the Enlightenment; it is also mine" (p. 405).

Robertson's case for the Enlightenment in Scotland combines theological, philosophical, and economic insights in a manner that is often novel and always instructive. The parallels with Naples are often arresting, and they invite study of other nations where a similar process of enlightenment may be discovered. In the case of Scotland, it is appropriate that Hume should occupy a central place in the narrative: not only for the depth and intrinsic interest of Hume's philosophy, but also because his philosophy was the object of critical attention on the part of his contemporaries, some of them significant thinkers who elaborated distinctive systems of their own.

This leads me to a question that one might direct to John Robertson. How should one accommodate in the

case for the Enlightenment as you present it the ideas of those philosophers who disagreed not only with Augustinianism but also with Epicureanism, with Hume, and with one another? Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, and Adam Ferguson were all of them philosophers of distinction who had followers of their own in Scotland, Ireland, America, and Europe. Hutcheson was engaged, throughout his short life, in an attempt to rehabilitate human nature from the gloomy, morose image of sinful human nature that he found in Calvinist scholasticism. He also perceived Epicureanism very widely in the moral philosophy of modern writers: Pufendorf and Hobbes, Mandeville and Campbell, not to mention Hume. Hutcheson was thought, by all who heard him, to have been most effective in the classroom; he spoke without notes "from the heart to the hearts of his hearers." Some of his former students objected to what they took to be a dismissive attitude on the part of Adam Smith when he spoke of Hutcheson's philosophy in his lectures at Glasgow in the 1750s.

In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759), Smith distinguished his own system of sympathy and propriety from the systems of benevolence and utility that he found in the philosophies of Hutcheson and Hume. Smith found an analogue to his theory of justice as merited punishment in the Pauline and Augustinian doctrine of the atonement but recast that image in his own system as sympathy with the resentment felt by the victim of injustice. Thomas Reid, an early critic of quantitative theories of morality, such as Hutcheson's, perceived not only Hume but also Smith to be Epicureans in his lectures on moral philosophy delivered in Glasgow in 1765 and in his *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (1788). He turned against Smith Cicero's Stoic critique of Epicureanism in *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum*, book 2, without remarking Cicero's skeptical critique of the Stoics in book 4 of the same work. Reid's own emphasis on the powers of the human mind had much in common with the Arminian critique of Calvinist scholasticism. Adam Ferguson described himself, in the introduction to his *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792), as a Stoic, writing in the spirit of those philosophers in the eighteenth century who understood the Stoics best: Shaftesbury, Montesquieu, and Hutcheson. In the second volume of the same work, he distinguished his idea of virtue as the exercise of active intelligence from the systems of Smith and Hume.

There were, in short, responses to Calvinist scholasticism in the Scottish Enlightenment that were neither Epicurean nor skeptical. Should one then explore the possibility of a plurality of enlightenments within Scotland itself? This is no doubt a project worthy of consideration, particularly in the context of different understandings of Calvinism in different parts of Scotland. Robertson would reply, or I would expect him to reply, that however illuminating it may be to consider the Enlightenment in the Stoic terms employed by Hutcheson, Reid, and Ferguson, eclectically and diversely conceived, the outcome of these moments is unlikely to eventuate in the moment I have sought to describe, which has as its outcome the science of political economy. This would seem to me an entirely appropriate response. One might rejoin that philosophical systems that support more generous understandings of human nature, conceived in terms of benevolence, individual conscience, and active intelligence, have a legitimate claim to be considered enlightened. But there is still another consideration that may suggest that the several systems of Hutcheson, Hume, Smith, Reid, and Ferguson should not be treated in isolation from one another.

Hume relished the company of Smith and Ferguson. He had hoped, unsuccessfully, to persuade Hutcheson that Hume, the metaphysician and the anatomist of human nature, could be of service to Hutcheson, the moralist and the painter; Hutcheson clearly thought otherwise. James Beattie complained that Thomas Reid entertained too good an opinion of Hume as a philosopher. It may be that the most notable quality of the Enlightenment in Scotland, exemplified by Hume in particular, is the delight shared by its best minds in intellectual disagreement with one another. This may be another characteristic of the Enlightenment in Scotland that continues to have relevance for ourselves.

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Colin Kidd, ***Union and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500–2000***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. ix + 312.

The most immediately apparent contribution of Colin Kidd's book is that it is one of those studies which turns the spotlight off the more obvious and popular subject for historical study—in this case, protest in the form of Scottish nationalism—and convincingly and satisfyingly demonstrates that its obverse—unionism—is at least as rich and enlightening a seam to be mined. Indeed, it has been the dominant position in Scotland since 1707 despite its neglect by historians, and it is therefore ripe for analysis. Written with Kidd's customary elegance, precision, and wit, *Union and Unionisms* is an enormous pleasure to read, and it offers many important and persuasive contentions, not least for students of the long eighteenth century.

Kidd's case is that Scottish unionism has been far from dull, English-dominated, and conformist. Rather, it has been ideologically varied, deeply rooted in Scottish political thought reaching back not only to 1603 but to as early as the early sixteenth century. It has also, nevertheless, been compatible with cultural nationalism and frequently critical of English behavior within the Union. The first chapter uncovers the Scottish arguments made be-

fore 1707 in favor of union with England, from the work of the scholastic philosopher and historian John Mair, notably his *Historia maioris Britanniae* (1521), to the Union debates of 1698–1707. From there, Kidd moves on to examine the debates over the locus of sovereignty within the Union; the phenomenon of ethnic nationalism as a basis of unionism; the unionism of Scottish jurists; the acceptance of unionism by virtually all the seceders from the Church of Scotland since 1707; and the heterogeneity of what has been simplistically characterized as "Scottish nationalism" in the modern period, much of which, Kidd argues, has a surprising amount in common with Scottish unionism.

The implications of this work for eighteenth-century Scottish history are important, therefore, for students of ecclesiastical and legal history as well as for those of the history of political thought, although Kidd rightly emphasizes the significance of the history of Scottish political thought and its as yet under-developed state (p. 304). Eighteenth-century unionism was uncomplicated by the relationship of Great Britain to its 1800 Union with Ireland and, indeed, Kidd suggests that a phenomenon which he describes as "banal unionism" can be discerned as early as the years immediately following the 1707 Union (and was sustained until at least the 1970s). This form of unionism is compared to the phenomenon noticed by Michael Billig in his 1995 book, *Banal Nationalism*, by which is meant a nationalism which so overrides competing ideologies that it no longer requires to be demonstrated, but is accepted by most without much if any thought. A similar process, Kidd argues, happened in Scotland very quickly after the signing of the Union in relation to unionist ideology.

Moreover, the Union was debated in the years before the passing of the 1707 Act, it is suggested, by unionists of different persuasions (those preferring either an incorporating or a federal union), rather than between unionists and nationalists, as is usually assumed. The debates dealt partly with the nature and location of sovereignty—in which Scotland was only early, rather than unusual, in the eighteenth century; the conundrum which was left after 1707, and not really solved until 1921, was the place of the Church of Scotland in a nation state with parliamentary sovereignty. While Presbyterianism was endemically schismatic, Kidd argues that its adherents were almost universally unionist: the protests of the seceders were always directed against *abuses* of what they perceived to be the Union settlement regarding the Church of Scotland, rather than against the Union itself. Strikingly, therefore, Kidd proposes that the principal cause of the secessions from 1733 right through until the climax of the Disruption of 1843 (though with the exception of the departure of the Relief Church in 1761), was not theological, nor was it even the principle of establishment, but rather its practice under the 1707 Act.

If ecclesiology was a crucial component of unionism and unionist debate in eighteenth-century Scotland and beyond, legal argument was another important component. Kidd finds that Scottish jurists did not emphasize the distinctiveness of Scots law in the eighteenth century but were, rather, disposed to reform it along English lines. Indeed, eighteenth-century demands for parity with England within the Union were rather made so as to be *like* England than because distinguishing treatment was desired (as it was in the nineteenth century)—an argument prefigured in Kidd's earlier work, notably *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689–c.1830* (1993).

Kidd's case is persuasive, and made with exceptional clarity, full of vibrant examples and brimming with suggestive arguments. It will have to be taken into account by political, religious, and legal historians throughout the modern period, not least those of the eighteenth century.

Emma Macleod, University of Stirling

John Millar, ***An Historical View of the English Government***. Edited by Mark Salber Phillips and Dale R. Smith, with an Introduction by Mark Salber Phillips. Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2006. Pp. xix + 889.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, ***Sketches of the History of Man***. 3 vols. Edited and with an Introduction by James A. Harris. Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Indianapolis, IN: Liberty Fund, 2007. Pp. xxii + 1011.

Readers of eighteenth-century Scottish historical writing should be immensely grateful to both Liberty Fund and Knud Haakonssen, the general editor of the Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics series, for making accessible these two central texts, following the earlier publication of Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (2006), and Kames's *Elements of Criticism* and *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (both 2005). The two works discussed here have both, rightly, attracted recent scholarly interest: these editions provide the material for new and sustained analyses, though in rather different ways. Both are fully indexed and provide a bibliography of the major historical sources used by the authors.

Mark Salber Phillips and Dale Smith have edited the posthumous 1803 edition of John Millar's *Historical View*. Although the first two books were published by Millar in 1787, the work, unfinished at his death in 1801, was completed by his nephew and biographer, John Craig, who, from Millar's surviving papers, added a third book

completing the history to 1688 and a fourth book, consisting of essays that took the narrative to his own time. The choice of this edition allows a fuller understanding both of Millar's perspective on the conflicts of the seventeenth century and of the continuities with the *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks*, which are apparent in the sometimes rambling essays in the final book.

Phillips's introduction is a model of what can be achieved given the tantalizingly brief format allowed in the series. The *Historical View* is here clearly presented as "a sustained dialogue with Hume's *History of England*" and "surely the eighteenth century's most serious response to that great work." Phillips shows us Millar's ambition to offer an alternative Whig narrative of the history of England, one rooted in philosophical and comparative-historical approaches. At the same time, he also sets this history in the context of Millar's teaching of natural jurisprudence, following John Cairns's important recent discussions of his lectures. Millar's arguments draw throughout on the assumptions of stadial theory and on direct European comparisons; but given his political commitment, he had also to identify consistent and systematic historical explanations for the exceptional character of English liberty.

The full, but never intrusive, annotation of this volume provides the reader with scholarly guidance on bibliographical, biographical, and historical references. But it does much more than that to illuminate the text. Millar's direct engagement with Hume's *History* and his debt to Adam Smith are constant themes. So, for instance, the editors comment that in recounting the idea of the constitution held by the House of Commons under James I, Millar is tacitly rebutting Hume's view of Tudor authority (p. 514). They set Hume's judgment on the revolution of 1688 in relation to Millar's, for the reader to consider, and they annotate Smith's considerable influence on Millar throughout, but especially in the final book. There are of course other themes which historians might wish to take up, including Millar's concerns over the impact of luxury on the division of labor and on private life, sketched in the final book. But this edition makes available a text not reprinted since 1818, and does so in an exemplary style: it is a very considerable achievement.

Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man* was first published in 1774, but this text is based on the posthumous third edition of 1788. It presents a massive challenge to any editor. Though influential, its arguments are ambivalent and inconsistent, and as James Harris points out, Kames was "a conspicuous consumer of references and allusions." Kames's project, the "natural history of man," was made possible by the wealth of recent information on the diversity of humanity available through travel literature, combined with more familiar classical and Biblical accounts. Harris has not attempted a fully annotated text, but he has, valuably, noted the significant differences between the first, second, and third editions, so that detailed comparisons are possible.

In his introduction, Harris competently illustrates some of the difficulties modern readers may have with the *Sketches*. Kames viewed his work as part of a history of the human species, in which he assumed the progress of humanity, interacting with its environment as it passed through different and clearly defined stages on the route from savagery to civilization. Yet his "Preliminary Discourse" notoriously suggests the existence of a variety of separate human races, after the first created human race was left scattered into many following the confusion of the tower of Babel, according to his interpretation of Biblical revelation. Nostalgically, Kames admired the exceptional refinement of the ancient Caledonians depicted by Ossian and the similar manners of the early northern or Scandinavian nations. And there is his moralistic denunciation of the impact of luxury in commercial societies on manners and morality. At the same time, Kames interpreted the progressive history of humanity as evidence of the workings of a divine and benevolent providence.

In spite of these strangely mixed strands of thinking, contemporaries did apparently find much of interest in the *Sketches*, given the ten editions that appeared by 1819. Kames's dialogues with his contemporaries have been of particular interest recently, in such fields as the parallels between the human species and the animal kingdom, the varieties of eighteenth-century racial theory, and the gendered nature of "the natural history of man." On these it remains necessary to turn to the work of scholars such as Silvia Sebastiani, Robert Wokler, and Paul Wood. Yet there is still much work to be done in exploring the context of the *Sketches*, and its availability is a major contribution toward such further research.

Jane Rendall, University of York

Roger L. Emerson, ***Essays on David Hume, Medical Men and the Scottish Enlightenment: 'Industry, Knowledge and Humanity'***. Farnham, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2009. Pp. xx + 295.

Roger Emerson's most recent volume further explores the role of science in the Scottish Enlightenment through the investigation of the part played by university professors, students, politicians, and amateur scientists. The subtitle *Industry, Knowledge and Humanity*—borrowed from Hume's essay on "The Refinement of the Arts"—well summarizes Emerson's goal of showing the close interdependence between science, material improvement, and moral progress (p. xiii). The essays employ a large amount of archival material, including the lists of

graduates of the medical faculties of Glasgow and Edinburgh, the *London Medical Register*, and the records of the Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.

The essays can be ideally divided into two groups. The first deals with general aspects of the history of the Scottish Enlightenment: schooling and instruction in Scotland, the third Duke of Argyll's patronage, the Scottish learned community, the books circulating among students, a detailed description of the students and auditors of the university medical courses (together with a sketch of their career outside Scotland), and a discussion of recent interpretations of the Scottish Enlightenment. The second group consists of four papers about David Hume, his intellectual development, his views on religion and political economy, and Hume scholarship.

In "What is to be Done About the Scottish Enlightenment?"—the conclusion of the book, but also an agenda for future historical research—Emerson challenges Roy Porter and Mikulás Teich's definition of the Enlightenment based on several national contexts. Emerson lists the traits of Scottish culture (patronage, influence of the Kirk, political conservatism) in order to dismiss the notion that they create a local or provincial variation of the European Enlightenment. Emerson considers Archibald Campbell, third Duke of Argyll, a crucial figure: not a scientist, but a man who was familiar with scientific issues and sensitive to their potential application in industry and agriculture, the duke gave an enlightened mold to Scottish culture through the sensible management of patronage. His simple rule—"appoint no bigots, no fanatics, no enthusiasts and no overly zealous men" (p. 25)—allowed him to choose promising and effective figures. Perhaps more importantly, the duke created a tolerant and open-minded milieu, which hosted and promoted Scotland's intellectual progress.

Aiming to show that Scotland was part of the wider European Enlightenment and brought to it an original contribution, Emerson pictures the circulation of European ideas in Scotland and the circulation of Scots in the first four essays of the book and in the chapter "Numbering the Medics." University education, sailing, the medical and legal professions, business and religious choices often urged Scots to migrate, and in doing so they established material and long-lasting connections with Europe and the American colonies. A mostly neglected field, the stories of traveling Scots, promises to afford new evidence and fresh information on the complex issues of the origins and spread of the Scottish Enlightenment.

The remaining four essays are devoted to Hume and the "curious business" of Hume scholarship (p. 155). Emerson patently struggles with the common view on history as a secondary interest of Hume's and disputes M. A. Stewart's thesis which suggests (as Emerson sees it) that Hume's intellectual development ended in 1752 (p. 104). Instead, Emerson stresses that history was part of both Hume's early instruction and later intellectual development, as confirmed by his juvenile acquaintance with Caesar, Livy, Justinus, and Suetonius and his mature reading of Tacitus and Montesquieu. Emerson also shows the influence of celebrated essayists such as Addison, Steele, and Bolingbroke, and affirms that Hume "restate[d] in essays what he took to be his important contributions to thought—those things he had decided about philosophy, religion, politics, art, and many other topics including history" (p. 86). Emerson finds a substantial coherence in Hume's writings, which all aimed to praise prudence and condemn religious enthusiasm. Hume's uniform element is therefore his didactic aim to instruct readers on personal conduct and behavior in society; he changed the format of his pedagogical works and chose more palatable essays instead of a dry and detached philosophical treatise (p. 98).

Emerson's book is an invaluable help, which can allow readers to broaden their understanding of the Enlightenment and to reassess or correct received standard views. Emerson points out several new and fascinating lines of historical research, which are not irrelevant in the analysis of philosophical texts. His history-focused account of Hume is likely to provoke reactions and debate, as fine historical interpretations often do.

Cristina Paoletti, University of Bologna

David B. Wilson, ***Seeking Nature's Logic: Natural Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment***. University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009. Pp. xvi + 344.

David Wilson's book offers a clearly written account of the career of Newtonian physics in the second half of the eighteenth century at the Universities of Glasgow and Edinburgh. I must admit that when I opened this book I was initially disappointed that Wilson chose to define natural philosophy narrowly, in terms of physical science, rather than encompassing a broader study of nature as did, he admits, many eighteenth-century people. Within these constraints, however, Wilson has written a fine book, which places Edinburgh professor John Robison and John Anderson, his Glasgow counterpart, in the mainstream of eighteenth-century science.

In a long introduction, Wilson reassesses the relative places of Descartes, Newton, and Leibniz in the revolution in seventeenth-century science. Descartes comes out the best in this assessment, and Wilson convincingly argues that the widespread acceptance of Copernican theory owed at least as much to Descartes as it did to Galileo. The lasting influence of Descartes is a continuing theme in the book, countering the standard narrative that Newton's natural philosophy definitively disproved Cartesian ideas for all but a few stubborn Frenchmen. Rather,

Descartes continually reappeared as the foil for Newtonian ideas throughout the eighteenth century. This chapter would be excellent for students.

Wilson identifies four individuals who offered differing interpretations of Newton's ideas to Scotland in the period between 1690 and 1740. The mathematician David Gregory and his student John Keill both spent much of their careers in England, but their textbooks were widely used. Colin Maclaurin's *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries* (1748) offered a re-thinking of Newtonian ideas rather than a textbook. Wilson's fourth individual, David Hume, fits awkwardly into the "Newtonian" mold, but Wilson argues that Hume adopted Newton's methods to formulate his philosophy of human nature, which was not very Newtonian at all.

The University of Glasgow between 1740 and 1760 produced a number of men who defined the course of natural philosophy in Scotland for the rest of the century. Wilson focuses on seven: Robert Dick and his son of the same name, William Cullen, Adam Smith, Thomas Melvill, James Buchanan, and John Anderson. Wilson elucidates the theological and epistemological concerns which were at least as important as Newton's physics in outlining the Scottish approach to natural philosophy. A subsequent chapter on common sense philosophy further explores these themes, and leaves Glasgow and Edinburgh temporarily for the Aberdeen of Thomas Reid.

Wilson offers a fresh look at Joseph Black through the lens of natural philosophy. He identifies Black's "far-reaching, speculative natural philosophy of chemistry" (p. 149), which focused on a pervasive Newtonian aether. This aether caused a variety of effects, including those of phlogiston, and Wilson suggests that the aether and phlogiston were equivalent. Black felt he followed Newton in all of this, particularly Query 31 of the *Opticks*. But his student John Robison disagreed that chemistry was part of natural philosophy. In his chemistry lectures, Robison followed Stahl's theory of phlogiston rather than Black's Newtonian aether. However, new developments in the study of heat led Black to revise his theories in the late 1780s, away from the aether.

John Anderson was the professor of natural philosophy at Glasgow from 1757 until his death in 1796. What Wilson calls his "Newtonian realism" encompassed Newton's method, Joseph Butler's defense of natural and revealed religion, and the distinction between mathematical and probable truths, which Butler shared with the Dutch Newtonian Willem s'Gravesande. Anderson's natural philosophy led him to oppose both Hume and Lavoisier and to disregard Reid. John Robison, professor at Edinburgh from 1774 until his death in 1805, held different views, and these moreover changed over time. Wilson characterizes Robison's natural philosophy in 1780 as a "phlogiston physics" that was heavily influenced by Reid's philosophy of knowledge. By 1800, although Lavoisier had not entirely weaned Robison from phlogiston, new ideas about electricity, and particularly Boscovitch's ideas about force, had significantly modified his views. Wilson ends his story with an account of three younger men in turn-of-the-century Edinburgh—Dugald Stewart, John Playfair, and John Leslie—whom he sees as bridging eighteenth-century natural philosophy and nineteenth-century physics.

Seeking Nature's Logic is very much an intellectual history; we see little of Edinburgh or Glasgow and hear nothing about the personal lives of these men, with the exception of some discussion of Robison's poor health. Wilson offers instead a finely detailed account of the origins of modern physics in the Scottish Enlightenment.

Anita Guerrini, Oregon State University

Tim Robinson, ***William Roxburgh: The Founding Father of Indian Botany***. Chichester: Phillimore, in association with Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 2008. Pp. xviii + 286.

A book-length biography of William Roxburgh (1751–1815) has been long overdue. Roxburgh, an Edinburgh-trained medic and student of the botanist Dr. John Hope, entered the English East India Company's service in 1772, initially as a surgeon's mate and then as an assistant surgeon in the Company's medical service at Fort St. George, Madras. He went on to become Company botanist on the Madras coast in 1789, succeeding Robert Kyd to the coveted post of superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden in 1793. He is chiefly remembered by botanists today for his *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel* (1798), published under the patronage of Sir Joseph Banks, and *Flora Indica*, the first volume of which was published posthumously in 1820.

This is, however, paltry acknowledgment of a man who played a defining role in British imperial botany, sending home large consignments of plants, one of which was extolled by Banks as the largest addition to Kew since the collection sent by Captain Bligh (p. 92). Roxburgh's contributions to colonial state formation in India, moreover, are hardly familiar, even to historians of South Asia. Tim Robinson's richly empirical biography is therefore essential reading for anyone with an interest in imperial botany, the making of the colonial Indian state, or the ways in which the knowledge-making protocols of the Scottish Enlightenment traveled to Britain's Asian colonies. This last is beautifully illustrated by, among other things, Robinson's discussion of Roxburgh's efforts to lease a large estate in south India in order to carry out agricultural experiments and become an improving landlord in the Scottish style, albeit in India (pp. 32–39). His efforts helped earn him a tidy fortune of around £50,000 and a

place in the Scottish gentry (his son Bruce was granted a coat of arms in 1854). The negotiations over the lease offer interesting insights into the micro-processes of colonial state-making. The correspondence between Roxburgh, his mentor Andrew Ross, and the Madras Board of Revenue reveals the rationale and mechanisms used by the Company administration to create a class of parvenu landed proprietors who could be depended upon to stabilize revenue collection.

The author has divided his book into three parts, the first two on the life and science of Roxburgh, and a third part, "Case Studies," which explores his economic botany in great detail over eight chapters: the development of large-scale teak and spice plantations, the search for an alternative to Peruvian bark, *Swietenia febrifuga*, and experiments to discover a red dye that could effectively substitute for madder, over which the Dutch maintained a monopoly. He makes good use of the Roxburgh manuscript collection and drawings at the Natural History Museum, London, the India Office collections in the British Library, and the Kew archives to come up with a much-needed analysis of the number and species of plants that Roxburgh introduced at Kew (appendix 4).

I have two serious criticisms of the book. First, it demonstrates limited engagement with recent historiography on India (there are few references to books published in the last twenty years). Second, its focus is too narrow. For example, it fails to contextualize Roxburgh's humanitarian agenda for famine relief as part of the colonial state's efforts to embed itself in Indian society. The author does not consider that famines provided the colonial state with ways to intervene in indigenous society and gather information about affected populations—knowledge which was then systematized and used to implement a variety of policies. There is enough recent writing on the history of the Company State, and at least one major work on the state's efforts at famine relief (Sanjay Sharma, *Famine, Philanthropy and the Colonial State* [2001]), which the author should have consulted. Robinson would have discovered that pre-colonial states in India, and especially the Mughals, *had* undertaken measures for famine relief (they valued an uninterrupted flow of revenue as much as the British-Indian state), and that statements to the contrary in British sources should be read as part of the colonial state's efforts to legitimize itself vis-à-vis indigenous regimes. He could then have avoided the unfortunate (and Eurocentric) assertion that "a major difference between the Moguls and the Company as rulers [was that] whilst the Moguls had a fatalistic attitude, in that it [man's fate?] was in the hands of Allah, the Europeans, not being used to seeing such mass starvation, took a Christian view, to try to obviate suffering" (pp. 190–91).

The book contains 129 illustrations, among them exquisite, annotated drawings by Roxburgh's Indian artists. The ten appendices include lists of Roxburgh's publications, his botanical correspondents, the books in his library, and a family tree showing his Boswell connections (Roxburgh married James Boswell's cousin Mary).

Minakshi Menon, University of California, San Diego

Ryan Hanley, ***Adam Smith and the Character of Virtue***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xvi + 232.

Since the revival of Adam Smith studies in the 1970s, Smith has been viewed not only as a proponent but also as a critic of commercial society. Ryan Hanley's new book revitalizes this perspective. Hanley's main idea is that Smith sees virtue not only as not incompatible in principle with self-love but also as grounded in a process of maturation, refinement, and ennoblement of self-love itself. As Smith remarks, in traditional societies there was more sensibility for one's neighbor, more sense of caring about other people; as commerce develops, the very merits and advantages of the new form of socialization afforded by "commercial society"—that is, egalitarianism and betterment of the material conditions—acquire a dark side, namely a deficit of care and sympathy for the poor and weak. Smith's main problem is how to provide a remedy for this loss without dismissing the beneficial effects of commerce. Even if communal values are still desirable, there is no point in longing for historically given forms of community, characterized by servile deference and lack of individual freedom and moral maturity. Smith's work is more pioneering in this respect than it was once supposed to have been, when it was equated with advocacy for "laissez-faire" economics.

By means of a well-organized and carefully documented argument, Hanley reconstructs the structure of Smith's search for a remedy to commercial society's malaise, scrutinizing both its consistency as a political agenda and the soundness of its underlying moral psychology. As Hanley convincingly illustrates, Smith sketches a three-stages theory of moral development in order to account for the corrupting effects of economic growth and their possible counterbalances. This theory posits a gradual movement from lower virtues (prudence) to higher virtues (beneficence), and then from the latter to self-command. The process is steered by the principle that every palliative remedy to existing ills engenders its own fresh ills. That is, there is a dialectical deployment of vices revisited and ameliorated by an exertion of corresponding virtues. The peculiar virtue of each stage is conceived as a remedy for the ills of commercial spirit plus the vices engendered by excesses and side effects of remedies applied to the previous stage of corruption.

The most interesting point in Hanley's reconstruction is that this movement is based not on rejection or sacrifice of self-love but on a "continuum of self-love that extends from the low to the high" (p. 93). In this process, the "intersubjective ethics of mutual recognition" is only the departure point of a moral development that moves toward transcendence of self-preferment "*via* the cultivation of the love of virtue" (p. 99), where "the desire to appear is wholly subordinated to the desire to be" (p. 98). This is the end toward which the tension between *paraître* and *être* tends. But there would be no such tension in the first place if there were not something like an *inner form* in human beings—"something divine in man" (p. 141)—in search of its realization. Thanks to Hanley's reconstruction, we are able to appreciate the Smithian synthesis of virtue ethics and liberal individualism. The attainment of virtue unfolds in an ascending dialectic "from low and vulgar forms of self-love to one higher and nobler" (p. 91), motivated by an insatiable love of perfection, innate in human nature and susceptible of cultivation. The final point of this development is not established in advance, nor is the transition from one stage to the next. Every transition is a battlefield, and the achievement of every higher virtue is always at stake, constantly running the risk of being doomed to failure or corrupted.

Moral excellence, although attainable only by the virtuous few, is an integral part of the ideal moral community: the wise and virtuous enjoy the status of models for the rest of mankind, and thus participate in the process of a potential mutual recognition. In other words, Smith does not teach a dual morality, one for the few and one for the bulk of mankind. In Smith's words: "The wise and virtuous man directs his principal attention to the first standard; the idea of exact propriety and perfection. There exists in the mind *of every man*, an idea of this kind, gradually formed form his observations upon the character and conduct both of himself and of other people. It is the slow, gradual, and progressive work of the great demigod within the breast, the great judge and arbiter of conduct" (*Theory of Moral Sentiments*, VI.iii.25; emphasis added). As Hanley rightly contends, these are not disjunctive alternatives but rather different levels in the very same process of moral development, or different points in the continuum of self-love's cultivation and refinement. But this process is neither linear nor one-way; it goes instead from the lower to the higher level and then from the higher to the lower in an interactive dialectic of re-information and re-education. And a modern moral community is constantly in this process, without any pre-established goal.

As Hanley interprets it, Smith's vision turns out to be deeper and even more fascinating than we were accustomed to think. Nevertheless, it must not be forgotten that Smith was an early modern, pre-industrial philosopher and not a theorist of capitalism, and it remains questionable whether his inheritance *as such* has much to say for the capitalism of the twenty-first century. In modern societies economic agents are impersonal or even fictive entities, not persons endowed with the ability to sympathize. And *this*—not the alleged incompatibility of self-love and virtue—makes me skeptical about the perspectives of Smith's vision of commercial civilization in a global context of "virtual economy," where no one really knows what one owns. In such a context, any notion of moral community based on sympathy runs the risk of being irrelevant, and it would be sensible to reconsider such a notion on the basis of new technological dynamics, particularly in matters of communication. Yet the great merit of Hanley's *dialectical* approach to Smith's virtue theory is that it gives inspiration to possible updated developments of modern virtue ethics.

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Stana Nenadic, ed., ***Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century***. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2010. Pp. 317.

Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century is an interdisciplinary volume of essays which tells readers about individuals and groups who made their way to London in search of opportunity and advancement as the eighteenth century unfolded. As Richard Sher notes in his foreword, this collection is the ninth book in the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society's *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* series, and the third published by Bucknell University Press. The concept and impetus for the collection, Sher tells readers, came from a 2004 conversation in Edinburgh among its editor, Stana Nenadic, Alex Murdoch, and Katherine Glover, who noticed with surprise the absence of a book focusing formally on eighteenth-century Scots active in the great metropolis of post-Union Britain.

This rich collection includes contributions by Iain Gordon Brown on Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's political and cultural ambitions; Sandro Jung on the early career of the playwright, David Mallet; Viccy Coltman on the architect, George Steuart; James Caudle on "James Boswell (*H. Scoticus Londoniensis*)"; Nigel Aston on James Beattie and the "Anglicanization" of Scots clergy; Anita Guerrini on Scots in the medical world of the age; Mary Anne Alburger on Scottish music patrons in London and Edinburgh; Patricia Andrew on Scottish artists in London; Katharine Glover on the education of the daughters of the London-based Scottish elite; and Jane Rendall on Scottish Whigs, radicals and the French Revolution at the end of the century. In addition to her work as editor, Nenadic also offers a substantial introduction to the essays as well as a piece of her own on military, commercial, and civil

patronage.

The introduction is helpful and important on several levels. An interdisciplinary collection of this kind, treating diverse topics and areas of research, requires careful organization. Nenadic articulates aspects of thematic unity in the essays, giving the collection an accessible form while tying it to current trends in Scottish, and particularly Scottish Enlightenment, historiography. She suggests that Scots who moved to London in the eighteenth century—either temporarily or permanently—formed what others in the book also call the "internal Diaspora" of eighteenth-century Britain. These Scots confronted considerable challenges as they relocated to the capital. Intriguingly, their challenges differed in significant ways from those confronted by their counterparts in the more familiar Scottish Diaspora in North America and Australia. It is in the context, then, of established scholarship on this wider Diaspora that Nenadic locates this book.

At the same time, the book is a work of cultural history, with an appealing human face. By skillful compilation of interdisciplinary expertise, Nenadic illustrates the interconnected and often complex ties among the London-based Scots and the nuances of their interaction with the world around them. As readers go through the essays, pictures emerge of Scots in London grappling with questions about the appropriate extent to which Scottish identity should be maintained while (often enthusiastically) forging British identity. The poet David Mallet, writes Sandro Jung, cultivated "an apparent detachment from Scottish culture" (p. 85). James Beattie, by contrast, seemed entirely comfortable with his Scottishness and became, Nigel Aston argues, one of "the stars of the Anglo-Scottish firmament" (p. 146). Beattie rose so high in this firmament that he was received twice in audience by King George III, who bestowed a pension upon him partly in recognition of his popular work against Humean skepticism, *An Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* (1770).

Interestingly, Aston also identifies one of a number of strong elements of cohesion in the "internal Diaspora" of Scots in London. This cohesion ultimately provided a bridge to the Anglican establishment, namely a kind of "pan-Protestantism" that transcended confessional preferences while not entirely obviating mid-eighteenth-century confessional tensions. James Beattie was also concerned, like Sir Gilbert and Lady Elliot of Minto, to whom we are introduced by Katharine Glover, with the cultivation of "politeness" and manners to enter into the mores of London society. Lady Minto's central role in the education of her children, especially her daughters, highlighted the gradual "integration of the Scottish landed classes into a British elite" (p. 266). Glover suggests that for the daughters of Scottish landed classes, education in London at least for a period in a girl's or young woman's life, "may be understood, like the Grand Tour for their male counterparts, as an 'invisible academy'" (p. 266).

In sum, the terrain covered in the book is striking. It reflects the great variety of Scots who made their way south to London in the eighteenth century, the range of opportunities for good or ill they pursued, and the cultural dynamics and tensions that characterized their daily lives. The contributors focus on substance in their individual essays, offering detailed footnotes and new research resources throughout. Ultimately, the authors suggest that a distinct form of Scottish "social capital" grew in London (p. 27), which eased Scots' integration into eighteenth-century Britain while in many cases retaining a distinctively Scottish character.

Ingrid Gregg, Ann Arbor, MI

Colin G. Calloway, ***White People, Indians, and Highlanders: Tribal Peoples and Colonial Encounters in Scotland and America***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xxi + 368.

In this compelling study, Colin G. Calloway offers an insightful look at the changes undergone by two societies exposed to the pressures of imperial expansion in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Calloway compares and contrasts the experiences of Scottish Highlanders and Native Americans, and their interaction with colonial powers and with each other. The book begins with a discussion of the categorization of tribal peoples and notions of savagery and civility within an imperial sphere. Calloway's subsequent thematic approach covers the parallels of experience in societal militarism, trade, social and familial interactions, clearance and settlement, and invented traditions. Chapters 7 and 8 on clearance and the Highland participation in the dispossession of Indian lands deserve particular emphasis as original and effective analyses of the reactions of minorities to empire-building.

The central theme—and most compelling feature—is the book's imperial framework. Calloway highlights from the outset that comparisons between Indians and Highlanders can be superficial, and he dismisses any claims of a special affinity between the two groups. He asserts, however, that their shared experiences of colonialism created historic parallels, as both groups were considered tribal and savage peoples in need of civilizing. Calloway effectively charts the multiplicity of responses from both groups (and indeed, from within both groups) to this contextual environment. This is, thankfully, not a story of status, but of adaption, change, and development, and Calloway is in his element in highlighting how the asymmetrical colonial system "used minority to suppress minority" (p. 110).

The imperial framework is also, however, the book's greatest potential flaw. Because of the central imperial theme, Calloway's definitions of Indians and Highlanders are predicated on the assumptions that contemporary commentators attached to both groups. In effect, the comparison drawn between the two, while highly sophisticated, relies on Anglo-American narratives which conflated the groups on the external assumption of a relationship to the imperial center. Calloway is entirely right that both groups were considered tribal people, but he never defines what he means by tribalism, so that the reader is left to assume a parallel experience based on abstract notions of land, memory, and community. The external assumption of shared experiences leads to further interpretive problems. Calloway's narrative of transformation sees both groups on divergent paths as Highlanders shed their tribal status. This narrative does not allow for the significant integration of Highlanders into the wider British political system throughout the early modern period. The same could be said of numerous indigenous Nations on the eastern seaboard which, by the 1800s, had had interactions with European colonialism for the better part of two centuries.

While Calloway is keen to avoid drawing reductively ethnic parallels between the groups, any comparison implicitly re-inscribes the tribalism of both groups in comparison to a civilized metropolitan center. Some of these comparisons are strained and forced, such as Highland chiefs clearing their lands of people at the same time as the United States under Andrew Jackson uprooted the southeastern Nations in the 1830s. Although the front cover is not the responsibility of the author, it underscores the book's central interpretative problem of affinity. It features a picture by the gifted artist Robert Griffing, entitled "Warriors," showing a Highland soldier of the late 1750s being taught tracking techniques by a Cherokee. In Calloway's telling, the shedding of tribal status by Highlanders is potentially a betrayal of that status and, by extension, of their fellow minorities. There was no such betrayal; it almost seems trite to say, but it is worth noting that Highlanders had fundamentally different experiences of colonialism, and while it is vital to appreciate that race was never a salient theory even by the early nineteenth century, it was of increasing importance. The rationalization of race, predicated in part on Scottish Enlightenment taxonomy, drove an impenetrable wedge between Highland and Indian experiences. Calloway's imperial context adds much to imperial historiography by asserting the role of the peripheral perspective. Perhaps, however, only by viewing imperial expansion as a significant agent in the dynamic of all Atlantic peoples can we move beyond the exceptionalism that seems determined to maintain its hold over the Indian and the Highlander.

This is, nonetheless, an extremely effective book and the most nuanced study of Indians and Highlanders available. The analysis and the depth of the source material are impressive and deserve high commendation. The book utilizes Gaelic and Native sources and is intensely aware of the latest research on the topic. While the framework may cause problems for this particular reviewer, the work within that framework is outstanding.

Matthew Dziennik, University of Edinburgh

Betty Hagglund, ***Tourists and Travellers: Women's Non-fictional Writing about Scotland, 1770–1830***. Buffalo: Channel View Publications, 2010. Pp. viii +181.

Zoe Kinsley, ***Women Writing the Home Tour, 1682–1812***. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008. Pp. 206.

Martin Rackwitz, ***Travels to Terra Incognita: The Scottish Highlands and Hebrides in Early Modern Travellers' Accounts c. 1600–1800***. New York: Internationale Hochschulschriften, 2007. Pp. 633.

The study of travel and tourism in Scotland has much to say to the growing fields of travel writing and tourism studies. In the same period that new means of travel and increasing affluence enabled more people to undertake journeys for pleasure, Scotland's image was being reborn as an intriguing and attractive place. Thus, the idea of Scotland and the expanding travel industry developed alongside each other. The three books under review here consider the fundamental changes taking place in the means of travel; the effects of those changes upon travel writing; intersections of gender, travel, and writing; and how journeys through the British Isles enabled people to come to know the nation of Great Britain in new ways. All make significant contributions to the scholarship on the history of travel and travel writing, and on Scotland's place in that history.

Martin Rackwitz's *Travels to Terra Incognita* is a comprehensive analysis of over four hundred accounts written by travelers to the Scottish Highlands and islands from Germany, France, Scandinavia, and other regions of the British Isles covering the period from the late Middle Ages to 1800. The book includes a CD with short biographies of 120 travelers and maps of their journeys, making it a useful source of information on who journeyed to Scotland in this period, and why. Rackwitz is primarily interested in Scotland, rather than the men and women who traveled there. His book is a valuable reference work on the ways in which travelers' accounts can serve as sources on Highland and Hebridean history and society. Rackwitz argues that travelers' descriptions of Scotland are a source of perceptions of "Scottishness," and by assessing those qualities which travelers considered "typically Scottish," he seeks to understand how they defined Scotland. Most of the book concerns the eighteenth century, a

period when travel to the Highlands became increasingly common. The men and women whose texts he uses traveled for a variety of reasons: for pleasure and curiosity, as soldiers, and as promoters of Scotland's economic development. Rackwitz mines their accounts for information on Highland and Hebridean life and society, describing transportation, clanship, agricultural methods, fowling, livestock, religious practices, drink, weddings, hygiene, efforts to bring economic improvement to the region, and more. He also seeks to explore the ways in which travelers' perceptions were influenced by the prevalent stereotypes and "myths" of the area and by their own political and national viewpoints. Rackwitz's discussions of "myths" of the Highlands are somewhat at odds with his objective of utilizing "reliable" information from travel texts as a source on Highland social history, and he does little to resolve that tension. As a social history of the Highlands and islands, Rackwitz's account breaks little new ground. However, his overview of the history of travel to the region and to perceptions of the Highlands and Hebrides is useful, and the descriptions he has compiled of Highland society and the changes of the eighteenth century are enlightening illustrations of major trends in Scottish history.

In *Women Writing the Home Tour,* Zoe Kinsley considers the meaning of traveling at "home," arguing that while the many women whose travel accounts she analyzes were "domestic" travelers, their destinations were not necessarily familiar. By studying travel writing of Britons who journeyed through their own isles between the late seventeenth and the early nineteenth centuries, Kinsley seeks to complicate how we understand British identity in this period. Although women making the "home tour" often commented that travel within Britain could help develop British patriotism, they were also conscious of the "otherness" of many of their fellow Britons. The tourist infrastructure similarly emphasized regional difference. Kinsley examines the linguistic and metaphorical strategies through which women expressed the foreignness they encountered within the British Isles: Arcadian imagery, class difference, motifs of savagery, and comparisons to places on the Continent, whereby women asserted that the otherness to be found abroad also existed at "home". Yet, even as English travelers portrayed Wales and Scotland (especially the Ossianic Highlands) as "other," they found that the Celtic Fringe could provide useful alternative historical identities. "Otherness" might also be found by English travelers within England, for Kinsley argues that the rhetoric of foreignness was applied to people and places which seemed socially, not geographically, distant. Class, she finds, was "the most significant determiner of ... regional and national difference" in home tour writing (p. 177). Working class locals often became objects to be observed by tourists, "living displays" of otherness, and in that manner travel replicated familiar social hierarchies. At the same time, travel could disrupt the social hierarchy, for "authentic" travel often necessitated submission to the authority of locals, as tour guides, for instance.

Kinsley's discussion of travel and national identity may be the section of her book which is most relevant to those interested in Scotland, but her work makes other contributions to the scholarship on travel writing. She very usefully considers the physical formatting of the travelogue as a physical object, and assesses manuscript travel accounts within the context of current scholarship on scribal culture. Manuscripts, she finds, were not "unprofessional" and did not imply a marginalization of women's writing. She also investigates the ways in which women engaged with the primarily masculine aesthetics of landscape, particularly the picturesque. The "framing" tendency of the picturesque is generally understood as an assertion of detachment from the landscape. Yet while women made use of this discourse, they were also likely to "break the frame" to acquire a more detailed, subjective, and emotional relationship with place.

Although Kinsley's book and Betty Hagglund's *Tourists and Travellers* both examine women travel writers, neither argues for a distinctive form of women's writing. Both emphasize variety within women's writing and see gender as one of several factors that determine how a traveler might experience and write of a place. Hagglund contends that an analysis of travel writing must be firmly grounded in the material, geographic, and cultural context in which the journeys took place. Her examination of the writings of five women who toured Scotland between 1770 and 1830 considers the ways in which time and place influenced their accounts. Her five writers are: "L" (the anonymous author of *A Journey to the Highlands of Scotland,* sometimes attributed to Mary Anne Hanway), Sarah Murray, Anne Grant, Dorothy Wordsworth, and Sarah Hazlitt. Through the travels of these women, Hagglund traces the changes that took place in journeys to and around Scotland. "L" and Sarah Murray were both upper-class women who were able to travel because they had money and friends or relatives who could provide letters of introduction to people with whom they could stay. Sarah Hazlitt, a woman of more limited means who toured in 1822, had access to guidebooks, public transport, and inns. Thus, her experience of Scotland was mediated by the burgeoning tourist industry, as was that of Dorothy Wordsworth, who also traveled with the benefit of guidebooks about Scotland.

The book's greatest strength lies in Hagglund's analysis of the rhetorical strategies that these women employed to represent themselves as writers and travelers. Like Kinsley, Hagglund emphasizes that while many of the collections of letters, diaries, and journals which she examines were unpublished, they were nonetheless constructed texts, often intended for an audience. Through these texts, women writers carefully crafted a sense of

themselves and their relationship with Scotland. Both "L" and Murray, for instance, wrote within a genre dominated by men, and they endeavored—in very different ways—to put forward a sense of their own authority. Murray, in particular, considered herself to be breaking new ground as a writer who provided detailed, practical advice for future travelers, and she presented herself as competent, capable, and in charge. Sarah Hazlitt undertook two solitary walking tours in Scotland to escape the stress of divorce proceedings, and travel enabled her to define herself as an independent person, separate from her marriage and in control of her life.

In some respects, the focus on five women narrows Hagglund's ability to make the broad statements she claims about the changing nature of travel and travel writing. She maintains, for instance, that Hazlitt's perceptions of Scotland were strongly colored by what she read in guidebooks, but the growing influence of published guidebooks upon travel writing is more stated than examined. Anne Grant seems a bit out of place in this company, for although her work had an undeniable influence on the "myth of the Highlands," she wrote as one who lived in the Highlands much of her life and considered herself a Highlander (as Hagglund acknowledges). Nonetheless, Hagglund's sensitive and insightful readings of these women's portrayals of themselves and their travel, and her situating of them in time and place, adds substantially to the scholarship on travel writing in general and on Scotland in particular.

Katherine Haldane Grenier, The Citadel

Stana Nenadic, ***Lairds and Luxury: The Highland Gentry in Eighteenth-Century Scotland***. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2007. Pp. xiv + 266.

The concept of "conspicuous consumption"—used both to describe a competitive engagement with consumer culture and to explain the rising levels of indebtedness that often followed—is a familiar one to historians of the long eighteenth century. Arguably nowhere were the detrimental effects of this cultural shift more keenly felt than in the Highlands of Scotland; and perhaps nowhere has the blame for the social consequences of this shift been more squarely laid on the "luxury and financial fecklessness" of the region's traditional landowning classes. But despite the widespread acknowledgment of the part these new patterns of consumption played in creating what was to become a particularly vulnerable and, ultimately, unsustainable economy, little attempt has been made to actually explain the underlying causes of this "epidemic of spending." In this original and important study, Stana Nenadic sets out to understand the roots of the Highland gentry's generally disastrous engagement with luxury, to examine the ideas and motivations that lay behind this decisive change in their social behavior, and to explain why "the contours of luxury and consumption in the Highlands...[assumed] a very particular and ultimately dangerous form" (p. 13).

In the course of this well written and constantly engaging survey, Nenadic identifies a number of factors that contributed to the emergence of new outlooks and aspirations, focusing in particular on the role of changing patterns of education and employment. Employing an essentially anthropological approach, Nenadic convincingly reveals the ways in which the evolving material culture of the Highland gentry reflected their changing social practices and mentalities, and how the development of particular "knowledge practices" helped shape their distinctive culture. After reconstructing the complex kin networks that underpinned the functioning of the Highland family and estate, the book explores the impact of changes in patterns of education (particularly the move from traditional fosterage to professional tutoring and, eventually, to the preference for English boarding schools) and the rise of non-landed (and often urban-centered) professions among male family members. It then focuses on the two particular groups that, Nenadic argues, played a crucial role in shaping the mental habits and consumer behavior of the Highland gentry as a whole: military officers and gentlewomen. The prevalence of the first group, a profession "most associated with a culture of conspicuous consumption, leisure and individualism" (p. 68), developed from the narrowing of career opportunities for the sons of gentry during the course of the century, coupled with the dramatic rise in military employment after the outbreak of the Seven Years' War. Highland gentlewomen (a group, as Nenadic stresses, almost totally ignored in previous accounts of the region's transformation) were important not only for their role in marriages and strategic "family formation" but also in the changing aspirations that accompanied their developing social and domestic roles, in particular their shift from "producers to consumers" and their adoption of polite culture. Changing professional and educational patterns and the growth of absenteeism among the male gentry went hand-in-hand with changing marriage patterns, resulting in more Lowland or English brides whose metropolitan aspirations proved less compatible with the traditional roles and expectations of Highland gentlewomen. It was these changes in culture that helped to accelerate the breaking of traditional bonds between the lairds and those living upon their estates, and led to lifestyles that placed unsustainable demands upon landed incomes, often leading in turn to financial overreach and bankruptcy, the springing of what Nenadic describes as the "luxury trap."

In charting this process, *Lairds and Luxury* draws upon an impressive array of sources, ranging from lit-

erature (from the novels of Jane Austen and Susan Ferrier to the poetry of Rob Donn Mackay) to family and estate papers, but at its core is the meticulously researched "collective biography" of five generations of an Argyllshire gentry family, the Campbells of Barcaldine and Glenure, and their extended kin network. Indeed, this balance between the general and the particular, between the analysis of wider trends and the rich and detailed case studies that underpin them, is one of the particular strengths of this study. In chapter 7, for example, the general survey of gentry house building practices in Argyll is followed by a remarkably insightful room-by-room reconstruction of the house of Colin Campbell of Glenure, whose furnishings and fittings are used to reconstruct not only the family's engagement with consumer culture but also the demarcation of social spaces and the day-to-day functioning of the household in relationship to the new demands of polite sociability and hospitality. It is this ability to connect the domestic with the public, and the personal with the political, that helps to make *Lairds and Luxury* such an important contribution to our understanding of eighteenth-century Highland landed culture and the development of the region as a whole.

Brian D. Bonnyman, University of Aberdeen

Philipp Robinson Rössner, ***Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union (1700–1760): The Rise of a Warehouse Economy***. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008. Pp. 392.

Phillipp Robinson Rössner, ***Scottish Trade with German Ports 1700–1770***. Studien Zur Gewerbe und Handelsgeschichte Der Vorindustriellen Zeit nr. 28. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner, 2008. Pp. 236.

While doctoral dissertations, however outstanding, rarely stand as satisfactory books without some revision, the volumes under review—submitted to Edinburgh University in 2007—are a refreshing exception. Although, given their topics, necessarily specialized works without "trade market" potential, these monographs (despite the occasional stylistic infelicity) are exhaustively researched and meticulously documented. Deftly blending analysis with novel interpretations, and generally quite readable, they are models of detailed scholarship and lucid exposition that may well be the standard works on eighteenth-century Scotland's European trade for some time to come.

Rössner's contention throughout, amply supported with rich quantitative material, is that Scottish overseas trade has traditionally been viewed—by English and Scottish economic historians alike—from a predominantly Anglocentric perspective rather than on its own terms. The author's aim is to counter this trend—reverse "received wisdom"—through an in-depth examination of the institutional, indigenous, and broader socio-economic contexts shaping the patterns of Scotland's foreign trade activity from 1700 to 1760.

Scottish Trade in the Wake of Union provides a succinct introduction, surveying the contours of previous research on the topic (pp. 24–31) and setting forth the major hypotheses governing the book's key arguments and conclusion (pp. 32–35). These, in brief, are (1) that the greatest stimuli to the stagnant domestic economy of Scotland were its colonial or re-export trades, which expanded at a significant rate between 1730 and 1776; (2) that the inclusion of Scottish merchants in England's commercial empire after the Act of Union (1707) was institutionally framed by the Navigation Acts, the English Custom System, and various exchange mechanisms—all of which were decisive growth factors; and (3) that Scotland's smuggling trade—notably in tobacco, sugar, and tea—expanded shipping services, warehousing, and related spin-offs.

The illicit tea trade especially has tended to be neglected in traditional accounts, and one major achievement of the present book is its detailed demonstration of how the profits from this commodity, together with tobacco revenues, provided the investment capital for Scotland's evolving industrial upswing (chap. 4). Moreover, the author reveals in unprecedented detail how commercial regulations covered under the English customs system provided benefits that encouraged the Scottish re-export trades in colonial commodities—often to Continental destinations. Chapters 5 and 6, exploring the manifold economic benefits of the Union for Scotland—supported by new, corroborative statistical evidence—usefully supplement the work of T. M. Devine, Roderick Floud, Christopher Whatley, among others, and provide valuable pointers to the direction of future research. Equally important, by confirming the arguments of such scholars as T. C. Smout, Rössner convincingly demonstrates that among the complex web of factors precipitating the Union, economic motives were far more decisive than backstairs political maneuvers. These conclusions differ from the recent influential monograph by Allan Macinnes, *Union and Empire: The Making of the United Kingdom in 1707* (2007), where economic motives are unduly downplayed or, at least, not viewed as critical to the political process of state formation because the Scottish economy is portrayed as robustly resilient. In this way, Rössner expands, perhaps unintentionally, a critical aspect of the ongoing "Union" debate and attendant historiography—especially (contra Macinnes and others) by placing the currently fashionable optimistic slant on the viability of the pre-Union Scottish economy in a more critical, realistic, and hence credible context. Accordingly, his work may well reanimate the increasingly sterile "politics *vs* economics" debate (see

Michael Fry, *The Union: England, Scotland and the Treaty of 1707* [2006] and Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* [2006]), to the degree that he provides new, compelling evidence supporting the economic impetus behind the voting decisions of Scottish MPs in the 1706–7 session. After 1707, when Scotland was suddenly immersed in the vortex of opportunities, but also risks, offered by European/world trade, its mercantile response was—as convincingly demonstrated in chapters 4, 5, and 6—to combine an expansion of the traditional export economy (cattle and linen), thus offsetting the chronic downward trend of bare subsistence agriculture, with entrée into the various lucrative colonial trades. These were as capital intensive as profitable and, following the Union, were legal and fully accessible to Scots.

The closing section (chaps. 7 and 8) adds a trans-European dimension to specific areas of Scottish overseas trade, showing that such trade, as traditionally claimed, was not simply "bilateral"—restricted to specific commodities or area ports—but rather part of a European contingency matrix of commodity markets, exchange rates, and payment mechanisms which Scots merchants dealt with successfully (pp. 267–83). Indeed, Rössner's bold excursion into macroeconomics greatly strengthens his analytical paradigm—its explanatory power throughout—by providing new insights into the myriad, elusive complexities behind the growth patterns of Scotland's eighteenth-century overseas economy. His conclusions are all the more authoritative since they are based on an impressive corpus of previously neglected statistical records, including (in manuscript) Scottish Custom Accounts, Court of Session papers, and import/export ledgers. As such, this book complements and expands in critical areas the writings of Martin Rorke, Ian Blanchard, and David Ditchburn, who also have profitably applied the macroeconomic approach, with its enhanced analytical precision, to earlier centuries of Scottish trade activity (see, for example, Rorke, "English and Scottish Overseas Trade 1300–1600," *Economic History Review* 59 [2006]: 265–88). An up-to-date bibliography and an appendix of graphs and tables that are drawn upon in the text complete a most illuminating and valuable book.

The second book under review, *Scottish Trade with German Ports*, interflows nicely with the first, deploying the same statistical data and analytic framework to investigate the demand side of Scotland's lucrative trade in American tobacco and sugar—commodities regularly sent from Scottish ports to German North Sea destinations. Comprehensive studies in English of Scoto-German trade 1700–1770 are relatively rare to begin with, and Rössner's monograph not only fills that void but, in addition, analyzes the basic interactive mechanisms of trade within the broader context of the eighteenth-century trans-European economy at large—an unprecedented accomplishment. Throughout the five chapters into which the book is divided, the author, using comparative import/export statistics (including little-known German and Scottish customs accounts) demonstrates compellingly how "closely integrated trade between Scottish and German ports was into the Atlantic economy—defined by the emergent British Empire...; as well as the general North Western European system of commodity exchange and financial transactions, the corollary of the former in accounting terms" (p. 304). Trade patterns and capital flow, in other words, were embedded in a continuously unfolding European-centered world trading network. This view reinforces a salient point made in the first book: regardless of the export item or scale of business involved, Scottish merchants were critically influenced by, and therefore highly attentive to, spatial parameters—what Rössner calls "international contingency matrixes"—which extended far beyond either Scotland or Germany (pp. 12, 177–80). A further thread uniting both volumes is the common conclusion that contrary to prevailing microeconomic models, early modern European trade (using Scotland as an example) was never bilateral but invariably multifaceted—dependent upon transnational currency ratios, market conditions, shipping factors, and the inevitable law of supply and demand.

In sum, these are valuable works of scholarship that suggest ways to rethink traditional questions, provide stimulating hypotheses, and help to revise a historiography that has traditionally been too dominated by parochial, ethnocentric perspectives. They will certainly encourage further studies in trade on a macro or aggregate pattern.

Karl W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Murray Pittock, ***The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army in 1745***. 2nd Edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009. Pp. vii + 229.

Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi, eds., ***Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad.*** Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Pp. xxi + 269.

The first edition of Murray Pittock's *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* was published in 1995. This new, revised and expanded edition accommodates the critical responses to the first edition and documents Pittock's continued researches into the idea and impact of the 1745 rebellion within Scottish history and eighteenth-century Scottish society. For this edition, Pittock has reorganized the chapters to begin with the provocative discussion, "What is a Highlander, What was a Jacobite?" He then explores the myths surrounding the nature and impact of

clanship on the Jacobite rebellions. Readers familiar with the first edition will be pleased that what appeared there on both the myths and on nationalism has been substantially revised.

The central myth of Pittock's study evolved in response to the Jacobite experience, to nineteenth-century romanticism and revisionism, to the Whig interpretation of Scottish history, and to the histories of the period written by historians who created mythic roles for both the Jacobites and the English. As Pittock notes in the introduction, his argument for a different composition of the Jacobite forces, as almost equally Highland and Lowland, has largely been accepted among historians. Though aspects of his interpretation will remain controversial, as the study of the Jacobite rebellion continues, Pittock has identified five areas that the second edition of his work addresses: new research in primary sources, the mischaracterization of the Jacobite rebellions as a minor part of British foreign policy, competing ideologies within historiography, the reliance on English models of historical writings to interpret Scottish history, and a lack of clarity about the nature of Scottish activity in the rebellion. To that end, Pittock includes a new chapter specifically on Jacobite weaponry and incorporates throughout valuable examination of the training and organization of the rebel forces and their battle plans. There is an appendix listing the units within the Jacobite armies from 1689 through 1745, divided by location and type: foot, dragoon, horse, and brigade. The troop sizes are based on estimates Pittock drew from an exhaustive list of primary sources.

Pittock has a keen eye for weakness in existing scholarship and in what he called in the first edition of the book "kitsch in culture" when it comes to the portrayal of the stereotyped clansman as a sword-wielding Scottish primitive, defending his homeland though vastly outnumbered. In fact, he suggests that the sizes of the Jacobite and the British armies were nearly the same in 1745. Moreover, by studying recruitment patterns, he illustrates how sympathy for the Jacobite cause did not always translate into building a larger army, as was the case in Perthshire between 1715 and 1745. Pittock exposes the ideological nature of extant descriptions of the generalized notion of the "Highland Army," and he sharply critiques BBC romanticizations of the rebellion as well as the National Trust for Scotland's re-presentation of Culloden. Using fresh primary data, he effectively shows that artillery and heavy guns were much more in evidence than broadswords, and that the armies fighting for Scotland were derived from a cross-section of Scottish society. In addition, the various divisions of the Jacobite army deployed to fight the British army across the country from 1715 to 1745 had well-developed battle plans, were trained in the conventions of warfare, and made more use of their artillery than their cavalry when in the field (pp. 93–103). Pittock accomplishes his goal of replacing the "slippery" understanding of the Jacobite clans with concrete evidence that highlights the denominational (particularly shedding new light on the importance of the Roman Catholic Church), demographic, and ideological differences that characterized the Jacobite army during the first half of the eighteenth century. While it is not necessary to have read the first edition of *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans*, it does help to be familiar with the main lines of the numerous modern histories Pittock challenges and explores in conjunction with this new edition, since much of what he does here exposes exaggerations and misreadings in the work of other historians and commentators on the Jacobites.

Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi's collection, *Loyalty and Identity*, contains twelve essays that were presented by leading historians at the first Jacobite Studies Trust Conference (2007). The volume is dedicated to Eveline Cruikshanks, whose distinguished contributions to the study of governance in the eighteenth century are manifested through the book. Howard Erskine-Hill's preface summarizes her career and is followed by a bibliography of Cruikshanks's works, spanning fifty years of scholarship. In addition to the editors, the contributors on Scottish topics include Patrick Clark de Dromantin, Edward Corp, Christopher Duffy, Kieran German, Steve Murdoch, and Richard Sharp. In the words of the editors, the essays capture the "crossroads" in Jacobite studies while providing another forum from which to correct factual and interpretative errors in extant histories. For instance, Edward Corp, in an excellent essay on the exiled Stuart court in Rome, observes that most Jacobite historians have seated the court in the wrong location and therefore vastly misunderstood its significance. The collection richly illustrates the Scottish Diaspora in its inclusion of essays on Ireland and France as well as Italy.

Beverly Schneller, Millersville University

Michael B. Gill, ***The British Moralists on Human Nature and the Birth of Secular Ethics***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006. Pp. vii + 359.

Jonathan Lamb, ***The Evolution of Sympathy in the Long Eighteenth Century***. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009. Pp. 181.

Michael B. Gill's engaging study of *The British Moralists on Human Nature and the Birth of Secular Ethics* provides a history of philosophy in a traditional vein: given that philosophers make arguments, the task facing historians is to describe how these arguments work, to consider their adequacy, and to translate, where necessary, antiquated terms into contemporary philosophical parlance. Gill's discussion is consistently lucid and insightful,

examining difficult texts with a deft hand that rarely labors over the subject matter. His approach to the material does not engage in much contextualizing of arguments, beyond brief biographical introductions to the main figures. In the case of Francis Hutcheson, for example, he relies on W. R. Scott's 1900 biography, which, admirable though it is, really requires the supplement and revision provided in the work of James Moore and others. We are told, for example, that Hutcheson (who is referred to as a "Scottish philosopher" before his birth in Armagh and childhood are then described) studied at Glasgow, where he taught "for several years in the Department of Theology" following the award of his degree and his return to Ireland in 1717 (p. 137). In fact there was no department of theology, although there was a professor of divinity. Hutcheson's teaching experience at this time was limited to tutoring the future Earl of Kilmarnock on behalf of the professor of humanity (and he returned to Ireland in 1718). Elsewhere, we are informed in the account of Hume that "The Calvinists thought that people were rotten through and through" (p. 226), which is certainly entertaining if rather over the top.

Fortunately, the author has an assured and intelligent approach to central arguments about human nature from the Cambridge Platonists through Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume. He frames the book around positive and negative versions of human nature, the latter associated with Calvinism and the former with Shaftesbury and Hutcheson. The simplicity of the frame is a bit misleading, but the actual analysis of the texts is sophisticated and accomplished, especially when we reach Hume. Hume is the hero of the piece, the inventor of a truly "secular ethics" that drew in complex ways on the thought of his predecessors while refusing easy distinctions between the natural and unnatural, good and evil. He emerges as a more "empirical" philosopher to the extent that he did not embed constancies in human nature that were normative for all time but rather could recognize the transformative effects of history and experience. I did wish for some discussion of Hume's "A Dialogue" since this would complicate the picture. I was also curious about the reference to Hume as opposing "racial prejudice" (p. 224) in light of the longstanding controversy over Hume's notorious footnote added to the essay "Of National Characters" in 1753.

The Hutcheson chapters treat a more narrow textual range, focusing almost entirely on his *Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725) and the *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions and Affections, with Illustrations on the Moral Sense* (1728), on the questionable grounds that his Latin writings came "later"—a position that works only if we attend solely to dates of publication and ignore the possibility that they might have been composed originally for his pupils in Dublin. There are helpful chapters on Hutcheson's reply to various kinds of egoism in the period (especially Mandeville's) and his engagement with Gilbert Burnet and others in the rationalist tradition. In connection with the controversy over Hutcheson's alleged moral "realism" there is a long and well-considered endnote (pp. 295–301). Some gaps are a source of regret, particularly the neglect of Hutcheson's treatment of natural law. From the point of view of those working on the Scottish Enlightenment, the absence of any mention of Adam Smith is noticeable. But this is a book that nonetheless makes considerable strides in its clarity of argument and incisive treatment of its core issues.

Scottish philosophy occupies a significant and recurring role in Jonathan Lamb's *The Evolution of Sympathy in the Long Eighteenth Century*, which creates a kind of medley between different voices in the period, ranging from Descartes and Hume to Locke, Shaftesbury, Mandeville, Hutcheson, and Smith, in order to tease out different understandings of sympathy and constructions of the self on which they rely. Methodologically, the book has a number of points in common with Gill's study: both are resolutely textual; the meanings of philosophy are to be found in close reading or careful analysis rather than in contextualization. To an even greater extent than Gill, Lamb rarely engages with issues of biography as a means of explanation—either in terms of education, career, social class (with the exception of Shaftesbury), or nationality of the figures he discusses, nor for that matter their intellectual development (e.g., the many changes in Smith's editions of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*). Historical moment is equally avoided as an explanatory frame of reference, despite the promising references to the predicament of the passions and sympathy under conditions of political absolutism.

Instead, the book deliberately concentrates on identifying a number of categories in which sympathy appears, ranging from the "mechanical" to the social, theatrical, "complete," and "horrid." These traditions or variations are treated with great subtlety and finesse, with a number of very striking quotations brought to light from Descartes, Mandeville, Shaftesbury, and Burke, among others. The different occasions and conditions of sympathy are well described, and one comes away with a sense of how pervasive the topic was for discussion by various thinkers. While sympathy is distinguished carefully from empathy, I wished at times for more attention to the category of sentiment. The latter issue has received much critical attention by Lynn Festa and others recently, but it would be helpful to know the territory marked off by these notions and the set of relationships they presuppose.

There are a great many insights to be gained from reading this book. They tend to emerge in flashes of astute critical comment rather than from the kind of sustained readings that Gill provides. The decision not to engage in lengthy exploration of any single text (with the possible exception of an account of *Gulliver's Travels* on pp. 117–23) to some extent prevents the reader from participating fully in the development of the argument: the

pattern of shifting from text to text or author to author between paragraphs reflects the immense learning and wide reading of the writer, but organizing the material this way may underestimate the degree of difficulty in absorbing some of the key concepts and having them readily available to the reader later on in the discussion.

What struck me most was the consideration of selfhood, the category of the person, and personal identity throughout the book. Hume is important here as part of a polarity set up between himself and Descartes, but it would be fair to say that more unusual and rewarding attention is given to Shaftesbury, especially his so-called "Philosophical Regimen." Given the author's distinguished record, it is perhaps not surprising that the accounts of Sterne, Swift, and Defoe represent a high point in a challenging and ultimately rewarding book.

Daniel Carey, National University of Ireland, Galway

Penny Fielding, ***Scotland and the Fictions of Geography: North Britain, 1760–1830***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. x + 235.

Penny Fielding's much-anticipated second critical book is finally here, and let me say immediately that it was definitely worth the wait. Her first study, *Writing and Orality: Nationality, Culture, and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Fiction* (1996), formed part of a cluster of extremely influential literary-critical works in Scottish studies, including Katie Trumpener's *Bardic Nationalism* (1997), Robert Crawford's edited collection *The Scottish Invention of English Literature* (1998), Leith Davis's *Acts of Union* (1998), and Janet Sorensen's *The Grammar of Empire* (2000). Especially for those of us entering graduate studies in English around that time, it was—in the words of a well-known *South* British Romantic poet—"Bliss...in that dawn to be alive, / But to be young was very heaven!" In retrospect, it seems fair to say that those books were responding to—and productively complicating—the two paradigms of Anglo–Scottish relations that had dominated the previous generation of humanities scholarship: the "internal colonialism" framework (put forward in modern terms by Michael Hechter), which claimed that after the mid-eighteenth century Scotland was basically overrun and absorbed, culturally as well as politically and militarily, by England; and the "invented traditions" meme (promulgated most explicitly by Hugh Trevor-Roper), which depicted eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish culture as artificial at best and mendacious at worst. With those battles now decisively won in favor of ongoing Scottish cultural agency and legitimacy (although one does find continued pockets of resistance in certain regions, especially among diehard Johnsonians), it is a great pleasure to find Fielding exploring new critical and literary territories in *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography*. Indeed, the trope of exploration is at the center of this book, which takes as its subject matter a number of late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth-century Scottish texts concerned with depictions of the geographic north, from the Borders, up through the Highlands, into the Shetland Islands, and as far as the absolute point of the North Pole itself. Fielding's title, however, immediately problematizes any straightforward notion of mapping, as its double meaning neatly registers both her subject matter ("fiction"—which here includes poetry as well as prose—with a geographic focus or concern) and her central argument: that geography, especially insofar as the Scottish experience is concerned, is always already a matter of fiction (i.e., a discursive construction). As Fielding evocatively puts it: "The 'North Country' is the space where we want to be but never are" (p. 90).

It would be futile, in a short review such as this, to attempt to list all of the many contributions that *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography* makes to our knowledge and appreciation of the complexity of Scottish negotiations with questions of space and place in the long eighteenth century. The list of Romantic authors whose works are analyzed by Fielding includes both several usual suspects—especially Burns, Scott, and Hogg (who plays, as he is wont to do, the role of joker in deck)—and some intriguing lesser-known figures like Anne Grant, John Pinkerton, and Margaret Chalmers (whose 1813 *Poems* is presented in an especially appealing light; perhaps Fielding could be petitioned to edit a new edition?). As well as proceeding in a roughly chronological fashion, the book progressively investigates two significant interpretive frameworks for the (de)construction of geographical knowledge in Romantic Scotland. First, Fielding expertly traces the radiating influence of the Scottish Enlighteners' stadial theory, demonstrating how their understanding of the mutually constitutive relationship between history and geography (i.e., time and space) created an epistemological paradigm that later writers negotiated in a variety of ways. Second, Fielding nimbly tracks the discursive relations between the local, the national, and the global in the texts under consideration—indeed, by repeatedly demonstrating that these frames of reference cannot meaningfully be separated from one another, she effectively expands the reach of Scottish Studies well beyond the "North Country" proper. As for the designation of "North Britain" itself, Fielding finds that it consistently "hover[s] between a geographical and a political space" (p. 106). With a keen ear for her chosen authors' subtle (and sometimes contradictory) agendas, an admirable grasp of both the historical and contemporary theoretical trends informing their texts, and a highly readable prose style, Fielding ensures that *Scotland and the Fictions of Geography* will take its place alongside *Writing and Orality* as a touchstone text of Scottish studies for years to come.

Evan Gottlieb, Oregon State University

Frank A. Kafker and Jeff Loveland, eds., ***The Early* Britannica*: The Growth of an Outstanding Encyclopedia*.** Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2009. Pp. xiii + 349.

That the labors of a lapsed Cameronian, a passionate Glasite, and a future Episcopalian bishop would serve to enrich a couple of Presbyterians somehow seems to sum up the business of the Scottish eighteenth-century book trade. That in the process they would eventually establish an intellectual brand as renowned as the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* was an unanticipated outcome. But that is what William Smellie, James Tytler, and George Gleig did as the three chief editorial forces behind a reference work that brought considerable wealth to its founders, the engraver Andrew Bell and the printer Colin Macfarquhar.

In the first full-length study of its origins, Frank Kafker and Jeff Loveland, with contributions from Kathleen Hardesty Doig, William E. Morris, Dennis Trinkle and Marion A. Brown, have done an admirable job of describing the *Britannica*'s intellectual growth. Their research reveals how the *Britannica*'s editors assembled its content (sometimes by plagiarizing, sometimes digesting, more rarely creating it), and they suggest some of the reasons for its eventually lucrative market triumph and enduring intellectual reputation. The *Britannica*'s role in the democratization of knowledge thus becomes clear as this volume unfolds: we can see where the *Britannica*'s editors got their bricks and straw, how they designed and built their edifice, and how it became a public institution.

Kafker and Loveland provide their book's general introduction and the first of its four chapters: one for each of the *Britannica*'s three eighteenth-century editions (1768–71, 1777–84, and 1788–97), and another for the *Supplement* (1801–3). The three remaining chapters have as many as four authors, with Kafker going solo for the conclusion. The chapters are themselves sectioned: the history of the publication; the editorial practices; the contents (with further subdivisions examining various branches of learning such as biography, geography, and history, economics and technology, arts and letters, science—in turn sub-subdivided into mathematics, physical sciences, chemistry, and so on—philosophy and religion, law and politics); the reception. This strategy makes it easy to dip in and out of the book and provides an accessible—if rather static and perhaps too ready—framework for categorizing and comparing the four stages of the *Britannica*'s early evolution.

The intellectual history is impressive. The authors have tracked down the *Britannica*'s sources and mapped out the encyclopedia's evolution from a largely derivative exercise to one that actively enlisted contributions from specialists. The *Britannica* operated on the assumption that knowledge was never complete, and no treatise was ever final: revision, expansion, and retraction distinguished the *Britannica* from the *Encyclopédie*, and articulated in practice a modern—perhaps particularly Scottish—concept that took knowledge for a perishable product, always in need of refreshment. The result is an extraordinary instance of early capitalism at work: financial innovations, not intellectual ones, inspired tbe *Britannica*, which was a product of the marketplace, not the academy. One aspect of the *Britannica* that Kafker and Loveland point out time and again is the way in which each succeeding edition responded to all kinds of contemporary events. The encyclopedia keeps up with the times in an almost journalistic way, responding to events without ideological preconceptions. Notably, the *Britannica* never allows its Scottishness to interfere with its content; nor do politics or religion restrain its intellectual curiosity. As this encyclopedia grew, it demanded in a modern way that knowledge be empirical and useful, not fugitive and cloistered. The *Britannica*'s editors conceived an encyclopedia that improved itself in order to improve its readers, something beyond the ken of Diderot and D'Alembert.

Although the bulk of Kafker and Loveland's book is understandably taken up with describing the evolving content of the first three editions of the *Britannica* and Gleig's *Supplement*—and the concomitant emergence of the encyclopedia's enduring intellectual reputation—the recurring observations about the *Britannica*'s financial achievements may matter more, especially to book historians. Charles Elliot's gamble in purchasing all the remaining copies of the second edition while clearing the way for a third, Thomas Dobson's and James Moore's lucrative piracies in Philadelphia and Dublin respectively, the wealth the encyclopedia brought its founders and the opportunity it provided Archibald Constable at a crucial moment in publishing history, all suggest that the *Britannica* may be the most compelling witness to the commercial innovations wrought by Edinburgh's eighteenth-century book trade. Kafker and Loveland have set out the necessary first interrogatories about the circumstances that launched and sustained this venture so that more probing questions may now be posed. It is more than coincidental, for instance, that the first two editors were professional magazine men, Smellie having just finished a long stint compiling (and writing) the *Scots Magazine* and Tytler having done the same for the *Gentleman and Lady's Weekly*. How much did the concept of serialization and the emerging genre of the magazine affect the *Britannica*'s format and its publishers' strategies? And what do we learn about the emerging profession of writing from the contributions of those who wrote alongside Smellie, Tytler, and Macfarquhar (notably, Gilbert Stuart, Thomas Blacklock, and Robert Heron), not as experts but as hacks? And on readership: what was the *Britannica*'s place in the growing and varied system of libraries across Britain? To what extent did the influential place of the university lecture in the oral environment of Scottish intellectual exchange shape the *Britannica*'s concept of its principal innovation, the

treatise? Kafker and Loveland have looked inside the *Britannica* with an admirable appreciation for its ideas. We now need to look at the environment that sustained the *Britannica* with the same thoroughness.

Stephen W. Brown, Trent University

John Howard Smith, ***The Perfect Rule of the Christian Religion: A History of Sandemanianism in the Eighteenth Century***. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2009. Pp. ix + 236.

Sandemanianism was founded by a maverick Scottish Presbyterian, John Glas (1695–1773), and brought to New England in 1764 by his son-in-law, Robert Sandeman (1714–1771), whose name identifies the sect. Sandemanians were few in number, but John Howard Smith argues that their theology is worthy of study because of the light it sheds on religion and politics in the eighteenth century British–American world. Although it was but one of many schismatic groups generated in Scotland during that period, it is claimed that this fringe Protestant group "cast a long and imposing shadow over the evolution of Protestant Christianity, especially in America" (p. 179).

John Glas charged that the Church of Scotland was under secular authority, dominated by a ministerial elite, and in spiritual decline. His alternative was the Word of God as the sole rule for conduct. The gospels authorized no temporal power over the kingdom of Christ, which was spiritual, and the book of Acts provided the model for congregations. Theologically he was a strict Calvinist who denied distinctions between clergy and laity, held no intercommunication with other denominations, and obeyed lawful authority. Congregations were led by an elder or "overseer of the Lord" and governed by the "'visible saints," made decisions unanimously, and observed the Eucharist monthly. This form of radical independency led to the forfeiture of his ministerial license on 11 April 1730.

Like Glas, Robert Sandeman described Arminianism as a form of rationalism. He challenged Methodism's enthusiasm in England and the evangelicalism of the Great Awakening in America. The first Sandemanian church in America was founded in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1765. Progress was difficult because of divisions created by the Great Awakening, tensions over British policies, and the growing secularization of society. Opposition to Sandemanian theology and ecclesiology was compounded by their refusal to view George III as a tyrant (based on Rom. 13:1–7, I Pet. 2:13–17), which led to persecution. By 1777 they were silenced, and a majority left New England for Nova Scotia.

Glasite-Sandemanians who preferred to be called simply "Christian" or "Disciples of Christ" never numbered more than one thousand. Due to their distinctive characteristics, they had limited appeal. Their anti-establishment, anti-clerical, and anti-hierarchical principles were championed by other reform movements dissatisfied with the existing order. As an apolitical and noncommunicating group, their participation in reform was negligible. They constituted a "new form of legalism," yet the author contends that their theological impact was out of proportion to their size and places Glas alongside the Wesleys, Jonathan Edwards, and Andrew Fuller as a theologian (p. 167).

The study contributes to an understanding of Sandemanianism, but the claim of "significant impact," especially in theology, is unconvincing. That Methodism, Scotch Baptists, Disciples of Christ, and Erastian establishments were seriously affected by this sect lacks adequate acknowledgment from the respective bodies. The assertion that Glas was a first-rate theologian of the century is unsupported by documented comparative analysis. The Sandemanians in America do provide an example of the secularizing and negative influence of the War of Independence on religion. In sum, Glasite-Sandemanian efforts to recapture "primitive Christianity" left a faint "shadow" rather than a "long and imposing" one on Christianity, especially in America.

Frederick V. Mills, Sr., LaGrange College

Lucille H. Campey, ***An Unstoppable Force: The Scottish Exodus to Canada***. Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2008. Pp. xiv + 334.

John G. Reid, with contributions by Emerson W. Baker, ***Essays on Northeastern North America: Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries***. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008. Pp. xvi + 332.

Lucille H. Campey's *An Unstoppable Force* has two goals: to investigate the colonization by Scots across Canada by building on previous regional studies, thereby assessing the overall pulling power of Canada, and to challenge the popular idea that emigrants to Canada were forced out of Scotland by dismal circumstances. The conclusion of her work is that "most emigration was voluntary and self-financed" (p. xii). The book, which appears to be aimed at a general audience, is well illustrated with images and maps and includes extensive tables in the Appendix. Campey does a capable job of detailing the breadth of Scottish settlement in Canada across time and space. Evidence of opportunities in Canada, difficulties in Scotland, and attitudes toward emigration are included

from both sides of the Atlantic. Since she has combed archives, secondary sources, and newspapers for evidence of the many Scottish communities that Canada offered to potential migrants, the book makes a good reference work for information on specific communities or for planning a research project.

Chapter 8 compares known sailings to Canada of the Allan Line and ships chartered by MacLennan and Sutherland, emigration agents, with the Lloyds Shipping Register, concluding that more than 75 percent were ships with the highest quality ratings. Campey has found evidence of emigrants who praised ships' captains. She further points out that if all emigration agents were deceitful, they would have gone out of business. This section of the book is a suitable rebuttal to the many claims of coffin ships sailing the Atlantic.

Woven into the chronological narrative is evidence supporting her second claim, that most emigration from Scotland to the New World, by both Highlanders and Lowlanders, was voluntarily undertaken by those who wished to better their situations. Campey observes that self-financed emigration was necessary because there was limited assistance available, and she draws upon letters written home extolling the virtues of Canada. While I do not disagree with this approach, and have in fact made similar arguments myself, this is the weaker portion of the book. The author plays down the severe social and economic stresses in Scotland. Furthermore, instead of examining the different ways that these problems were experienced in the various regions of the land, she attempts to make one narrative fit every corner of the country. Since choices were made in circumstances over which people had no control, choosing to emigrate voluntarily cannot be equated with wanting to go. Campey is also too generous to Scottish landlords, almost to the point of being an apologist. In fact, some landlords were cruel and others were not. In a nation with such a long, complicated history of emigration, it is almost impossible to make general pronouncements regarding the entire population, beyond the fact that Scotland lost people to migration.

Although writing books aimed at a general audience is admirable, it is no excuse for failing to approach one's evidence critically and for failing to present a nuanced argument. The book is also written in an irritating, sometimes filiopietistic, tone. The conclusion of the work is "inescapable;" John Prebble's work is "ridiculous;" previous arguments are "ludicrous;" Scots are said to have "cheerfully relinquished their trades." Additionally, although the author acknowledges that more Lowlanders went to Canada than Highlanders, she devotes a disproportionately large amount of space to the latter.

John G. Reid's *Essays on Northeastern North America* investigates colonial habitation, imperial exchange, and aboriginal engagement and commemoration in the Maritimes. This enjoyable and eminently readable collection was published in the wake of anniversaries commemorating French settlement in the Maritimes. The work offers an excellent introduction to the history of this region and addresses the difficulty of celebrating European colonization of the New World in light of modern understanding of its effects on aboriginal people. Additionally, it includes several maps indicating patterns of authority during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The essays—most of which were previously published—are arranged in four groups, which follow the main themes of the book. Part I includes several essays on the theme of colonial habitation of New Scotland, later known as Acadia and Nova Scotia. The first essay in this section, offering a re-examination of the career of William Alexander, Lord Stirling, will be of particular interest to those interested in seventeenth-century Scottish colonial schemes. Reid argues that Stirling is significant as an example of a seventeenth-century colonial promoter. Part II, Imperial Exchange, examines uses of language and the brief existence of New Scotland (now termed Nova Scotia to oppose the French Acadia), turns into justification for an imperial claim for the United Kingdom, and the emergence of a double diplomacy between aboriginal people of the Maritimes and the British. Part III examines the extensive power that the several native tribes held in northeastern North America until the mid-eighteenth century. Non-native settlement existed because natives decided it could. Part IV examines the commemorations of the landing of colonists at the St. Croix Islands in Acadia in 1604 and the founding of Port Royal in 1605. These essays explore the ways that approaches to history and settlement of the New World have changed during the last century.

Amanda Epperson, Cuyahoga Community College

Maureen N. McLane, ***Balladeering, Minstrelsy, and the Making of British Romantic Poetry***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008. Pp. xiii + 295.

Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson, eds., ***James Hogg and the Literary Marketplace: Scottish Romanticism and the Working-Class Author***. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009. Pp. xvi + 261.

Two new books give cause for excitement, one for boldly taking on the big questions—romanticism, media, poetic authority—and the other for its unusual single-author focus. While Maureen McLane's book challenges us to rethink the categories we use for conceptualizing poetry and ballads, Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson's

edited volume on James Hogg, apparently the first of its kind, deepens our appreciation for this long-neglected Scottish author.

McLane's *Balladeering, Minstrelsy, and the Making of British Romantic Poetry* bristles with ideas and ambition. Its mission: to show how "late eighteenth-century Anglo-Scottish balladeering...helped to shape practices and discourses constitutive of emergent disciplines—proto-ethnography, philology, and historiography as well as folklore and literary history" (p. 9). Along the way, McLane offers a new paradigm for looking at poetry and balladry: not as separate phenomena but as part of "balladeering," a category broad enough to include composing, performing, collecting, transcribing, editing, collating, annotating, and forging—all activities of making, or *poiesis*.

Of chief interest to scholars will be McLane's argument that these eighteenth-century makers, each in their own way, grappled very consciously with questions of media, evidence, and authority. She insists that we see them as media theorists, conscious of the transmedial moves they made between orality, manuscript, and print. Their making of poems, songs, and collections—with dates, places, and sometimes witness statements attached—were the forms by which they engaged the crucial eighteenth-century questions of history and cultural nationalism.

McLane works at a high level of theory while also providing close readings of well-chosen cases. The book's synthesis of the media theory of Friedrich Kittler, Michel de Certeau on ethnography, and James Chandler's work on romantic historicity is both fluid and original. All of it is written in a lucid, vivid prose that reminds us that McLane is also a published poet herself, as when she cleverly says that the *Blackwood's* circle perpetuated "the figure of Hogg as *naïve* as well as *native* son" (p. 194). The close readings are sharply drawn and include cases from all types of balladeering. Comparing the editing protocols of Thomas Percy, Joseph Ritson, Robert Jamieson, and Walter Scott, McLane manages to make the close reading of annotations riveting and even richly suggestive, as when she suggests that ballad headnotes may be the generic parent of record album liner notes. The book's closely read poets include Wordsworth, Scott, and Clare, but McLane is perhaps nowhere more finely precise as a reader than in her treatment of James Beattie's *The Minstrel* and its "remediation" of the broadside ballad "The Children in the Wood," a hearthside telling of which is narrativized in Beattie's poem: "What is being represented here then is not the oral *per se* but rather print culture's solicitation and transmediation of oral materials" (p. 32). In short, McLane has not only reimagined the study of both ballads and romanticism but has also set a high standard for balancing theoretical sophistication with writerly lucidity.

James Hogg, meanwhile, is finally getting the revival he deserves. Besides the ongoing thirty-plus volumes of The Stirling/South Carolina Research Edition of the Collected Works of James Hogg and his featured roles in recent books like Douglas Mack's *Scottish Fiction and the British Empire* and Ian Duncan's *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*, Hogg is now the subject of his own multi-author volume: *James Hogg and the Literary Marketplace*, edited by Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson. (Another multi-author volume on Hogg, edited by Duncan and Mack, has been advertised by Edinburgh University Press for publication next year.) Contributors include Ian Duncan, Murray Pittock, Kirsteen McCue, and Douglas Mack, among others. What emerges from the volume's fourteen essays is the portrait of a sophisticated writer who ranged impressively across many genres—"epic and lyric poetry, songs, plays, tales, novels, sermons, treatises, journal articles, and his own periodical" (p. 1)—and who ambivalently accepted the abuse of the Edinburgh elite who helped make him both famous and ridiculous. Peter Garside's essay adds a visual dimension to Hogg's vexed place among the literati by reproducing paintings of Scott and Hogg.

Besides the attention given to lesser-known works, the most interesting aspects of the book are its attempts to situate Hogg within a distinctly Scottish romanticism and against British empire abroad. Recent work on romanticisms outside England, like Murray Pittock's *Scottish and Irish Romanticism*, tend to emphasize Scottish, Welsh, and Irish explorations of national memory, as opposed to the canonical English romantics' devotion to personal memory. Hogg is read likewise, in both form and content, as when Suzanne Gilbert writes that "Hogg insisted on narrative strategies anchored in community" (p. 94), or when the editors write that he was influenced by "the emphasis in Scottish Romanticism on the social or communal" (p. 14). Anti-colonial connections are also offered, as when the editors, in an essay on "The Pongos: A Letter from Southern Africa," attempt to analogize Hogg's working-class position, vis-à-vis the Edinburgh literati, to subaltern colonial experience. Drawing on recent work by Mack and Pittock and the evidence of Hogg's friendship with Thomas Pringle of the Anti-Slavery Society, they argue that Hogg sought to subvert the language of British colonialism. The essay raises intriguing possibilities, not all of them entirely developed yet, about where Scottish studies may be headed. Perhaps the new decade will welcome comparative studies of Scottish and African cultural resistance. In any case, although some of the arguments will be familiar to Hogg specialists, the range of genres and material covered in the book will make this an important volume for anyone with an interest in Hogg.

Jeff Strabone, University of South Florida

Barton Swaim, ***Scottish Men of Letters and the New Public Sphere, 1802–1834***. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2009. Pp. 219.

Periodicals, along with historical novels, were foremost among the major literary genres established in Edinburgh between 1802 and 1832. *The Edinburgh Review* (1802), *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* (1817), and *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal* (1832) fixed the dominant formats (critical quarterly, monthly miscellany, popular weekly) that would constitute the nineteenth-century "public sphere" of discussion, opinion, criticism, and debate. Barton Swaim's monograph provides (astonishingly) the first book-length study of this important topic. Stronger on national character than he is on material and institutional causes, Swaim argues that a set of distinctively Scottish traits shaped the new periodical culture. (Swaim draws on Habermas's definition of the public sphere while disavowing Habermas's Marxism.) These traits include the "democratic intellect," a shared belief in widespread literacy and the diffusion of knowledge across Scottish society. Swaim astutely traces the tension between this belief and the rise of an authoritarian reviewing practice which sought to regulate the expanding industrial-era literary market. He analyzes the successive modes of the periodicals' "fiercely homiletic disposition towards their readers" (p. 138), from the judicial severity of the *Edinburgh Review* to the exhibitionist swagger of *Blackwood's* and the virtual pulpit mounted by Thomas Carlyle.

Swaim's emphasis on "men of letters," represented by the eminent cases of Francis Jeffrey, John Wilson, John Gibson Lockhart, and Carlyle, sometimes obscures the actual medium of the new public sphere, the periodicals themselves. Jeffrey edited the *Edinburgh Review* as well as being its principal contributor; Wilson and Lockhart were pillars of *Blackwood's* in its early years, Wilson becoming the magazine's *de facto* editor and Lockhart going south in 1825 to edit the *Quarterly Review*. Carlyle, in contrast, did not sustain an association with a particular periodical. Moving to London at the end of the period covered here, he made himself into a new, distinctively Victorian kind of author, the independent sage or secular prophet. Swaim does not sufficiently acknowledge this difference from his other cases, so that Carlyle's apotheosis retrospectively frames the singular man of letters as the book's organizing theme. Nor do these high-profile examples represent the range of early nineteenth-century Scottish periodical production. Swaim ignores the early-1830s surge of radical and liberal magazines around the Reform Bill, and some discussion of William and Robert Chambers, or Christian Isobel Johnstone (the first woman to edit a major nineteenth-century periodical, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*), might have complicated as well as broadened his thesis.

Carlyle exemplifies the extent to which the author was a work in progress, a site of experimentation and debate, and by no means the default setting for public-sphere intervention. Jeffrey, Wilson, Lockhart, and the young Carlyle all wrote under the conventions of anonymous or pseudonymous contribution established by the *Edinburgh* and *Blackwood's*; these corporate rather than individual modes of authorship were understood at the time as fortifying the new authority wielded by the periodicals, and they were accordingly controversial. Swaim acknowledges the possibility of a study that would attend to the periodicals' "transauthorial discourse" (Jon Klancher's phrase, cited on p. 30) only to dismiss it, on the unconvincing grounds that it might distort the views of individual authors. His awkward phrase, "these writers were also media" (p. 31), signals a discomfort with ways of thinking about literary production that are not author-based.

Swaim also gains much by his choice, however, notably depth of field. His case studies are rooted in extensive primary source research, and he marshals them deftly to illuminate larger issues. The discussions of Jeffrey and Wilson, who did so much to define the corporate ethos of their respective periodicals, work especially well. Swaim gives an insightful account of Jeffrey's anxiety about the new public sphere that he recognized the *Edinburgh Review* to be instituting. The book's most compelling chapter considers Wilson's transformation of conversation as a model for periodical writing. Wilson spearheaded the Blackwoodian break with an Enlightenment norm of polite "conversability," replacing it with a stylistics of "competition and self-display" (p. 78). This analysis makes excellent sense of *Blackwood's* (and the "Noctes Ambrosianae" series in particular), although it overlooks the influence of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* in establishing table-talk as the forum for an authoritarian type of man of letters.

Elsewhere, Swaim contends that Jeffrey's and Lockhart's notorious attacks on Wordsworth and Keats should be understood as Scottish "democratic" critiques of the antisocial egotism of English Romantic poetry's abstruser musings. Swaim also makes much of the influence of a traditional Calvinist distrust of imaginative writing on Scottish authors' self-understanding, without taking account of the spectacular flowering of poetry and fiction in post-Enlightenment Edinburgh—a phenomenon with which the Scottish periodicals were intimately linked.

Swaim's book is intelligent, rich, and lucid, and it is one of its merits that it provokes further argument. Anyone interested in the formation of nineteenth-century literary culture will learn a great deal from it.

Ian Duncan, University of California, Berkeley

Briefly Noted

Bruce P. Lenman, ***Enlightenment and Change: Scotland 1746–1832***. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009. Pp. 280.

Bruce Lenman's popular 1981 survey of Scottish history in the New History of Scotland series, originally titled *Integration, Enlightenment, and Industralization*, has been revised and expanded. The text has been corrected and enriched in various places; a new bibliography has replaced the outdated bibliographical essay; and the work has taken on a less cramped and more readable appearance. The biggest change is the addition of a new concluding chapter on the Scottish Enlightenment that draws upon recent accounts of that subject, although some readers may wish it had more focus and was integrated into the book rather than tacked on to the end of it.

David G. Barrie, ***Police in the Age of Improvement: Police Development and the Civic Tradition in Scotland, 1775–1865***. Cullompton, Devon: Willan Publishing, 2008. Pp. xii + 307.

Although the main purpose of David Barrie's book is to account for the rise of the police as an institution during the early nineteenth century, part of the argument is that the Scottish notion of police emerged out of patterns of thought associated with the Scottish Enlightenment. For this reason, the first two chapters of the book treat the closing decades of the eighteenth century—with one of the chapters devoted exclusively to Glasgow (including coverage of Patrick Colquhoun, Adam Smith, and John Millar).

Adam Smith, ***The Theory of Moral Sentiments***. Introduction by Amartya Sen. Edited with notes by Ryan Patrick Hanley. New York: Penguin Books, 2010. Pp. xxxii + 494.

Those looking for a handy yet scholarly edition of Smith's classic study will be pleased with this new contender from Penguin. In addition to the complete text of the expanded sixth edition of *TMS*, this volume contains twenty pages of biographical notes, thirty-five pages of textual notes, and brief notes on further reading and on the text by Ryan Patrick Hanley, as well as a helpful introduction by Amartya Sen. But be sure to ignore the drivel that the marketing people at Penguin have placed on the back cover!

Gerard Carruthers, ed., ***The Edinburgh Companion to Robert Burns***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009. Pp. ix + 198.

This entry in EUP's new Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Literature Series contains a dozen essays by leading scholars, designed to introduce readers to particular themes in the life and work of eighteenth-century Scotland's greatest poet. Although the essays are exceedingly brief, they have much to offer students and scholars at all levels. Together with Nigel Leask's chapter on "Burns and the Poetics of Abolition" and Gerard Carruthers's introduction, Colin Kidd's "Burns and Politics" provides a useful re-assessment of Burns's (sometimes exaggerated) political radicalism. Like most of the pieces in this collection, the authors opt for an interpretation of Burns as nuanced, complex, and mult-faceted. Thus, in "Burns and Women," Sarah Dunnigan shows how Burns spoke in many voices, both *about* women and *as* women, and Kenneth Simpson does something similar for Burns as a narrative rhetorician. There are several chapters on Burns in relation to those who came before him (e.g., Rhona Brown on "Burns and Robert Fergusson" and Steven R. McKenna on "Burns and Virgil") as well as those who came after (e.g., Alison Lumsden on Scott's references to Burns and Fiona Stafford on "Burns and Romantic Writing"). Corey E. Andrews writes on Burns as a critic, while Leith Davis explores the ways in which critics shaped Burns's reception and reputation in "transnational culture." And for an appreciation of Burns as a song-writer and song-reviser, the book is fortunate to have Kirsteen McCue aboard.

Evan Gottlieb and Ian Duncan, eds., ***Approaches to Teaching Scott's Waverley Novels***. New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2009. Pp. 202.

Those who use Sir Walter Scott's novels in the classroom will find a great deal to interest them in this little volume. It contains seventeen essays on approaches to teaching the novels, introduced by Ian Duncan, in addition to a section of bibliographical, musical, audiovisual, and other materials, presented by Evan Gottlieb.

Lisa Rosner, ***The Anatomy Murders: Being the True and Spectacular History of Edinburgh's Notorious Burke and Hare and of the Man of Science Who Abetted Them in the Commission of Their Most Heinous Crimes***. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009. Pp. 336.

We have all heard the sensational story of Burke and Hare's murders of sixteen people in 1827–28, in order to sell their corpses for medical dissection. But the gruesome tale takes on new dimensions in Lisa Rosner's witty and enjoyable book. Check out the author's 28-minute podcast at www.upenn.edu/pennpress/podcast.

Recent Articles by ECSSS Members

Corey ANDREWS, "Burns and the Critic," in *ECRB*, 110–24.

Johanna ARCHBOLD, "'The Most Extensive Literary Publication Ever Printed in Ireland': James Moore and the Publication of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in Ireland, 1790–1800," in *Georgian Dublin*, ed. Gillian O'Brien and Finola O'Kane (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2008), 175–87.

Rhona BROWN, "Burns and Robert Fergusson," in *ECRB*, 86–96.

Rhona BROWN and Kirsteen MCCUE, "Burns 'The Outré Being' and 'The Beautful Nymph of Ballochmyle'," in *FM*, 215–33.

Daniel CAREY (with Sven Trakulhun), "Universalism, Diversity, and the Postcolonial Enlightenment," in *The Postcolonial Enlightenment: Eighteenth-Century Colonialism and Postcolonial Theory*, ed. Daniel Carey and Lynn Festa (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), pp. 240–80.

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Gerard CARRUTHERS. See also Jennifer ORR.

Cecil COURTNEY, "Constant d"Hermenches: Correspondent of Voltaire and Belle de Zuylen," in *Voltaire and the !760s: Essays for John Renwick*, ed. Nicholas Cronk (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2008), 89–100. [Boswell]

Cecil Patrick COURTNEY, "Morals and Manners in Montequieu's Analysis of the British System of Liberty," in *Montesquieu and His Legacy*, ed. Rebecca E. Kingston (State University of New York Press, 2009), 31–48. [Hume and 1750 Edinburgh edition of part of *The Spirit of the Laws*]

Leith DAVIS, "Burns and Transnational Culture," in *ECRB*, 150–63.

Ian DUNCAN, "Fanaticism and Enlightenment in *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*," in *JHLM*, pp. 57–70.

Ian DUNCAN, "Edinburgh and Lowland Scotland," in *CHERL*, 159–81.

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