

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

No. 25 Spring 2011
ISSN 1085-4894

The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

BIG DOINGS IN PRINCETON

The Princeton Theological Seminary in Princeton, NJ, was the scene of the action for ECSSS's annual conference from 24 to 27 June 2010, and it was a splendid event for all concerned. Hosted by conference organizer Gordon Graham's Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, and co-sponsored by ECSSS and the International Adam Smith Society, the conference took as its theme "Thomas Reid, William Cullen and Adam Smith: The Science of Mind and Body in the Scottish Enlightenment." The 300th birthdays of Reid and Cullen brought them to the fore. The conference opened on Thursday 24 June with a plenary talk by Aaron Garrett (Boston U.) on "Thomas Reid as Historian of Philosophy." The second plenary talk was given later in the conference by Guenter B. Risse (U. of California at San Francisco, Emeritus), on "William Cullen and His Edinburgh Medical World." Reid and Cullen turned up repeatedly through the weekend, in panels such as "Reid on Ethics," "Cullen and Reid in America," and "Cullen and Reid on Physiology and Medicine." Smith was also featured in a number of panels, including "Adam Smith: Knowledge, Religion, and Empire," "Sophie de Grouchy, Mary Wollstonecraft and the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*," and two special round tables that focused on particular books about Smith's thought recently published by Cambridge University Press: one on Fonna Forman-Barzilai's *Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy* (2010) and the other on Ryan Patrick Hanley's *Adam Smith and the Character of Virtue* (2009). Similarly, there was a panel on "The Early Years of the 'Great EB'" that featured Frank Kasker and Jeff Loveland, the editors of the recently published *The Early Britannica: The Growth of an Outstanding Encyclopedia* (Voltaire Foundation, 2009). The conference setting stimulated panels on Scotland's connection with Princeton: "Scotland in Princeton," "John Witherspoon in Scotland and America," and a special graduate student panel on "History, Science, and Providence from

David Hume to James Madison." Other panels on Friday, Saturday, and Sunday morning treated a great variety of other aspects of eighteenth-century (and sometimes nineteenth-century) Scottish culture.

A highlight of the conference was the Saturday afternoon and evening excursion to the New Jersey Grounds for Sculpture, where conference-goers enjoyed posing with figures from famous paintings by the likes of Renoir and Manet, brought to life in sculptures by J. Seward Johnson and others. The conference dinner at Rats, a restaurant on the grounds, turned out to be a memorable affair.

This was a great conference, and we are grateful to Gordon Graham and his staff for making it happen!

ALMOST AT ABERDEEN

At press time, we are gearing up for an exciting conference at the University of Aberdeen from 7 to 10 July 2011, titled "The Arts and Sciences of Progress." Hosted by the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies (which maintains the conference website at www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss), under the leadership of Professor Cairns Craig, this conference will feature plenary lectures by Colin Kidd (Queen's U. Belfast) and Fiona Stafford (Oxford U.); twenty-one regular panels on a wide variety of topics relating to the conference theme and other aspects of eighteenth-century Scotland (including several commemorating the 250th anniversary of James Macpherson's Ossianic poetry); a Ceilidh on Friday evening 8 July, with music provided by the traditional band Shepheard, Spiers & Watson (www.springthyme.co.uk/ssw) and sing-alongs using the *Scottish Enlightenment Songster* prepared specially for ECSSS by William Donaldson and Ruth Perry; an excursion to Fyvie Castle on Saturday 9 July, followed by a conference dinner at the Aberdeen Art Gallery where Nicholas Phillipson will receive the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award; and a special additional plenary event to close the conference on Sunday 10

July, featuring Calum Colvin's contemporary images inspired by Ossian. A more detailed account of the conference will appear in our Spring 2012 issue.

APRIL 2012 IN S. CAROLINA

Next year ECSSS will hold its annual conference at the University of South Carolina. Hosted by the university's libraries and Department of English, this conference will be held in the new Hollings Special Collections Library from 12 to 15 April 2012. The conference theme is "Media & Mediation in 18th-Century Scotland: Voices, Manuscripts and 'Guid Black Prent.'" The festivities will include a talk by Nigel Leask, Regius Professor of English at the University of Glasgow, on the cultural functions of commonplace books. This will be ECSSS's 25th annual conference, and it promises to be a very special event. For more information, contact the conference organizer, Patrick Scott (scottp@mailbox.sc.edu).

And keep in mind: in July 2013 ECSSS will meet at the Sorbonne in Paris, followed by Montreal with CSECS in October 2014.

SPENCER & JONES ELECTED

At the Society's 2010 AGM in Princeton on 25 June 2010, the membership elected Mark Spencer and Catherine Jones to serve full two-year terms as president and vice-president, respectively. Richard Sher was elected to a fifth six-year term as executive secretary. Özlem Çaykent (history) and Ralph McLean (English) were elected members-at-large. John Cairns and Susan Manning were reelected to four-year terms on the Executive Board.

ECSSS AT ASECS

Once again, ECSSS members played a significant part at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, this year held in beautiful Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada, from 17 to 20 March. There were three ECSSS-sponsored panels. Two of them, chaired by ECSSS President Mark Spencer (Brock U.), were held on Friday morning the 18th and celebrated "David Hume: Happy 300th Birthday!" The first had presentations by Mikko Tolonen (U. of Helsinki) on "David Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment," Karann Durland (Austin College) on "The Origins of Hume's Experimental Philosophy: Assessing the Influence of Newton, Bacon, and Newtonian Culture," and Peter S. Fosl (Transylvania U.) on "Habit, Custom, History and Hume's Critical Philosophy." The second Hume panel featured papers by Max Grober (Austin College) on "The Philosophy of Mr. Genius: The Literary Context of Hume's Essay 'Of Suicide,'" Giovanni B. Grandi (U. of British Columbia, Okanagan) on "Hume and Reid on Econom-

ics," and Roger J. Fechner (Adrian College) on "Hume and American Academic Moral Philosophy in the Age of Enlightenment." On Friday afternoon, Leith Davis (Simon Fraser U.) chaired a session entitled "Negotiating Dualism in Scottish Literature and Culture." That panel featured papers by Joseph Holt (UCLA) on "Global Sympathies/Provincial Sociabilities: Civil Society between Seaborne Empire and Imperial Center," Louis Kirk McAuley (Washington State U.) on "Enlivening the Novel: Mitigating the Effects of Print-Capitalism (and/or Collapsing Cartesian Mind-Body Dualism) in Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*," and Thomas Reimert (U. of North Carolina, Chapel Hill) on "Henry Mackenzie on Commerce and Sensibility." Many ECSSS members attended these panels and participated in others, including a roundtable on "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Varieties of History" that was organized by Maureen Harkin and David Mazella and included Mark Towsey and Juliet Shields among its panelists. Nineteen people also came together for an ECSSS-sponsored luncheon held on the 27th floor of the Sberaton Vancouver Wall Centre, which offered a splendid panoramic view of the city, harbor, and mountains. Our thanks to Mark, Leith, and the others who helped to make ECSSS shine in Vancouver.

Next year ASECS meets in San Antonio, Texas, from 22 to 25 March 2012, and ECSSS will once again sponsor several panels and a luncheon. Leith Davis is organizing one panel on "Gender and/in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," and she is also putting together a round table, to be jointly sponsored by the Irish Caucus, on "Irish and Scottish Articulations in the Eighteenth Century." Mark Spencer is organizing a panel on "The Scottish Enlightenment in Scotland and America." Anyone interested in participating should contact Leith (leith@sfu.ca) or Mark (m Spencer@brocku.ca).

TRANSNATIONAL SCOTTISH PHILOSOPHY

On 29 April 2011 a symposium on "Scottish Philosophy in Transnational Contexts: Debating the Transnational Dissemination of Scottish Moral Philosophy" was held at the University of Edinburgh, jointly hosted by the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities and the Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies. The purpose was to investigate the transnational reception, adaptation, and transmission of Scottish moral thought during the long eighteenth century: how Scottish moral philosophy emerged from unique national contexts while also owing its formation to a wider dialogue in the Republic of Letters. The symposium was also designed as a forum for scholarly debate among prominent historians of Scottish thought. Scottish moral philosophy was treated in an inclusive

manner, enveloping the themes of ethics (both applied and abstract), aesthetics, political economy, morals, metaphysics, natural theology, social and societal progress or improvement, education, and methodology. The symposium's overarching objective was to advance knowledge of the migration and dissemination of Scottish moral philosophy by treating a wide range of themes in different transnational contexts during different periods of the long eighteenth century.

Almost all the participants in the symposium were ECSSS members, including three past presidents of the society. The first panel, on Dialogue and Tradition, was chaired by Susan Manning (U. of Edinburgh) and featured talks by Alexander Broadie (U. of Glasgow), "Reid Translated into French: The Case of Jouffroy"; Jane Rendall (U. of York), "Elementary Principles of Education: Dugald Stewart, Women Writers and the Diffusion of Scottish Moral Philosophy"; and Silvia Sebastiani (EHESS, Paris), "Scottish Legacy and American Perspectives: Moral Philosophy and Physical Anthropology in the Work of Samuel Stanhope Smith." This was followed by a round table on Dialogue and Tradition, chaired by Nicholas Philipson (U. of Edinburgh), with Alexander Broadie, Susan Manning, Silvia Sebastiani, and Craig Smith (St. Andrews U.). After lunch Giovanni Gellera (U. of Glasgow) chaired a panel on Diaspora, with papers by Ralph Jessop (U. of Glasgow), "Resisting a Dangerous Legacy of the Enlightenment: Carlyle and Hamilton on the Mechanization of the Human Condition"; Brad Bow (U. of Edinburgh), "A Revival of the Scottish Enlightenment at Princeton: James McCosh's Reception of Dugald Stewart's Moral Education"; and Cairns Craig (U. of Aberdeen), "James Clark Murray and the End of Common Sense in North America." Following the same format as in the morning, the day closed with a round table on Scottish Diaspora, with Alexander Murdoch (U. of Edinburgh) in the chair and Cairns Craig, Jane Rendall, and Nicholas Philipson comprising the panel. The symposium closed in the late afternoon, in as genteel a manner as it had opened the evening before—with a wine reception.

BOSWELL'S SCOTS DICTIONARY

ECSSS members may be interested to hear of the recent rediscovery of Boswell's Scottish dictionary manuscript. Boswell began to compile a dictionary of the Scots language in Utrecht in 1764, and later showed a sample of his work to Samuel Johnson, but he never completed it and eventually abandoned the idea. It was known that his Scots dictionary manuscript had been sold with his younger son's library in 1825, but no one knew what happened to it after that. The reason is now clear. The manuscript (which is unsigned) had been misattributed to a later Scottish

lexicographer, John Jamieson, in the mid-nineteenth century. It was subsequently bound together with a copy of Jamieson's *Dictionary Prospectus*, and was purchased in that state by the Bodleian Library in 1927, and duly catalogued under Jamieson's name. I was fortunate enough to discover the manuscript completely by accident over a year ago, in the Bodleian, while doing research on Jamieson's *Dictionary*. There is no doubt that the manuscript is Boswell's. Besides the handwriting (which has been confirmed by Boswell scholars), there are clues in the content which link it to Boswell's European tour in the 1760s, and to his own descriptions of his dictionary scheme.

The manuscript is not extensive—some forty leaves—but is nevertheless fascinating, and contains information on around eight hundred Scots words and phrases. The manuscript includes Boswell's dictionary "specimen" (presumably the one he showed to Johnson), together with his rougher draft of several hundred skeleton entries. There are also a short bibliography of reference works and separate lists of Scots phrases and literary citations. Although incomplete, the draft dictionary is full of linguistic gems. It contains the earliest examples of the Scots words *bubbly-jock* (a turkey cock) and *dabberlock* (a type of edible seaweed), as well as of the colorful term *bubbles*, meaning "snot." There are also some delightful usage examples. Boswell illustrates the Scots verb *to dight* (to wipe) with the example, "I'll dight his nose wi a stick"; and for the verb *to plot* (to scald), he notes hearing "an old Scots Jacobite at Rome" say that a friend had "plotted himself." As Boswell was practicing his French at this date, some of the entries are defined partly in that language, so that *dowp* is explained as "the hackside, le cu, aussi l'extrémité de quelque chose comme la reste d'une Chandelle."

I am currently working on transcribing the manuscript, as well as trying to fill in the gaps in its extraordinary history. I hope that a future edition of the manuscript—either print or digital—will provide useful material for linguists, lexicographers, and literary scholars, who may be interested either in what the manuscript reveals about eighteenth-century Scots, or in Boswell's own glosses on words which may occur in his letters and journals. Further details about the manuscript discovery, together with the latest information on the provenance and contents of the manuscript, are available on the *Boswell's Scottish Dictionary* website, at <http://boswellian.com>. A full account of the discovery, with initial findings, will also be published in the 2011 issue (no. 32) of *Dictionaries: The Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, toward the end of this year.

Susan Rennie, Edinburgh
susan@scotsdictionary.com

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LIT REDUX

In 2012 *Studies in Scottish Literature* will launch a new series. The journal will continue to be published from the University of South Carolina as an annual volume of 240–300 pages, open to contributions on all periods and genres of Scottish literature. It will continue, too, to welcome articles that explore the interrelations between Scottish literature and other literatures and between traditionally literary approaches and other disciplinary perspectives. Along with continuity, the new series also will highlight new initiatives. Each volume will include a substantial cluster of articles on a special issue or topic, beginning with current trends and opportunities in Scottish literary studies. In addition, each volume will be open to a selection of papers not on the special topic, to avoid over-long delay in publishing regular acceptances. In place of standard reviews of individual monographs, the journal will feature review essays that show scholarly developments in a specific area of interest. And *SSL* will continue its tradition of including articles or notes making available significant manuscripts or documents.

SSL was founded by G. Ross Roy in 1963, and he has been its only editor. Ross had announced that vol. 35–36 would be *SSL*'s final appearance (except for an index volume, vol. 37, to be issued later this year). Quite recently, he suggested instead that it should be continued as a second series, under new editorship, and he is generously donating the rights to the journal to the University of South Carolina Libraries. The new editors, Patrick Scott and Tony Jarrells, are committed to making both series of the journal, from vol. 1 onward, available in digital form as well as in the traditional print format.

The editors have recruited a new advisory board comprised of prominent scholars from North America, the UK, and New Zealand. For information regarding article submissions, please see *SSL*'s website: www.sc.edu/library/scotlit/ssl.html.

G. ROSS ROY MEDAL

In September 2010 G. Ross Roy, Distinguished Professor Emeritus, University of South Carolina, crossed the Atlantic for the inaugural presentation of the medal which bears his name. Ainsley McIntosh was the first recipient of the award for her Aberdeen U. doctoral thesis, "A Critical Edition of Walter Scott's *Marmion*." Co-sponsored by the Scottish Arts Council and the Universities Committee for the Teaching of Scottish Literature, the medal honors outstanding postgraduate work in Scottish literature.

The Medal will be available for award annually in open competition among postgraduates who have recently completed their degrees. Its aims include "to promote, defend, and encourage the study of

Scottish literature at university level." In presenting the award at the University of Glasgow, Ross Roy expressed his pleasure at the international recognition of Scottish literature as a discipline. It is particularly appropriate that the naming of the medal honors a major contributor to that achievement through his pioneering editorship of *Studies in Scottish Literature* and his Burns scholarship. —Ken Simpson

FULBRIGHT SCOTTISH STUDIES AWARD

The Fulbright Scottish Studies Award is a new award offered to any UK academic specializing in Scottish studies (broadly defined) to undertake research, carry out lecturing, and foster links between the United States and the United Kingdom. The award was granted for the first time in 2010 after the Scottish Government committed annual funding for three years to the Fulbright Commission with the aim of raising awareness of Fulbright within Scotland and to promote transatlantic educational exchange between Scotland and the U.S. (www.fulbright.co.uk/news-events/news/fulbright-commission-in-scotland).

In 2011–12 the award is for the US dollar equivalent of £11,000 for a one-semester project (4–6 months), or £22,000 for a full academic year project (8–10 months). Applicants must secure a letter of invitation from a U.S. institution before applying. For more information visit: www.fulbright.co.uk/fulbright-awards-for-uk-citizens/scholars-and-fellows-awards/scottish-studies-scholar-award.

The first Fulbright Scottish Studies Award was granted to ECSSS member Valerie Wallace (valwall23@gmail.com), who recently completed her doctorate in Scottish history at the University of Glasgow under the supervision of Colin Kidd. Valerie, who is currently a research associate at the Bentham Project, Faculty of Laws, University College London, will spend the 2011–12 academic year at the Center for History and Economics, Harvard University, researching the global dissemination of Scottish Presbyterian radicalism from the late eighteenth century until the early twentieth century. While based in the U.S., Valerie also plans to promote Scottish Studies by organizing events and speaking at a range of seminars and conferences, including the 2012 ECSSS conference in South Carolina.

ECSSS BOOK SERIES NEWS

The ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series, published by Bucknell U. Press, is now distributed by Rowman & Littlefield rather than by Associated University Presses. As part of the new arrangement, all three titles that ECSSS has published with BUP—Ned Landsman, ed., *Nation and Province in the First British Empire* (2001); Deidre Dawson and

Pierre Morère, eds., *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment* (2004); and most recently Stana Nenadic, ed., *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (2010)—can be purchased at list prices from standard retail outlets or from ECSSS at special discount prices.

OSSIAN GOLDMINE ONLINE

The National Library of Scotland has a remarkable new resource for anyone interested in the study of Ossian. The library has made digital versions of an archive of several hundred published works from the 18th and 19th centuries, including many works in Gaelic and other texts that have not been easily accessible in the past. Originally assembled by J. Norman Methven of Perth, and consisting of both Ossianic editions and works about Ossian and the Ossianic controversy, this extraordinary collection could transform the study of the subject. To view the collection, go to <http://digital.nls.uk/76750236>.

18TH-CENTURY BOOK TRACKER

The March 2011 issue of the aptly named *Eighteenth-Century Intelligencer*, edited by James May for the East-Central branch of ASECS, contains an article by Benjamin Pauley about a valuable new research tool that he has created for keeping track of free digital facsimiles of 18th-century primary texts. The article is informative, but if you go to the website itself, you will find an explanation of the site and the ways that it is being used to index the many works that are freely available online. For more information, go to <http://nutmeg.easternet.edu/~pauleyb/c18booktracker>.

IN MEMORIAM: EDWIN MORGAN

Scotland has lost in quick succession two of its leading citizens: Jimmy Reid and Edwin Morgan. I wasn't present at Jimmy Reid's funeral, but all the media reports suggest it was an appropriately impressive occasion. However, I was able to attend the service for Edwin Morgan held in Glasgow University's splendid Bute Hall. This was the proper setting (for an entirely secular service) given that from 1947 until his slightly early retirement in 1980, the man who was to become Scotland's official "Makar," and Glasgow's poet laureate, had made his daily living lecturing in the university's English Literature Department.

The occasion was beautiful. For just over an hour several hundred mourners—including Scotland's First Minister, Glasgow's Lord Provost, and the university's Principal—were entranced by a series of brief comments, readings, and musical interludes delivered by friends, fellow-writers, and former students. Liz Lochhead and Jackie Kay read with gentle power "Cinquevalli"—apparently Eddie's own favorite

among all his poems—and the beautiful "From a City Balcony," while the notes of Tommy Smith's saxophone, rising and falling, seemed to float effortlessly through the hall as he played "The Wolf," one of the many pieces he and Eddie had collaborated on in a blend of words and music. George Reid, former presiding officer of the Scottish Parliament, moved us all with the passion of his appreciation and love of what the poet had accomplished over his long, and not always easy, life, while Robyn Marsack reminded us quietly but powerfully of the scale and scope of his poetic achievement. From Glasgow to Saturn indeed. The service ended with a wonderful choral setting of "A Man's a Man for a' That"—with all of us allowed to join in the final verse. As the coffin was borne out of the hall, I suspect many felt simultaneously the presence and absence of a great Scottish writer.

Afterwards, in the university chapel, as well as tea or coffee, there was a serving of whisky and shortbread. Glenmorangie was Eddie's favorite dram, and the Tain company had done the right thing. It was great to see so many figures in Scotland's literary world enjoying this parting salute. —Andrew Hook

Note: Edwin Morgan, an ECSSS member during the 1990s and early years of this century, died on 19 August 2010, and the funeral was on 26 August. This piece originally appeared in the *Scottish Review*, 31 August 2010.

IN MEMORIAM: RICHARD MAXWELL

Longtime ECSSS member Richard Maxwell died on 20 July 2010 in New Haven, Connecticut, at the age of 61. Richard had broad interests in literature and was a novelist, essayist, and poet. For the past ten years he was a member of the faculty at Yale University. Richard's interests in eighteenth-century Scotland were focused on historiography, history of publishing, Sir Walter Scott, and balladry. Richard contributed several reviews to this newsletter in those areas, but I remember him best for one review that he declined to write. In 1997, when he was teaching at Valparaiso University in Indiana, I asked him to review a new book by Katie Trumpener (then a faculty member at the University of Chicago, and now at Yale) entitled *Bardic Nationalism*. He replied that unfortunately he could not oblige, because the author happened to be his wife. —Richard B. Sher

IN MEMORIAM: JANE BUSH FAGG

Jane Bush Fagg passed away at her home in Albertson, North Carolina, on 7 November 2010 at the age of 83. An ECSSS member since 1987 and frequent participant in the Society's conferences, Jane was born in Atlanta, Georgia, and educated there at Emory University. She received her Ph.D. in history from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1968,

with a dissertation entitled "Adam Ferguson: Scottish Cato." In that year Jane and her husband, Daniel W. Fagg, Jr., both joined the history faculty at Arkansas (now Lyon) College in Batesville, Arkansas, where Daniel taught until his death in 1991. Jane succeeded him as the McCain Professor of History and retired in 2002. Jane's scholarly career culminated in the publication of her lengthy Biographical Introduction to *The Correspondence of Adam Ferguson* (1995), edited by Vincenzo Merolle, which remains the standard source on Ferguson's life.

—Richard B. Sher

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

David Armitage, the Blankfein Professor of History at Harvard U., has been elected a corresponding fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh...**Nigel Aston** and **Rosalind Carr** (who recently completed a stint as a temporary lecturer at the U. of Sheffield) were both recipients of the Institute of Historical Research's Scouloudi Historical Award for 2010...**Skip Brack** is now professor emeritus at Arizona State U....**Alexander Broadie**, now emeritus at the U. of Glasgow, spoke on "What's So Scottish about the Scottish Enlightenment?" at the National Library of Scotland in Jan....in Sept. **Iain Gordon Brown** retires as principal curator of manuscripts at the National Library of Scotland after more than three decades of service...from Aug. 2011 **Gerard Carruthers** will be visiting professor of English at the U. of Wyoming, where **Caroline McCracken-Flesher** has organized a major conference on "Walter Scott: Sheriff and Outlaw"...**JoEllen DeLucia** has joined the English Department at Central Michigan U....**Amanda Epperson** has initiated the "Scottish Emigration Blog" (www.scottishemigration.blogspot.com)...after completing a Ph.D. at the U. of Chicago with a dissertation on Scottish religious transformations from 1660 to 1752, **Ryan Frace** is assistant professor of history at Wellesley College...last Nov. **Howard Gaskill** delivered the opening plenary lecture on "Why Ossian?" at a conference on "250 Years: Ossian and the 'National Epics'" at the Catholic U. of Portugal in Lisbon; **Gauti Kristmannsson** also spoke at that conference...**Ryan Hanley** is now the president of the International Adam Smith Society; in Oct. 2010 Ryan and **James Harris** were the keynote speakers at a Ghent conference on "Moral Psychology in the Scottish Enlightenment"...**Andrew Hook** has been turning out interesting commentaries on American (and Scottish) life in recent issues of the *Scottish Review*...**Colin Kidd** was elected a fellow of the British Academy, was appointed vice-president of the Royal Historical Society, was a visiting professor at the U. of Paris VII in spring 2010, and has accepted a position as professor of intellectual history/history of political

thought at Queen's U. Belfast...on 29 Nov. 2010 **Nigel Leask** (*Robert Burns & Pastoral*) and **Nicholas Phillipson** (*Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life*) were honored at the National Library of Scotland as joint winners of the Saltire Society Scottish Book of the Year Award for 2010...in Oct. 2010 **Roger Mason** delivered the concluding remarks on "The Current State of Scottish History" at the *Scottish Historical Review* Trust Conference on "The State of Scottish History," held at the Royal Society of Edinburgh... in 2010 **Karen McAulay** presented four different papers on aspects of Scottish song and song collecting... **John Moore, Jr.**, is now professor emeritus of history at California State Polytechnic U....**Murray Pittock** is now head of the college and vice-president (arts) at U. of Glasgow...**Clotilde Prunier** has joined the English Studies faculty at U. Paris-Ouest Nanterre La Défense...in Dec. **Ida Federica Pugliese** successfully defended her European Institute Ph.D. thesis on William Robertson's *History of America*...ECSSS past-president **John Robertson** edited and introduced a 2010 collection of Hugh Trevor-Roper's previously published essays entitled *History and the Enlightenment* (Yale U. Press)...**Gordon Schochet** is now professor emeritus of political science at Rutgers U.... **Paul Scott** has published a collection of his published pieces entitled *The Age of Liberation*...**Silvia Sebastiani** has been elected to a faculty position as "maitre de conference" at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales in Paris...ECSSS Board member **Juliet Shields** has been promoted to associate professor with tenure at the U. of Washington...**Rivka Swenson** is assistant professor of English at Virginia Commonwealth U....**Siobhan Talbott**, a co-author of *Exil et Retour: Contextes et Comparaisons* (2011), is a research associate in British/Scottish history at the U. of Manchester...**Hideo Tanaka**, Dean of the Graduate School of Economics at Kyoto U., has published Japanese translations of Hume's *Political Discourses* and Duncan Forbes's *Hume's Philosophical Politics*...**Mark Towsey** has been appointed to a permanent lectureship in history at the U. of Liverpool; in spring 2011 he was the Pottle Fellow at the Beinecke Library, Yale U....new member **Erich Weidenhammer** is pursuing a U. of Toronto Ph.D. thesis on Sir John Pringle... **Jonathan Yeager**, whose new book on Rev. John Erskine was published by Oxford U. Press in April, joins the religion faculty at U. of Tennessee at Chattanooga in September 2011...**Bill Zachs**'s exhibition of David Hume materials from his personal collection is on display at The Writers' Museum in Edinburgh from 26 Apr. to 17 Sept. 2011. Bill has also prepared a handsome illustrated catalogue that bears the same title as the exhibition: *David Hume 1711-1776: Man of Letters, Scientist of Man*.

Masculinity and Space in Enlightenment Scotland

Rosalind Carr

Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh

The refined gentleman dominates our conception of masculinity and polite society in eighteenth-century Britain. Recently, historians of English masculinity such as Hannah Barker (writing in a 2008 issue of *Social History*) have demonstrated the lack of applicability of ideals of politeness and refinement to men of the lower and middling classes. It is also likely that the dominance of refined masculinity among the elite has been overplayed. This article discusses the place of male refinement in Scottish polite society but rejects the idea that it applied to all elite men. Rather, I contend that among men of similar social status (such as the male gentry), the performance of masculinity was affected by geography and cultural space.

In Scotland there were multiple connections between polite society and Scottish Enlightenment culture. The Scottish literati were crucial participants in a public culture of professional associations, convivial clubs, and intellectual societies, and this intellectual culture was integrally connected to the published output of the Scottish Enlightenment. Philosophers, historians, and others shared and developed ideas within this sociable intellectual public sphere. As elsewhere in urban Britain, this intellectual sphere was joined by other social spaces such as theatres, assemblies, and (particularly once the Edinburgh New Town was built) public promenades. Interestingly, Scottish cities had a sharp gender division between explicitly intellectual and explicitly social spaces. There was no equivalent in Edinburgh to the London Bluestockings, an important intellectual circle led by women such as Elizabeth Montagu, which provided ambitious, intelligent women of the urban elite with connections and patronage similar to that which homosocial intellectual associations offered to men. In less elite circles, such as public debating societies, we can also see a difference between England and Scotland, with women speaking in societies in London and Birmingham but not in Edinburgh or Dundee (or, it seems, anywhere in Scotland).

Homosociability (or male-exclusivity) was crucially important to Scottish Enlightenment intellectual culture. By performing male refinement in the homosocial settings of intellectual clubs and societies, the Scottish literati were able to assert their cultural equality with England, and avoid the effeminacy that some figures, such as Lord Kames and William Alexander, considered a blight on French polite society. Refinement shown by outer politeness founded on inner sensibility was in this way linked to notions of British liberty. However, despite its associations with patriotism (particularly North British patriotism), male refinement was not a hegemonic masculinity. Just as the Scottish Enlightenment intellectuals sought, for example, to understand and improve their world through scientific discovery, an appreciation and understanding of the arts and classical texts, and an analysis of sympathy and happiness, so too did they seek to define appropriate models of gender for the newly commercialized world. Ideas of gender changed, and in regard to women we can see the impact of notions of femininity within Victorian domesticity. There was no consensus on gender during the Enlightenment, however: it was a continual discourse. We can see this in the debates of the Select Society.

Formed in 1754, the Select Society was the preeminent intellectual society of mid-eighteenth-century Edinburgh. Its membership included key Enlightenment figures such as David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson, Hugh Blair, and Lord Kames. Its minute books, held by the National Library of Scotland (MS Adv.23.1.1), provide good evidence of the continual debate in Scottish Enlightenment discourse regarding appropriate models of manhood and womanhood. A large number of the questions debated at the weekly meetings concerned gender. Questions pertaining to women that were debated in this all-male club were explicitly gendered, for example "Whether the Succession of females be of Advantage to the Publick" (debated 24 Dec. 1755, 31 Jan., 14 and 21 Feb. 1758) and "Whether we ought to prefer ancient or modern manners with regard to [the] Condition and treatment of Women?" (debated 4 Dec. 1754, 10 & 17 Aug. 1757). In order to recognize the place of masculinity within these debates, however, we need to consider the place of gender discourse within broader discourses of society, progress, and the nation. For example, the two questions "Whether a Commercial & military Spirit can subsist together in the same nation?" (debated 6 Feb. 1759 and 15 July 1760) and "Whether the World has received most advantage from those who have been engaged in an active, or those who have lived a retired life?" (debated 10 Dec. 1755) demonstrate the literati's active intellectual engagement in the construction of a model of manliness deemed suitable for Scotland's place in a modern, commercial, "civilized" Britain, and necessary to encourage human progress on a global scale.

The dialogue regarding male refinement within Scottish Enlightenment discourse is well illustrated by Henry Mackenzie's novel *The Man of Feeling* (1771). Rather than being a literary argument for male refinement and sensibility, it can be read as a debate through literary narrative about male gender identity. The principal character, Harley, embodies male sensibility; he acts according to his inner emotional reactions, frequently engages in benevolent activity (such as giving charity to beggars), and often openly cries in response to the suffering of others. While traveling to London early in the text, Harley stops outside an inn and, sitting down to remove a pebble from his shoe, sees a barefoot beggar. Observing the beggar, Harley states to himself: "Our delicacies are fantastic; they are not in nature! that beggar walks over the sharpest of these stones barefooted, whilst I have lost the most delightful dream in the world, from the smallest of them happening to get into my shoe." Here,

Mackenzie is challenging the idea of inner sensibility as a natural characteristic. For many Scottish Enlightenment philosophers, inner sensibility, or sympathy, was deemed to be a crucial feature of male refinement and was placed in direct contrast to the false, artificial refinement propagated in texts such as the Earl of Chesterfield's *Letters to His Son* (1774). Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling* highlights the lack of total acceptance of Smithian ideas of sympathy and refinement as natural to the human character rather than artificially constructed (and to a large degree related to social status).

The fact that notions of natural inner refinement were not universally accepted is important to our understanding of masculinity in eighteenth-century Scotland. Writing on England in a special issue of the *Journal of British Studies* in 2005, Alexandra Shepard questioned the idea of a clear historical progression from the manhood of the anxious early modern patriarch to the refined gentleman of Georgian polite society, arguing that we are not talking about the same men or using the same methodologies. In the same issue, Karen Harvey contends that male refinement was specific to certain men and certain spaces, something which we can also see in the Scottish context.

One way to explore the importance of space in the performance of different models of masculinity is to compare the enactment of masculinity in the Select Society with that of the Poker Club, a convivial organization founded in 1762 for the purpose of establishing a Scottish militia. The differences in masculine ideals propagated by these two associations can be gleaned from an examination of the connections between notions of manhood and the behavioral norms enforced within the spaces, or cultural environments, which society and club meetings created.

As discussed by Philip Carter in *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society* (2000), an essential feature of refined manhood was men's ability to display refinement through social, uncompetitive conversation. Men's ability to speak without causing offence, and to listen as well as speak, demonstrated their "civilized" self-control, and this form of behavior was a central feature of Select Society meetings. These events provided the space for the adoption and performance of gentlemanly refinement by the urban male elite. This goal was achieved not only through interaction and peer pressure but also by clearly stated and enforced rules of behavior. An example of the conscious awareness of the need to enforce politeness is a minute from 25 January 1757, when the role of the moderator (or preses) in the society was reformulated. This meeting emphasized the need for the moderator (a rotating position) to keep the debate close to the question being discussed, "and in general to conduct the whole debate in the best manner he can." The moderator's role was to ensure that the appropriate behavioral norms of polite intellectual debate were not flouted. A minute from the same meeting recorded "That the Members shall observe a strict Silence during the debate and, no member shall leave the Room during the time that another is speaking." This was in addition to an earlier rule stated in the "Additional Rules and Amendments of the Society's Laws" passed on 17 July 1754, which asserted "That during the Time of the Debates, no gentleman shall stand before the Fire." This rule seems to refer to the early modern social practice of seating those of the highest rank next to the fire and the practice whereby it was the King's prerogative to stand beside the fire, thus indicating the democratic character of intellectual debate within this space.

Men could learn sociability and refinement through their adherence to these behavioral norms, and the fact that the society considered it necessary to assert these norms suggests that polite conversation did not necessarily come naturally to the Enlightenment literati. This point is also supported by the minutes of the Glasgow Literary Society, as transcribed by W. J. Duncan in 1830 (National Library of Scotland, MS 3114). Rule XII of the GLS stated that the moderator's business "Shall be to keep order, to excite the laws to the attention of Strangers, and to prevent every thing which may be hurtful to the good humour and decorum of the Society."

In contrast to these refined intellectual associations, Edinburgh's Poker Club, which was also attended by the urban intellectual and political elite, met in taverns and provided a space for the performance of a different model of manhood. The cultural environment created by meetings of an association or club was influenced by the physical space in which it met. That the Poker Club held its meetings in taverns alerts us to the possibility that the performance of masculinity within the club is going to be different from that within the Select Society, which met in material spaces specific to Enlightenment culture: first the Advocates Library and then a room that belonged to the Freemasons above the Laigh Council House. As opposed to ordered meeting spaces, taverns typically provided space for the performance of masculinity outside of dominant behavioral codes. As shown by Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England* (1999), and Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (2003), the early modern tavern provided a space for men to engage in masculine behavior that was neither pious nor sober. The eighteenth-century tavern was a more ordered space than the early modern tavern, with specific rooms built for elite clientele. However, it was still a place for (predominantly) male drinking. In the note prefixed to the bound volume of Poker Club minutes preserved in Edinburgh University Library (Dc.5.126), founding member Alexander Carlyle states that "According to the members who attended most regularly no approach to inebriety was ever witnessed." Despite this remark, there are references to drinking in the original club minutes; for example, the minutes for 30 July 1779 record that "Mr Nairne and Mr Adam Ferguson Drank the Scotch Militia the King & all the other Friends of the Militia but not the absent members." So while inebriety may not have been a feature of Poker Club meetings, the consumption of alcohol was. Contrasting the enforced civility of intellectual societies such as the Select Society, the atmosphere of the Poker Club was, in line with the location of its meetings, relaxed and convivial. Being clubbable people, many of the men who attended the Poker Club were also members of the Select and other societies. These societies and the spaces they inhabited allowed for the performance of differ-

ent masculine identities suitable to different contexts.

The Poker Club was an organization in which male sociability and the practice of politics were intertwined. As shown on 26 July 1782, when ten members were appointed "to be a committee to form a bill for a Scotch militia," the convivial and political roles of the Poker Club were intimately connected. This point is supported by a letter from Lord Mountstuart to William Mure of Caldwell that is reproduced in *Selections From the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell* (1854). Writing in November 1775 about the raising of an English militia—and arguing that Scotland should campaign for a Scottish militia because "Cannot the Scotch defend themselves?"—Mountstuart writes: "I hope to hear from you soon, and that the Poker Club is revived, and that I am very popular amongst the members." This letter reminds us of the connections between male sociability and political influence. By arguing for a Scottish militia, the Poker Club also provided a space for the articulation of a model of manhood that was suitable for a commercial society but that deviated from notions of manly sensibility. This can be seen in the moral philosophy of founding member Adam Ferguson, which stressed the importance of maintaining martial virtues in commercial, civilized society.

Although intellectual societies and convivial clubs were central to the articulation and performance of manliness among the male urban elite, gender performance was, of course, not confined to the associational context, and questions remain as to the sort of masculinity performed by men when outside this environment. This question can be explored by investigating the connections between prostitution and the homosocial culture of Edinburgh. Initial scoping of Tolbooth records for Edinburgh and the Canongate, held by the Edinburgh City Archives (SL232), has revealed high incidences of poor women (typically single or widowed, and born outside the city) being arrested for prostitution. That prostitution in Edinburgh was connected in some degree to Enlightenment culture is suggested by the case of the Speculative Society of Edinburgh College. In his 1969 study of Enlightenment clubs entitled *Scotland's Age of Improvement*, Davis D. McElroy stated that the Speculative Society (essentially a student version of the Select Society) had trouble finding rooms in the college due to concerns about the large numbers of women who would gather outside meetings. That these women were likely to have been members of the urban poor, if not necessarily prostitutes, is evidenced by the case in the Canongate Tollboth records concerning Barbara Christie, who was arrested for smashing the windows of halls in which the Speculative Society were meeting.

The fraternization of men, such as college students, with women of a lower social status may suggest the adoption of alternative codes of manhood within the urban environment of Edinburgh but outside the confines of college and associational life. Since the topography of eighteenth-century Edinburgh required the rich and the poor of the city to share urban space, it is not surprising that polite and plebeian cultures interacted with each other; it was a material necessity. An interesting instance of such interaction is the case of John Warren, an ex-soldier and journeyman weaver who in 1783 stole a book from the shop of Enlightenment publisher William Creech. The meaning of these interactions, as well as the differences in the performance of gender by the elite and by the middling sorts and plebeian people, is a central part of my current research on gender and Enlightenment culture in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Going beyond the study of gender ideology and associational life also requires consideration of the impact of Enlightenment-defined notions of male refinement outside the metropole. The practice of dueling in mid-to-late eighteenth-century Scotland provides a good example. The prevalence of published tracts condemning dueling does not necessarily reflect an actual decline in the practice among the eighteenth-century male elite. Our knowledge of dueling in eighteenth-century Scotland is limited, but initial research suggests that early modern notions of insult and male honor predominated in the ritual of dueling.

Consider the transcriptions of the legal proceedings against James Abernethy of Mayen for the killing of James Leith of Leith Hall in a duel in 1763 (National Archives of Scotland, GD248/82/3). This event occurred outside a tavern (Campbell's House) in Aberdeen after Abernethy had been drinking with other gentlemen and got into a quarrel with Leith. According to the deposition of John Richardson, to whose house outside the town Abernethy had gone shortly after the event, the quarrel began when Leith accused Abernethy of starting a rumor that he had sold mixed meal to Captain Forbes, an act which, if true, undermined Leith's status as an honest man worthy of social and financial credit. Abernethy, finding the accusation that he had slandered Leith insulting, claimed that it was a "Damned falsehood for he never had said any such thing, and they were a liar that said it." The conflict then escalated, and Leith challenged Abernethy to a duel. Despite attempts by friends to avert it, the duel was fought with pistols and resulted in Leith's death. Following the event, Abernethy fled to the Continent, leaving behind a wife and family. A petition for Abernethy, stressing the precarious situation his family now found themselves in, emphasizes Abernethy's misfortune; the duel is referred to as an "unhappy affair," and it states that Abernethy was "but conscious to himself of having acted no other part, than a Man of Honour in his Situation would have been obliged to have done."

This duel, in which insult and honor play a central role, appears at first to adhere to concepts of masculinity which we associate with the seventeenth century, and earlier. However, rather than regarding such eighteenth-century events as incongruous, perhaps we should re-think our approach to eighteenth-century manhood and, as Shepard and Harvey have argued for England, reject simple chronologies of change. While we can clearly see a change in certain codes of masculinity during the eighteenth century (changes which were influenced by discourses of politeness and sensibility), we should not assume that this represented the emergence of a new hegemonic masculinity and a total change in norms of manhood in Scottish elite society. Instead, we need to recognize continuity and the existence of multiple masculinities, not only between different classes but in different

spaces and localities.

In these ways, gender can be used to explore the cultural and social history of the Scottish Enlightenment. A key question is the extent of the impact of Scottish Enlightenment models of masculinity and femininity on the enactment of gender in Scottish society. Focusing on space and locality makes it possible to assess the various manifestations of Enlightenment conceptions of gender and to recognize the performance of models of manhood and womanhood that did not adhere to, or were negligibly influenced by, Enlightenment discourse.

Rosalind Carr (rosalindcarr@yahoo.com), a cultural historian of early modern Britain focusing on gender, recently held a temporary lectureship in early modern history at the University of Sheffield and is currently a postdoctoral research fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, University of Edinburgh. This article draws on material from her 2008 Glasgow University Ph.D. thesis, "Gender, National Identity and Political Agency in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," as well as new research for a book in progress, entitled *Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, to be published by Edinburgh University Press in its *Scottish Historical Review* Monograph Series. She welcomes correspondence relating to this topic.

The Smuggler and His Palace: John Nisbet of Gungreen House

Derek Janes, Gungreen House

In the *Second Statistical Account of Scotland*, George Tough, minister of Ayton Parish, Berwickshire, wrote about his father-in-law's property in that shire, Gungreen House in Eyemouth: "It was in allusion to this mansion-house that a member once observed in the Senate, that smuggling was carried on to such an alarming extent on the east coast of Scotland, that one man had been enabled, from its gains, to erect a splendid palace." This "palace" is effectively a town house, an almost square detached villa of three principal floors, plus basement and cellars, which still dominates the town and harbor of Eyemouth. In 1998 Gungreen House Trust, chaired by Professor Alistair Rowan, agreed to a 99-year lease with the owners, Scottish Borders Council, and set about developing proposals for the restoration and operation of the house. Initial research identified John Adam as the architect, John Nisbet as the client, and the early 1750s as the likely date of construction. The Nisbets lived in the house until the 1780s, when they were succeeded by the Robertsons, then by their relations the Homes. After about 1850 it was largely occupied by tenants and was not dramatically altered. From 1912 until 1964 it was a guest house, and then the clubhouse of Eyemouth Golf Club until the late 1990s. In 2010 it opened as a visitor attraction, telling the story of the house and its occupants, and of smuggling in Eyemouth (www.gungreenhouse.org).

The stories of smuggling were well known, and the house had a number of original hiding places, notably the so-called tea chute: a hidden storage space with a capacity of approximately four chests of tea, lined with re-used Chinese tea chests. As investigation work proceeded, it was realized that the Adam floor plan was substantially intact and that considerable elements of early decorative schemes had survived, notably wallpaper from the 1750s onward, paneling, and the faux ashlar of the entrance hall. Today the house has three floors of historic interpretation and two floors which form a large self-catering apartment, the drawing room of which doubles as a function room.

The full history of the house and its occupants is still being unraveled, and is already throwing new light on smuggling in the North Sea and southeast Scotland, the nature of Eyemouth, and the complexities of family and social networks in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The original owner, John Nisbet, and his brother David were born in Eyemouth—David in October 1710 and John in November 1712. Their parents were David Nisbet, a merchant in the town, and Alison Young. A third brother, William (d. 1774), was probably older. The first known appearance of John Nisbet in public documents is in 1739–42, when the records of the Dunbar Kirk Session cite an investigation into who had made Provost Fall's servant girl pregnant. Harry Knox, the main suspect, got two colleagues—Melvill, a linen manufacturer, and John Nisbet—to lie for him, albeit unsuccessfully. The evidence given at the kirk session suggests that Nisbet may well have been lodging with Provost Fall, himself the leading merchant in Dunbar and builder of the central portion what is now called Lauderdale House. Later Nisbet and Melvill would be in trouble for misconduct with a Janet Duncan, in association with Thomas Meik, who also was to become a well-known Dunbar merchant. Melvill was probably John Melvill, who would be dismissed as collector of customs in Dunbar in the early 1770s.

When David Nisbet senior died in 1746, his will named William Nisbet, merchant in Eyemouth, and John Nisbet, merchant in Dunbar, as his executors. John returned to Eyemouth between 1746 and 1751. On 19 September 1751 Thomas Home, "youngest lawfull son of the Deceast Mr Ninian Home of Billie," was "Bound Apprentice to the said John Nisbet (Mercht. in Eyemouth) as Sailor aboard the vessel presently Building at Hull Whereof John Simpson Shipmaster in Dunbar is to

be Commander." Gunsreen House is first mentioned in 1753, when John was paying window tax on nineteen windows and the house was not yet complete. These two pieces of information tell us that John Nisbet had access to sufficient funds to build both a ship, which might have cost £350–£400, and a substantial house, perhaps costing between £1500 and £2000. We do not yet know how Nisbet became so wealthy so quickly. John was not married and lived in the house with David, who was also unmarried. It seems that David was quite wealthy—he lent John £1450 in 1758, for example. The source of David's money is equally unclear. One possibility is that he had been abroad, for eighteenth-century merchants could make a fortune by setting up a "House" in a major European port.

A letter in the Customs Book dated 2 May 1754 refers to tobacco owned by Messrs. Knox and Nisbet, merchants in Dunbar. This was the previously mentioned Harry Knox, merchant and brewer, who had been John's associate in Dunbar during the 1730s and a Dunbar burgess in 1744, and had a partnership with John from June 1754 to December 1757. Details are contained in a summons by Knox against David Nisbet for allowing five hogsheads of wine belonging to this partnership to be seized by customs officials in London. In October 1754 David was in dispute with customs officials in Dunbar over the certification of the transport of a consignment of tobacco from Eyemouth to Leeds. This was resolved by David swearing an oath, which is recorded in the customs records.

In autumn 1757 Alexander Dow, a midshipman on the *King of Prussia*, private ship of war, made a will leaving everything that he owned to "my beloved friend David Nisbet of Eyemouth in North Britain." Dow was born in Perthshire in 1736 and probably came to Eyemouth through the good offices of a near neighbor who was married to the sister of Eyemouth's lawyer. He then became the Nisbets' clerk before leaving to join the *King of Prussia* in 1756 or 1757. In later life Dow let it be understood that he had either fled, having killed a man in a duel, or run away from a mercantile apprenticeship. Neither of these seems a likely explanation. It is possible, however, that he did get into trouble with the law and the Nisbets helped him to disappear—which is what smugglers did for their employees. Or he may have wanted to join a privateer for the money. Privateers generally recruited volunteers, who then got shares of the prize money.

After his time on the *King of Prussia*, Dow went to the East, eventually ending up in Bengal, where he rose to the rank of colonel in the service of the East India Company. He translated and edited a ground-breaking *History of Hindostan* (1768–72) and was an early proponent of the concept of the permanent settlement of Bengal. He also translated into English a collection of traditional tales and wrote two plays—*Zinghis* (1769) and *Sethona* (1772)—which were performed at Drury Lane under the direction of David Garrick. Dow maintained a good relationship with the Nisbets and, as he became wealthy, used John Nisbet as his agent in assisting his relations at home. This led to problems with a Duncan Carmichael, who ran up substantial debts with Bell and Rannie, Edinburgh-based wine and spirit merchants, which were then charged against Nisbet. He also lent Nisbet £1500 in 1771, and it was this debt (converted to a heritable bond in 1778) that eventually led to Nisbet's downfall.

From the 1760s we have more information about the Nisbets' trading activities. At Gunsreen House on 26 June 1769 John and David Nisbet agreed to a statement of account with Thomas and Alexander Hair, carriers, of Eyemouth. Covering some six years of business, this is a record of trade in almost wholly contraband goods; apart from one load of hay, everything was illegal: tea, gin, and brandy for the most part. This document has survived because after accounts were settled, the Hairs owed the Nisbets £46.14.11, which they failed to pay; so the Nisbets took out a summons, with this document as the key piece of evidence. We also know that the Hairs were specialists in handling contraband, because in 1756 Thomas Hair was arrested after the authorities caught him carrying several ankers of brandy. A riot ensued and Hair had to pay for the Tide waiter's medical treatment. When Nisbet was sequestered in 1787, the Hairs' debt stood at £200. In 1768 John Nisbet paid £555.10.11 for 2,030 gallons of claret auctioned by the customs in Dunbar after being seized from the ship *Pretty Nymph* in Eyemouth. It is quite possible that John was buying back his own wine, particularly since Nisbet paid just one shilling above the upset price for each of three lots that the cargo was sold in.

The Nisbets dealt with at least two firms of Scottish merchants in Gothenburg, the headquarters of the Swedish East India Company and source of much of the tea that was smuggled into Britain. These were Scott & Frazer and Sibbald & Greig. Scott & Frazer were probably Jacobite refugees, and there is only a passing reference to the Nisbets' dealings with them, concerning paying off a substantial debt. More is known about dealings with Sibbald & Greig due to a court case following Nisbet's sequestration. In 1771 the Nisbets bought a consignment of tea from James Sibbald. There would certainly have been many more such shipments. Ships came regularly from Gothenburg to Eyemouth, openly carrying timber and iron. In the period from 1770 to 1777, five ships are recorded as arriving from Gothenburg for one firm of merchants alone. Interestingly, the merchants involved were William Nisbet's grandson, John Henderson, and John Nisbet's protégé, James Renton. During the hearing of this case, the lawyer for Nisbet's creditors described him thus: "Mr Nisbet himself was a professed smuggler and altho designed Merchant in Eyemouth it is well known that he dealt in no other than this traffic which he carried on to a very great extent." He also had words about Sibbald & Greig: "The House of Messers Sibbald and Co was one of the houses established on the Continent the principal and most lucrative part of whose trade consists in running goods upon the coast or shipping them by virtue of Commissions sent from this country by Natives for the very purpose of smuggling them onto this country in defiance of the Law" (original emphasis). This case established that Henry Greig had written to the Nisbets, advising them of the arrival of a ship in Gothenburg from the East, enclosing a printed list of what was available. It seems likely that this was the sale

catalogue which the Swedish East India Company produced annually and distributed to potential customers in Sweden and abroad.

Later court papers reveal that John Nisbet was very active and successful in the early 1770s, but that by 1774–75 his health was failing and his affairs were in confusion. John's business began to go wrong in the late 1770s. He got into a relationship with Richard Pillans, a merchant in Rotterdam, formerly a partner of Robert and Alexander Robertson of Eyemouth. There was constant flow of goods, credit, and money between the two men, but it seems that Nisbet lost everything after the seizure of a ship, *The Royal Code*. Unable to pay Pillans, he negotiated a heritable bond. When its value was about £600, it was purchased by Alexander Robertson for £400. In July 1787 Robertson went to the Court of Session to seek Nisbet's sequestration in relation to this loan, but he failed for procedural reasons. Within a month, however, he had identified Alexander Dow's heritable bond, which had been inherited by a namesake, Alexander Dow of Hertford. This time his attempt to bankrupt Nisbet succeeded.

David Nisbet died in 1784. His will has not survived, but we have two eiks (supplements) prepared by John in 1788 and 1790. These follow John's sequestration in late 1787 and are part of the process of maximizing his estate by identifying all outstanding debts owed to the family. They both refer to money owed to David by Charles and Robert Fall, merchants in Dunbar, who by this time were bankrupt themselves. The Falls were the intermediaries for Colonel Alexander Dow's initial bequest and had failed to pass the money on to David Nisbet. John had, therefore, taken out a summons against Robert Fall in 1785, seeking to reclaim the sum of £652.16.0. When Dow died in 1779, he had not made another will. His estate was valued at around £10,000—well over a million pounds in today's terms—and there seems to have been considerable trouble with Dow's friends and relations over the terms of the will. Frequent later references to the moiety of the estate suggest that the Nisbets agreed to settle for half. There were, apparently, persistent rumors of a second will. So Dow's executors in Calcutta put the will into Chancery, and it did not re-emerge until 1796, a month after John Nisbet's death.

Nisbet did not give up without a fight, however. He petitioned the Court of Session, explaining that the law did not apply to him because he had retired as a merchant. When this ploy failed, he "pretended sickness" (according to one lawyer) in order to avoid appearing to give evidence. He lied about his assets and debts and finally produced evidence from Calcutta that he had "an expectation." None of these measures succeeded, but they did delay matters, and caused the sale of Gunsgreen to be put off several times. Finally, in March 1789 the house was sold to Alexander Robertson. According to the note of the creditors' meeting on 20 June 1812, the sale of John's assets was

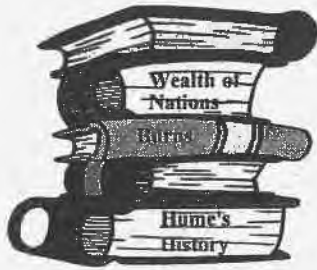
applied in payment of creditors holding heritable securities; but the amount was insufficient to answer all the claims on the bankrupt estate, which were very considerable. The only fund from which the personal creditors had reason to expect payment of the debts due to them, consisted of a share of the effects of the late Colonel Alexander Dow, in the Honourable the East India Company's service, to which Mr Nisbet was intitled under the Colonel's settlements, and from which it was foreseen, there would in all probability arise a considerable reversion, after all Mr Nisbet's debts were discharged. (National Archives of Scotland, CS177/867)

It is clear that Nisbet was very bitter about what happened. He retired to Tweedmouth, Berwick-Upon-Tweed, with his housekeeper, Janet Ferguson. When he made his will in 1794, he instructed his executors to take steps to overturn the sale of Gunsgreen House because Robertson had bought the Pillans' debt at "an undervalue." He also described himself as "John Nisbet of Gunsgreen esq., currently residing at Tweedmouth."

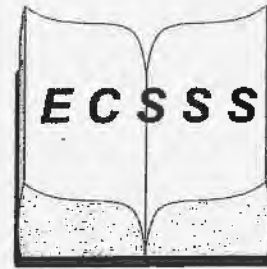
At the time of his death on 25 March 1796, John was still living in Tweedmouth, with Janet Ferguson. In his will John left Janet £100 plus an annuity of £50 and all his household furnishings. Owing to the tangled state of John's finances, however, Janet did not receive this money until 1812 and was constantly reliant on small payments on account from the lawyers acting for John's estate. It turned out that John actually owed her over £100! Nevertheless, he referred to "the particular care and attention paid by her to me and of her long service to me of over thirty years." John's will also left money to Janet's niece, Alison Ferguson, daughter of Peter Ferguson, shipwright in London, with reference to a debt of £250. His other bequests were to his brother William's descendants and to George Fairbairn and Margaret Renton, widow of John's associate, James Renton. The largest single bequest in John's will was £500 to Alexander Dow's natural son Daniel, to be taken from the Nisbet's moiety of Dow's estate and effects—as per the agreement with Dow's trustees in the early 1780s. Daniel had been born in Kelso in December 1768, his mother being Margaret Aitchison, maid to Dow's sister, who kept house for him in London at that time.

The last we hear of Alexander Dow in Eyemouth is in 1834 in the will of Isobel Renton, daughter of John Renton, the successor to James Renton as the Eyemouth lawyer. Miss Renton would have been about eighty years old, and she left "the gold ring set with diamonds containing a lock of the late Colonel Dow's hair." What can this signify? As for John Nisbet, his legacy is Gunsgreen House, one of the finest merchant houses of its date surviving in Scotland—a striking memorial to his ambition and, ultimately, to his failure.

Derek Janes (derek.janes@gunsgreenhouse.org) has been the administrator of Gunsgreen House since 2008, when he retired after a career in museums and cultural management. He is now researching toward an MPhil/PhD at the University of Exeter Centre for Maritime Historical Studies on "The Business of Smuggling in Southeast Scotland, 1740–1790."



BOOKS in REVIEW



The Lost Continent of British Romanticism: The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels

A Review Essay by
Ian Duncan, University of California at Berkeley

The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (EEWN) is now complete, having appeared at a rate of publication that matched Walter Scott's originals. The first three titles (*The Black Dwarf*, *The Tale of Old Mortality*, *Kenilworth*) came out in 1993, ten years after the edition was formally proposed to Edinburgh University Press; sixteen years later, in 2009, all twenty-eight volumes were in print. As well as the published novels, from *Waverley* (1814) to *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous* (1832), EEWN finds room for the novella and tales that make up the first series of *Chronicles of the Canongate* (edited by Claire Lamont) and some short stories originally published in magazines and annuals (*Shorter Fiction*, edited by Graham Tulloch and Judy King). A supplementary set of *Introductions and Notes from the Magnum Opus Edition of 1829–33* in two volumes will round out the edition, while three hitherto unpublished titles, *Reliquiae Trotcosiensis* (edited by Alison Lumsden and Gerard Carruthers, 2004) and *The Siege of Malta and Bizarro* (edited by J. H. Alexander, Graham Tulloch and Judy King, 2008), have appeared in a parallel format (plum-colored livery instead of the canonical dark blue)—to the further confusion, no doubt, of those who complain that there are already too many Waverley Novels.

The completion of EEWN is certainly a cause for celebration. Many readers will remember how low Scott's reputation had sunk by the early 1980s, when he was routinely excluded from histories, canons, and syllabi of Romanticism and the "English Novel," and *Waverley* seemed to be the only one of the novels available in print (in Andrew Hook's Penguin edition). At most, dismissive gestures were made toward Scott as an aesthetic straw man or ideological bogeyman, setting off the authentic achievement of William Wordsworth, Jane Austen, or (in a Scottish context) Robert Burns. The recovery of Scott—a scholarly enterprise that has yet to regain much popular traction—was boosted by the resurgence of critical interest in history and politics, after the long dominance of Leavisite moral realism and New-Critical and Post-Structuralist formalisms. The Edinburgh Edition, the major enterprise in that recovery, now provides an indispensable foundation for future research and (not least) the rich and peculiar pleasures that reading Scott affords.

From the beginning, EEWN's editor-in-chief, David Hewitt, proclaimed the goal of the project to be "a return to authentic Scott" (General Introduction, 1993, p. xii), one which would make it possible—in the words of the current Edinburgh University Press catalogue—to "Find Out What Scott Really Wrote." Early announcements described a twofold work of salvage and restoration, in which the author's original intentions would be recovered from accumulated layers of misprision, corruption, and interpolation. The thickest of those layers was deposited with the version of the Waverley Novels that remained current for the hundred and sixty years following the author's death, the so-called "Magnum Opus" edition of 1829–1833, for which Scott revised the novels' texts and wrote new introductions and notes. The General Introduction to the early EEWN volumes cast Magnum Opus as a regrettable aesthetic compromise, a Victorian calcification of the Romantic originals: "the creative power which took Britain, Europe and America by storm in the preceding decades is cabb'n'd, cribb'd, confin'd" by a "daunting clutter of introductions, prefaces, notes, and appendices" (p. xi). David Hewitt mutes this polemical characterization in the revised General Introduction, printed in EEWN volumes from 1999 onwards, in acknowledgment, perhaps, of the case made by some reviewers for viewing the Magnum apparatus as an extension rather than a betrayal of Scott's creative purpose. Writing in the *Review of English Studies* in 1996 ("Copied-Text: The New Edinburgh

Waverleys," *RES* 47, 185:59–65), Fiona Robertson reiterated an argument made in her 1994 book *Legitimate Histories: Scott, Gothic and the Authorities of Fiction*, that Scott's late notes and introductions amplify the metafictional game-playing of the early editions' paratextual frames—in implicit refutation of David Daiches's claim, printed in a Foreword to the EEWN volumes, that Scott's "passionate interest in history led him increasingly to see these stories as illustrations of historical truths" (p. v). It is characteristic of Scott that an increased concern for the status of his works as "illustrations of historical truths" should accompany an explosion of fictional devices—rather than that one of these impulses would cancel the other.

EEWN follows the precedent set by Claire Lamont's landmark Clarendon Press edition of *Waverley* (1981), the first-ever critical edition of a Scott novel, which returned to the first edition of 1814 for its copytext, corrected against the surviving manuscript and sets of proofs. There are certainly compelling aesthetic as well as historical reasons for recovering Scott as a Romantic novelist—the overwhelming literary phenomenon in Europe after the Napoleonic wars—rather than enshrining him as a proto-Victorian one, although more work still needs to be done to understand the cultural project of *Magnum Opus* in the context of the late 1820s and early 1830s, that hard-to-discern interim in British literary history. (Jane Millgate's *Scott's Last Edition*, 1987, offers an indispensable account of the edition's conception and production.) Ideally, of course, we should have an up-to-date critical edition of *Magnum Opus*, based on a full consideration of the "Interleaved Set" of the novels Scott used to prepare his texts, alongside the Edinburgh Edition: but we are unlikely to get one in the foreseeable future, and will have to make do with the handful of *Magnum*-based titles available in Oxford World's Classics.

Defining their objective as the recovery of "an ideal text, which the first readers of the *Waverley* Novels would have read had the production process been less pressurised and more considered" (General Introduction, p. xv), the Edinburgh editors have been the first to recognize that no distillation of Scott's original intentions ever existed, either in the author's holograph or the earliest printed editions. Not the least valuable achievement of EEWN has been its meticulous archeological reconstruction of the immense, intricate, untidy process of the novels' composition and publication, affording us an unparalleled view of one of the most important sites of literary production in nineteenth-century Europe. The editors' scrutiny encompasses all versions published in Scott's lifetime, including subsequent printings of the early editions, North American editions (often incorporating otherwise unrecorded proof corrections, due to special arrangements made between Scott's publishers and Carey & Co. in Philadelphia), the various duodecimo, octavo, and 18^{mo} sets of "Novels and Tales," "Historical Romances," etc. issued in the early 1820s (for many of which Scott made revisions), and *Magnum Opus* itself.

Scott wrote his novels at breakneck speed, relying intimately on the collaboration of those the Edition calls "intermediaries": amanuenses, agents, copyists, proof-readers, and printers, notably but by no means exclusively John and James Ballantyne, William Laidlaw, and (after 1826) John Gibson Lockhart and Robert Cadell. The intermediaries' tasks involved not only transcription of the manuscripts (which were all copied before going to the printers, to safeguard Scott's anonymity) and routine preparation for the press, but also the correction of inaccuracies and inconsistencies and, on occasion, more substantial advice, criticism, and what modern sensibilities might deplore as interference. Several layers of mediation thus intervene between the surviving manuscripts and the first published editions, and in each individual case the Edinburgh editors have recorded literally thousands of discrepancies between them. Some of the discrepancies can be characterized as changes Scott would have expected to be made to dress the work for print, such as the standardization of punctuation and spelling and the correction of local inconsistencies and matters of fact. (The manuscripts frequently preserve the traces of authorial hesitation over characters' names and other such data as the work evolved.) Other discrepancies amount to misreadings, mis-transcriptions, and other mistakes accumulated in the rush to print. Scott's control over his work once the manuscript left his hands was fitful at best; he did not check proofs, for instance, against what he had originally written. In his edition of *Waverley*, Peter Garside records some 1400 verbal variants between the surviving sixty percent of the manuscript and the first edition, and he conjectures that the total would have come to around 2400. For reasons that are not entirely clear, two of the best-known novels, *Rob Roy* and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, suffered a higher than usual volume of error in the transmission from manuscript to print, and here the remedial labor of the Edinburgh editors—David Hewitt (on both novels) and Alison Lumsden (on *Heart of Mid-Lothian*)—cannot be praised too highly. A combination of compositors' errors, poor proof-reading, and heavy-handed "correction" of some of Scott's rhetorical effects is to blame in the case of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* ("Essay on the Text," pp. 496–99). In the case of *Rob Roy* the fault lies with the copyist who first transcribed the manuscript; Hewitt admits some 2900 manuscript-based emendations of the first edition copy-text, "more than for any other novel" ("Essay on the Text," p. 387).

The editors thus represent the EEWN editions of *Rob Roy* and *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* as "ideal first edition[s]...based upon a copy of the first edition, [incorporating] manuscript readings which were lost through misreading, misunderstanding or straightforward transcription error during the process of converting the holograph

text into [print]" (*Rob Roy*, pp. 386–87; *Heart of Mid-Lothian*, p. 512). Here, as elsewhere in EEWN, they do not scruple to draw on later states of the text to produce their "ideal first edition," in cases, they argue, of "manifest error...which was not noticed in the process of producing the [historical] first edition" (*Heart of Mid-Lothian*, p. 512). Where a whole and clean manuscript survives, such as that of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, the resulting "ideal first edition" adheres fairly strictly to manuscript-based emendations; other volumes, where the manuscript evidence is compromised, draw more liberally on later editions, up to and in some cases including *Magnum Opus*. This means, of course, that the EEWN text of a particular novel is one that has never existed until now. Scholars using EEWN to make historically based arguments will need to check their texts against the published early editions, lest they find themselves citing evidence that was unavailable to anyone at the time. While the caution is worth issuing, it is in the strictest sense academic (it applies to any critical edition), and scarcely detracts from the huge public benefit that EEWN confers. To have brought the whole of Scott's prose fiction back into view—the great lost continent of British Romanticism and the history of the novel—is by any measure a heroic achievement.

In an especially searching as well as appreciative assessment of that achievement, Kathryn Sutherland in 2002 characterized the conceptual "space of the EEWN edition" as "an ideal material space recovered by means of a conjectural history of textual production" ("Made in Scotland: The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels," *Text* 14:305–23). Sutherland detected "a barely concealed Romantic primitivism" (p. 318) behind the editorial preference for early, less refined or polished states of the text—a "primitivism" that emerges from concealment whenever the correction of error moves, as it inevitably must, into the realm of judgments of taste. At the stylistic level, the recovery of authorial intention, hlurred by the neglect or interference of intermediaries, makes for some striking gains in color and pungency. The return to the generally plainer, rougher texture of the manuscripts and early editions, from the more self-consciously balanced syntax and heavier punctuation of *Magnum Opus*, has brought the novels into closer alignment with current aesthetic preference. Some of the gains are vivid. Hewitt and Lumsden restore in full the irregular orthography of Jeanie Deans's letters in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, smoothed over by compositors; Garside retrieves local and idiosyncratic Scots usage in *Waverley*, progressively regularized in the first and subsequent editions.

More conspicuous restorations return to Scott's manuscript to add new matter or elucidate what was once obscure. Readers will welcome the clarification of the drawbridge mechanism that tips Amy Robsart to her death at the end of *Kenilworth*; few could object, save on very strict historicist grounds, to the explanation of Clara Mowbray's liaison in *Saint Ronan's Well*, which James Ballantyne persuaded Scott to muffle for the sake of propriety. A more controversial insertion is the four "fragments," character-sketches of worthies of the Scottish Enlightenment, in the Edinburgh episode of *Guy Mannering*, present in the manuscript but omitted from the published novel. The passage is of great critical interest, and its inclusion is defensible on intellectual grounds; but Scott's decision to leave it out was incontrovertibly authorial, and its appearance changes the novel rather than clarifying what was already there.

Elsewhere, the regularization of inconsistencies sometimes treads on debatable ground. A strong argument can be made for regarding errors and inconsistencies as an integral part of authorial intention, rather than a deviation from it. And they may not always be mistakes. The editors of *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* admit that their decision to stabilize Effie Deans's hair color, which varies from black to brown to fair across the first half of the novel, may be "controversial" (p. 523). The striking description of Effie before the Court of Session now gives her "beautiful and abundant tresses of long dark hair" instead of the "fair hair" of all previous editions (p. 197). In my view this imposes an aesthetic that is alien to Scott's practice; *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* is remarkable even among the *Waverley Novels* for its modulations of style, tone, and genre, so that a different decorum from that of later nineteenth-century realism frames the sentimental spectacle of the "unhappy girl" on trial for her life.

Some of the most interesting revelations of EEWN concern the later novels, especially those produced after the ruin of Scott and his publishers. After 1827 Scott's manuscripts are no longer copied to disguise his hand, but their preparation is entrusted to a less-experienced team of intermediaries; as the chronological gap narrows between the writing of new novels and their revision for *Magnum Opus*, Scott's textual emendations dwindle; however, his works are subject to increasing interference by his new publisher and executor, Cadell and Lockhart. A reassessment of the late novels, both textually and critically, is one of the many tasks opened up by EEWN. The most spectacular of the edition's restorations affect the last two published novels, *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous*, both of which are edited by J. H. Alexander, one of the most sensitive as well as most expert of the Edinburgh editors. Here no one will complain of finding works we have never read before, since the previous editions of these novels were truly ruinous. Their production was more than usually difficult: Scott suffered a serious stroke while writing *Count Robert of Paris*, interrupted it in order to write *Castle Dangerous*, and effectively lost authorial control as Cadell and Lockhart, dismayed by what they read, took it upon themselves to cut and rewrite the works in press. They excised an entire sub-plot from the last volume of *Count Robert of Paris*, which culmi-

nated in a grotesque duel fought between the pregnant warrior-countess Brenhilda and the bluestocking Princess Anna Commena; its disappearance enhanced the effect of a general fizzling-out at the end of the novel. The restored *Count Robert of Paris* is unquestionably more coherent—and even more bizarre—than any version of it that has been available before: more a work of anthropological science fiction than a historical novel, a Lamarckian fantasy of the disintegration of the Enlightenment dream of a unified human nature. Textually, the case of *Castle Dangerous* is still more extreme: the mass of manuscript and proof pages, with some six thousand variants from the first published edition, presents a well-nigh intractable challenge to editors. Undoing, as much as possible, Lockhart's rewritings, Alexander presents us with what he admits to be a conjectural restoration. (The 95-page emendation list is almost half as long as the text of the novel, at 205 pages; by way of comparison *Rob Roy*, 340 pages long, has a 62 page-long emendation list.) One of the peculiar excitements of reading *Castle Dangerous* comes from a sense that the story is always on the brink of sliding back into the primal rubble of unedited words and paper.

The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels presents us not just with a monumental achievement in itself but a treasure-trove for future scholarship. Research emerging from the edition has already yielded a series of articles by various editors, notably Peter Garside (most recently, a 2008 essay on *Waverley* as a "bibliomaniacal romance": "The Baron's Books," *Romanticism* 14:245–58), as well as Alison Lumsden's 2010 monograph *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language* (reviewed elsewhere in this issue). The explanatory notes alone are an extraordinary resource, clarifying, as Lumsden argues, the complex allusive and associative pathways along which Scott's imagination moved.

I close with a wish: that the entire, magnificent edition, not just (as at present) the half-dozen titles reprinted in Penguin Classics, be made permanently available in paperback for everyone to read. These majestic novels belong to a wider world than the research library.

Richard J. Hill, *Picturing Scotland through the Waverley Novels: Walter Scott and the Origins of the Victorian Illustrated Novel*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010. Pp. xii + 224.

Alison Lumsden, *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010. Pp. viii + 248.

Sir Walter Scott was known to the public by many affectionate names during his illustrious (and mostly officially anonymous) career, including the Author of Waverley, the Great Enchanter, the Wizard of the North, and the Great Unknown. These two new studies together make a strong claim that Scott should also be known by another: the Great Innovator. Fortunately, the days when Scott was primarily regarded by critics and scholars (when he was regarded at all) as a stodgy traditionalist in both thought and style have been over for some time. Now, Richard Hill's and Alison Lumsden's capable studies extend our understanding and appreciation of Scott's groundbreaking even farther into their respective realms of the pictorial and linguistic.

As its title suggests, *Picturing Scotland* is primarily (albeit not exclusively) a careful examination of the process of illustrating the Waverley Novels—an examination, moreover, which reveals that Scott was much more fully involved in this process than previously thought. If Scott was publicly reticent about his active roles in the selection of illustrators and engravers, and the determination of their activities, Hill argues, this was likely because Scott did not wish to countervail explicitly the high Romantic stand against the popularization of literature. But from the many private letters Hill examines, it quickly becomes clear that Scott was both an informed and an active participant in the Waverley Novels illustration process. Of course, illustrated literary books were already in existence; indeed, Scott's poetry—sold under his own name—had itself been illustrated since 1808. The genius of Scott's early publisher, Archibald Constable, was to recognize that he could simultaneously burnish Scott's reputation *and* sell off even more stock of Waverley Novels if they too were illustrated in meaningful ways. After some experimentation, the first illustrations were commissioned in 1819; due to problems in their production, however—exacerbated by Constable's insistence that they had to be engraved in London, not Edinburgh—they were not finished in time for the first collected edition of Scott's novels, and had to be published separately the next year. Constable also had plans to issue a new Waverley Novel with illustrations as early as 1819—it was to have been *Ivanhoe*—but again, a variety of problems prevented this, and it was not until *Kenilworth* (1821) that London readers could purchase a brand-new novel, complete with illustrations, by the Author of Waverley.

After Constable, Robert Cadell became Scott's Edinburgh publisher—and it is Cadell whom Hill credits with truly recognizing the potential of illustrated novels. In this, Cadell had several natural advantages. For starters, he was able to take advantage of the growing popular taste in the 1820s for annuals and travel narratives that already featured illustrations. Printing technology had also improved; the transition from copper to steel engraving

meant that many more illustrations could be printed, much more cheaply, from a single plate. As well, with the rising demand for skilled engravers, the cost of hiring illustrators lessened accordingly, so that artists' fees became more manageable, and the artists themselves more tractable. Finally, especially after his 1827 bankruptcy made Scott even more eager to sell as much stock as possible, Cadell was able to gently marginalize the author's role in the process, "taking personal control of matters, using Scott as a consultant rather than as a creative force" (p. 94), as Hill politely puts it. The end result was the Magnum Opus edition, a triumph of marketing, planning, and organizing that deployed a small army of illustrators and engravers spanning London and Edinburgh (each of whom is listed in one of several extremely helpful catalogues and appendices provided by Hill).

Hill's final chapters focus on two of the Waverley Novels' most important illustrators, David Allan and Alexander Nasmyth. The former, Hill argues, was hand-groomed by Scott and his son-in-law J. B. Lockhart to become not only Scott's most trusted illustrator but also Scotland's pre-eminent painter of historical scenes; under their guidance and patronage, Allan went from being nearly broke to being elected president of the Royal Academy. Nasmyth has already received his due as a painter, but Hill argues he needs also to be recognized as a talented illustrator. To this end, Hill capably unpacks Nasmyth's many Waverley Novels contributions, including his theatrical sets, and focuses especially on his role in recreating Edinburgh's Old Town through his successive renderings of the Tolbooth featured in *The Heart of Mid-Lothian* (1818). Hill also makes a strong case for Nasmyth as the model for the character of Dick Tinto, the itinerant painter who features prominently in the opening chapter of *The Bride of Lammermoor* (1819).

The title of Alison Lumsden's *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language*, which explicitly echoes Ludwig Wittgenstein's famous dictum that "the limits of [my] language...mean the limits of my world" (quoted on p. 10), signals Lumsden's general approach to Scott as a creative writer who pushed the boundaries of what can be communicated in poetry and prose throughout his career. And who better to explore Scott's relationship to language than Lumsden, one of the General Editors of the Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels (as well as editor or co-editor of several specific volumes)? Indeed, throughout *Walter Scott and Limits of Language*, Lumsden brings to bear her intimate knowledge of the Edinburgh Edition's approach to the recreation of Scott's original intentions, which were frequently misunderstood (and, later in his career, sometimes just plain ignored or altered) by the many middle men who labored to translate his thousands of pages of manuscript into print. One of the major insights generated by the Edinburgh Edition's editorial process, Lumsden explains, was that Scott's enormous erudition and sly sense of humor often escaped even the best-intentioned proofers and printers. Thus, for example, in the first edition of *The Pirate* (1822), one pirate turns to another near the novel's conclusion and declares "But hold your own course—I have done with caring from you" (quoted on p. 2, emphasis added). As Lumsden explains, however, close reading of Scott's manuscript, combined with a knowledge of historical sailors' cant, made it "apparent that the word Scott has written is, in fact, 'canning', a nautical term used to describe giving sailing directions to the steersmen" (p. 2). Properly restored to the Edinburgh Edition of *The Pirate*, the line now holds additional significance, as well as further displaying Scott's gift for conveying an astonishing range of languages and dialects in his writing.

Lumsden's study puts the many fascinating discoveries of the Edinburgh Edition's editorial process to work within a chronological interpretation of Scott's writing career in relation to what she calls his "creative impulse...that privileged the complexities and suggestive potentialities of communication above transparency" (p. 3). After a wide-ranging introduction that makes a strong claim for reading Scott through the "linguistic turn" of twentieth-century analytical philosophy and poststructuralism, Lumsden's first chapter embarks on a welcome reconsideration of Scott's most important original long poems. Here, near the beginning of his career, Scott is still relatively optimistic about language's capacity to communicate effectively, and even to revivify the past (especially as it is retold by the minstrel-figure, an early favorite of Scott's many authorial stand-ins). Even in these early works, however, Scott is already productively complicating his own working models and chosen media; in *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* (1805), for instance, the recursive, non-linear nature of what Lumsden calls the "emotional time (the time of personal remembrance)" called forth by the minstrel's song implicitly challenges the essentially teleological historiography Scott inherited from his Scottish Enlightenment mentors (p. 46).

Such complications only multiply when Scott turns from poetry to the novel as his genre of choice. In successive chapters, we are taken on a grand (albeit necessarily selective) tour of Scott's novelistic oeuvre, beginning of course with *Waverley* (1814) and progressing through several of the great novels of the later 1810s. Chapter 3, for example, focuses on *The Heart of Mid-Lothian*, which Lumsden argues contains not just an unprecedented mélange of novelistic subgenres, but also an intellectual meta-debate (with no clear winner) between the relative fitnesses of "Romantic" and "Enlightened" discourses "to offer in themselves an adequate location for personal identity" (p. 127). The second half of *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language* brings readers to the less frequently discussed—but no less interesting—second half of Scott's novelistic career. Here, Lumsden is especially

good at debunking the claims of careless critics like John Sutherland, whose 1995 biography essentially dismisses the final novels altogether. By contrast, Lumsden makes a convincing case that *Peveil of the Peak* (1822)—Scott’s novel of Restoration intrigue surrounding the Popish Plot—in particular deserves more critical attention for its virtuosic demonstrations, through both plot and characterization, of “the ways in which words, divorced from any basis in signification, can be employed to distort” (p. 158). Likewise, *Count Robert of Paris* and *Castle Dangerous* (both 1831) are treated thoughtfully despite their evident lack of accessibility. Scott had indeed suffered multiple strokes before writing them, but Lumsden first suggests that only his physical abilities were severely impaired, and then argues that these last Waverley Novels are thematically continuous insofar as they can be seen to radically extend Scott’s lifelong interest in the vexed nature of all communication. Moreover, far from taking their inconclusive plots and abundant *memento mori* as evidence either of Scott’s late pessimism or lack of mental wholeness, Lumsden finds—especially via her reading of the fabulously idiosyncratic *Reliquiae Trotcosienses*, a semi-fictionalized account of Scott’s home and antiquarian treasures that was suppressed until Lumsden and Gerard Carruthers brought it out with Edinburgh University Press and The Abbotsford Library Project Trust in 2004—that these volumes demonstrate the Author of Waverley’s ultimate fidelity to an ethic of storytelling. If Scott’s work continues to bear meaning, Lumsden argues, then this is at least in part because we can recognize in his tireless creativity “the realization that the only way to defeat the epistemological certainties of language that have death at their centre is to work not towards closure, but towards digression” (p. 222). Accordingly, I finished *Walter Scott and the Limits of Language* with the happy realization that the best way to honor Scott’s legacy is to return, without fail or finish, to his poems and novels themselves.

Evan Gottlieb, Oregon State University

Fiona Stafford, *Local Attachments: The Province of Poetry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. 356.

Fiona Stafford’s book provides new vitality to the idea that the Romantic period represents a time of power-shifting seriousness, or “a defining moment in literary history, when local detail ceased to be regarded as transient, irrelevant, or restrictive, and began to seem essential to art with any aspiration to permanence” (p. 30). Like a number of scholars over the past decade and a half, Stafford has been undoing an all-too-canonical version of “high” Romanticism that tended to focus on half a dozen “big” poets (to the exclusion of Robert Burns and Walter Scott), to say nothing of novelists such as Jane Austen. One of the many moments of delightful redrawing of connection in *Local Attachments* is an analogy between Austen’s writing, as influenced by the Napoleonic Wars, and that of Seamus Heaney, as informed by the Troubles in Northern Ireland. There is throughout Stafford’s treatment a connectivity between seemingly disparate places (and sometimes milieu) and an attention to historical detail, both of which usefully serve to qualify the old definition of a rather magisterial Romanticism of “transcendence.” As Stafford reminds us by opening her book with a superb reading of Heaney’s writing on poetry and his poetry itself, however, the Romantic age remains powerfully with us today: in the ways in which we see place and landscape, the world (aesthetically), and also in the sense that we expect poetry to “do” something (practically), to move us (each and every individual) in ways it was not expected to prior to the late eighteenth century. It is not without some irony that one of Romanticism’s greatest heirs should be identified with Ulster, the most awkward “place” in the British Isles.

Along with Heaney, the dominant poets with whom Stafford deals in her wide-ranging treatment are Burns, Scott, Wordsworth, and Keats. Of most interest to readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* of course are the two Scotsmen. Stafford’s chapter arrangement is refreshingly counter-intuitive, with “Scott’s Border Vision” preceding “Robert Burns’s Addresses.” The former has much to say (reinvigorating an old Romantic idea about the importance of childhood) about Scott’s formative years prior to him having any knowledge of Burns. Scott also “like Heaney, became a poet when his roots crossed with his reading” (p. 137), something that Stafford traces through Scott’s immersion in medieval ballads, Gottfried Bürger, and German literature, and Burns himself (the book’s insistence on Scott’s admiration for Burns provides a useful corrective to an old chestnut of creaky Scottish criticism that Scott was in some deep ways hostile to Burns). As with Burns, Stafford traces in Scott’s multifariousness of influence not a Scottish problem (uncertainty of identity) but the cosmopolitan opportunity provided by the Romantic age in its new international awareness as well as crucially, its attention to “province,” region, or previously marginalized locality. The chapter on Burns takes us on an arc from Wordsworth’s response to Burns, through a wealth of detail on Burns’s reading in (effectively his place in) a long British literary canon, his sometimes fraught negotiations with real places—Ayrshire and Edinburgh—ending with a superb reading of the literary plenitude of “Tam o’ Shanter,” one of the most specific place poems in all of Scottish literature. As with Heaney, so too for Burns: imaginative or literary place emerges in some ways more triumphantly than the actual, awkward places in which he lived. Romantic poetry at its best brings about human (or expressive) transcendence rather than perfect poetic object. For Burns, as for Wordsworth and Scott, the welter of new world-shaking experience

unleashed from the end of the eighteenth century brings about a series of "problems" relating to identity and place. These are not, as Stafford's hook helpfully reminds us, unique to Scotland but instead represent the attempt to accommodate new national, international, regionally aware, and urban cultures that were confronting (and continue to confront) the whole of the western world. *Local Attachments* is a valuable contribution to post-Romantic British literary history, ranging across much quotidian (human) detail and many texts to produce a precise and compelling location of the Romantic aesthetic as transiently operative across the real and artistic world.

Gerard Carruthers, University of Glasgow

Pam Perkins, *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment*. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2010. Pp. 319.

Perhaps the two Scottish texts that loom largest in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century women's literary history are James Gregory's *A Father's Legacy to his Daughters* (1774) and James Fordyce's *Sermons to Young Women* (1765). These popular conduct books have been used to explain the gendering of public and private spheres and the negative consequences of this division for literary and intellectual women in a range of feminist texts, from the work that launched the feminist movement, Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (1792), to classic feminist literary studies of the twentieth century, such as Mary Poovey's *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer* (1985). Pam Perkins in her new book *Women Writers and the Edinburgh Enlightenment* revises established accounts of women's literary history by recovering the work of three Edinburgh writers, Elizabeth Hamilton, Anne Grant, and Christian Isobel Johnstone. In doing so, she joins critics like Betty Schellenberg and Clifford Siskin in drawing a more nuanced and complex portrait of the public and private divide. She claims that unlike their English contemporaries, such as Jane Austen, the women writers of Edinburgh participated actively in the public sphere as writers, editors, and intellectuals while still being perceived as bearers of the kind of domestic femininity so valued by writers like Fordyce and Gregory. While English women writers might run the risk of scandal or criticism for publishing under their own names or writing outside the safe confines of domestic fiction, the women writers of Edinburgh were able to publish more widely because public displays of intellectual achievement and private expressions of domestic virtues were not seen as mutually exclusive in turn-of-the-century Edinburgh.

Perkins develops her argument in her second chapter through an analysis of the life and work of Elizabeth Hamilton, arguing that because Hamilton personified the virtues of domestic femininity, she was free to work in genres that were dominated by men. Instead of writing domestic fiction, Hamilton published works such as her philosophical novel *Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1796), which was dedicated to William Hamilton, and engaged in contemporary debates over the role of the British East India Company in Asia. She also wrote *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, Wife of Germanicus* (1804), a meditation on Roman virtue indebted to Tacitus as well as the Scottish conjectural method. Through careful archival research, Perkins also illustrates Hamilton's connections with and influence on important members of the Edinburgh Enlightenment, particularly her correspondence with Dugald Stewart and her engagement with the ideas of Francis Jeffrey and his *Edinburgh Review*.

Perkins provides another new perspective on Enlightenment Edinburgh in her reading of Anne Grant's work on Highland culture and "primitivism." Instead of approaching these topics through the usual access points, such as Henry Mackenzie's report on Ossian's authenticity or the philosopher Adam Ferguson's upbringing in the Highlands, Perkins demonstrates how Grant in *The Highlanders* (1806) creates a feminine position of "innocence and artlessness" that complements her analysis of the "primitive" Highlanders with whom she identifies (p. 167). Perkins's work on Grant draws attention to the Ossian poems and the Highlands as a "lady's fashion" (p. 168), and she convincingly argues that Grant dissociated the Highlands from "the 'masculine' worlds of violence and war" and created them as an "alternative to public commercial modernity" that resembled the "private realm of feminine domesticity" (p. 179).

In the final chapter, Perkins uses the work of Christian Johnstone to revisit the relationship between anonymity and women's writing. Instead of seeing Johnstone's anonymous contributions to early nineteenth-century periodicals, such as *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, *The Schoolmaster*, and *Johnstone's Edinburgh Magazine*, as an effect of her adherence to the repressive codes of domestic femininity, Perkins takes Johnstone out of this metanarrative of nineteenth-century women's writing and places her work beside the anonymous works of writers like Walter Scott and James Hogg as well as the host of anonymous periodical contributors to the *Edinburgh Review* and *Blackwood's Magazine*. Perkins's treatment of Johnstone allows readers to see her work as an editor and co-editor of the journals in which she published as well as her essays and published fiction as part of a story that both changes and exceeds women's literary history.

Although it was difficult to accept and understand, at times, how the writers Perkins discussed were self-consciously embracing and embodying the tenets of domestic femininity, Perkins's careful research shows convincingly that the work of these Scottish writers calls for a revision of existing accounts of women's literary his-

tory. Ultimately, Perkins's fascinating book makes possible a new and more sophisticated account of British women's writing that does not rely solely for evidence on the well-known domestic fiction of England, but also looks to Scotland and, ideally, throughout the British archipelago and empire for new and surprising sources.

JoEllen DeLucia, Central Michigan University

Elizabeth Hamilton, *The Cottagers of Glenburnie and Other Educational Writings*. Edited by Pam Perkins. Glasgow: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2010. Pp. viii + 376.

Readers who wish to peruse more of Elizabeth Hamilton's writings than her well known *Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah* (1796) are in for a treat with this volume—the 38th in a series from The Association for Scottish Literary Studies—edited by Pam Perkins. Perkins, who contributes an insightful and thorough introduction, brings together Hamilton's immensely popular didactic novel *The Cottagers of Glenburnie* (1808) with resonant selections from three of her nonfictional texts: *Letters on the Elementary Principles of Education* (1801), *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, Wife of Germanicus* (1804), and *Letters Addressed to the Daughter of a Nobleman* (1806). Taken separately or as a group, these works attest to Hamilton's serious interaction with theories of the mind (from Locke to principal figures of the Scottish Enlightenment such as David Hartley, Thomas Reid, and especially Dugald Stewart), current discourse about the philosophy and praxis of education (both early education and lifelong education), and debates about pressing matters such as the slave trade and the place of the Scots, women, and the poor in British society. A variety of readers will be glad to have this book on their shelves.

The selection of texts in this volume show how Hamilton worked against what she saw as a certain enervating entropy with respect to "the children of Caledonia"—particularly the impoverished children of Caledonia—on the one hand and the plight of "daughters, sisters, wives, mothers" on the other (*Glenburnie*, p. 48; *Letters on the Elementary Principles*, p. 266). As she put it in the dedicatory letter to *Glenburnie*, Hamilton decried those persons who derided "the great mass of the people" as "so many teeth in the wheels of a piece of machinery"; she recommended a revaluing of "national happiness" as "the aggregate sum of individual happiness, and individual virtue" across genders and classes (*Glenburnie*, p. 49). Equally clear in these texts, particularly the star piece, the popular novel *Glenburnie*, is Hamilton's impatience with individuals who were content with simply doing "weel enough" and who "cou'dna be fashed" (those are the common and quasi-comical refrains of *Glenburnie*) to make changes to better their lives or the lives of their children, likening such attitudes to "bad air" or to "arsenic in a glass of water" (p. 144), Hamilton, through her satirical exposure of the fictional MacClarty family (colorful hoarders whose very butter bristles with hair, fingerprints, and dirt), offers *Glenburnie* as the reforming antidote it was taken to be by its many nineteenth-century readers.

One of the best things about this edition is its affordability. Francis Jeffrey's 1808 review of *Glenburnie*, included in Perkins's appendix, gushed, "we have not met with any thing nearly so good as this, since we read the *Castle Rackrent* and the *Popular Tales of Miss Edgeworth*" (p. 341), but he did complain that the volume was expensive; he called for it to be printed instead "upon coarse paper, at such a price as may enable the volume to find its way into the cottage library" (p. 342). Thanks to the ASLS, today's reader who wishes to include Hamilton on a syllabus will have no trouble justifying the expense to students. And, happily, although Jeffrey seems to have believed that physical quality was incommensurable with a low price, this ASLS volume's affordability does not appear to have affected the paper quality. Moreover, today's reader will appreciate the generous large type, as well as Perkins's enlightening headnotes and endnotes and useful glossary of Scottish terms.

Rivka Swenson, Virginia Commonwealth University

Erik Simpson, *Literary Minstrelsy, 1770–1830: Minstrels and Improvisers in British, Irish, and American Literature*. Basingstoke, UK, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008. Palgrave Studies in the Enlightenment, Romanticism and Cultures of Print. Pp. ix + 215.

In this book, originating from a dissertation written at the University of Pennsylvania, Erik Simpson explores the literary convention of the minstrel, or as one of his early headings describes it, "the heard overheard." Simpson sets the genre of minstrel writing, with the image of the minstrel or improviser performing in front of an audience—often to earn his keep—in opposition with the Romantic ideals of Wordsworth and Coleridge, in which poetry requires neither performance to an audience, nor the subservience implied by patronage, nor, indeed, an earned income at all. We are furthermore reminded that in literary minstrelsy, the minstrel tends to be an integral part of the action, whereas writers espousing the Romantic ideal tended to use the minstrel as a device of separation, turning away from the minstrel and his art in order to focus the reader's attention on the inward contemplation of the poet himself. As Simpson says, this is "the opposition between the harp and the pen," although the proponents of the pen (such as Coleridge) tended to forget the importance of commerce and the printing press in promulgating their poetic output.

Of course, the device of the minstrel is not purely a Scottish phenomenon; and the same applies to the metaphors of rare flowers, precious jewels, and so on that accompany minstrel tales (and indeed many national song collections) of this time, with their dire overt or implied warnings that national repertoires will decay along with the minstrels, unless a conscious effort is made to preserve them. After the initial chapter introducing "The Minstrel Mode," there follows a chapter on Sydney Owenson and Irish Internationalism, while Thomas Moore—like Sir Walter Scott—again has a pervasive influence throughout the book. A further chapter is occupied by an examination of James Beattie's influence on Byron and Wordsworth, notwithstanding Wordsworth's opposition to the minstrel genre.

Over and above the main theme of this work, there is considerable value in having the work of contemporary writers in similar or related genres, but different nations, set alongside one another for comparative purposes. The juxtaposition of Scottish and Irish minstrel writing sheds light on both repertoires; but Simpson extends our view by introducing us, in the third chapter, to "The Minstrels of Modern Italy," with a focus on the related concept of *improvvisatori* and *improvvisatrici* as exemplified by the French writer Germaine de Staël, the author of a book which in English became *Corinne, or Italy*.

A subtext, of course, is the role not just of female "minstrels" and *improvvisatrici*, but also of literary women at the turn of the eighteenth century and the early years of the nineteenth, while the role of those disenfranchised by gender, denomination, or educational opportunity is further explored later in Simpson's chapter on prize poems, in which he examines prize and contest poems by James Hogg, Letitia Elizabeth Landon, and Felicia Hemans. Simpson's sixth and final chapter travels to the United States to deal with the transatlantic minstrelsy of James Fenimore Cooper's *The Last of the Mohicans* (1826), stopping before the slightly later American development of blackface performance.

Although, at first glance, the scope of this study extends both geographically and chronologically beyond the scope of eighteenth-century Scottish studies, there is more than enough here to interest scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland. As already mentioned, James Beattie's *The Minstrel: Or, the Progress of Genius* (1771 and 1774) is one of the foci of chapter 4, while Hogg receives a worthy mention in the subsequent chapter, and Scott's own take on minstrelsy pervades the volume to a considerable extent. (Let us not forget that Scott was very much driven by commercial instincts himself, too; his approach to writing was far from the Romantic ideal of an artist unconcerned about the provenance of his daily crust.)

If any criticisms are to be made, they concern issues of structure. Simpson could usefully have drawn our attention early on to the most recent commentaries, and to any modern studies that he found particularly useful, if only for the guidance of readers coming fresh to the subject of minstrel-writing. Certainly, reference is made to such studies in the endnotes, but there would have been value in foregrounding these a little more prominently. Secondly, the conclusion seems to be devoted more to winding up the final chapter—which admittedly addresses the chronological end of the genre, and the transatlantic shift—than to encompassing and summarizing all that has gone before, and giving more of a sense of overview along with the final conclusions.

Despite these observations, Simpson's monograph is to be commended for introducing us to a wider picture in such a way that less familiar subjects remain accessible to the non-specialist in those areas, while his references and bibliography bear witness to ample research both of modern commentary and original sources. It is too easy for individual scholars to become so enmeshed in their own specialty that their broader vision becomes unduly trammled, and in this respect, many will be grateful for a wide-ranging discussion of the varied angles from which the minstrel genre can be viewed.

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

Alex Benchimol, *Intellectual Politics and Cultural Conflict in the Romantic Period: Scottish Whigs, English Radicals and the Making of the British Public Sphere*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010. Pp. x + 236.

The Habermasian public sphere has made significant inroads into cultural theory, though perhaps rather less so in the realm of literary criticism. Nevertheless, although there are occasional doubters, Habermas's idea, refined by concepts such as counter-publics, which lay emphasis on the associational culture of radical outgroups, has gained a considerable following.

Despite its contribution to modern nationalism, the public sphere is not often precisely historicized in terms of particular cultural conditions or national contestations of associational culture. National public spheres are a very important part of the development of the concept, even though the fragmented quality of the German states in the early modern period and the recent context of the Second World War made it difficult, perhaps, for Habermas to address this question head on.

Alex Benchimol has done so in this very interesting book. By examining different Scottish and English approaches to the discourses and expectations of the public sphere, he has provided a valuable and strongly evi-

denced Habermasian reading of the public sphere as a contested space struggled over by competing national cultures.

The book opens with successive discussions of cultural conflict in the Romantic period and the relationship between cultural theory and the Habermasian public sphere. It goes on to explore how a separate Scottish public sphere developed and survived, and examines its relationship to periodical culture and the Romantic movement, while also detailing the development of the English radical counterpublic. The balance between the Scottish Enlightenment bourgeoisie and gentry and English radical writing and association is highly original and very fruitful, with its suggestion of the role of nation and class in the development of the public sphere, and the twin inheritances of professional and critical discourses in Scotland and contingency and the search for an audience in radical England. Benchimol traces both forward to the verge of the Victorian era.

In many respects, Benchimol's argument revisits the territory of Anand Chitnis's *The Scottish Enlightenment and Early Victorian Society* (1986), but does so in a way which amplifies Chitnis's praiseworthy though now sometimes overlooked approach into examining the "pre-history" of "the competing liberal and radical publics" (p. 15) of Scotland and England before going on to trace these through into the age of Carlyle. The Scottish periodicals occupy a pivotal role: beginning as a "bourgeois cultural criticism" (p. 15) that was a secondary effect of the Scottish Enlightenment, their encounter with the British and European politics of the 1790–1820 era served to transform them into taking a distinctively Scottish slant on the major issues of the day. Read back-to-back with the competing sphere of radical English protest writing, *Intellectual Politics* presents a parallel history of British public discourse as riven along national lines, with many political positions reflecting the underpinning public, institutional, and associational history of each country respectively.

This is a truly fresh and original book. Some of the connections it suggests between Nelson's democratic touch and Sir Francis Burdett's allusion to "England expects" (p. 191) remain under-explored, but in opening such a rich field, in which "rival national cultural histories" (p. 209) inform the argument within Great Britain's public spheres as to what their priorities were, Benchimol has provided an approach which can unpack lazy generalizations and ideological overdeterminations of unitary Britishness alike, and bids fair to make a very significant contribution to scholarship in the long eighteenth century.

Murray Pittock, University of Glasgow

James Boswell, *London Journal 1762–1763*. Edited with an Introduction by Gordon Turnbull. London: Penguin Books, 2010. Penguin Classics. Pp. lviii + 592.

With his seminal edition of 1950, Frederick A. Pottle ascribed the title *Boswell's London Journal 1762–1763* to Boswell's diaries of those years and gave momentum to the scholarship which has produced the inestimable Yale editions. Six decades on, Gordon Turnbull has re-edited the manuscript, researching and annotating afresh with access to Pottle's marginal corrections, the correspondence prompted by the 1950 edition, and notes for Rufus Reiberg's projected volume of Boswell's early journals. The result is a formidable achievement.

Turnbull's "Note on the Text" clearly differentiates his editorial practice from that of his distinguished predecessor. Modernized by Pottle, Boswell's spelling, punctuation, and paragraphing are restored. Turnbull cites Claude Colleer Abbott in support of this decision, but he counters Abbott's regret that some material in Pottle's annotations "were better omitted." If the reader finds his annotation excessive, Turnbull amiably invites him to ignore it! A further change is the restoration of details of sexual exploits which Boswell's descendants attempted to delete.

Noting that while the journals were found at Fettercairn in 1930, the daily agendas, termed "memoranda" by editors, were discovered among the private papers of Boswell at Malahide Castle, Turnbull construes that the memoranda were not intended by Boswell as part of his journal. Whereas Pottle excluded most of these, Turnbull prefaces each journal entry with the appropriate daily agenda. This makes for some telling juxtapositions. Together the memoranda and diary entries constitute a personal conduct manual and a record of experience (which often indicates the shortfall). Boswell wants practical sense to inform his life. "Never sit up after 12 all the Winter," he reminds himself. Attention is paid to details of his busy daily round: one entry ranges from "Buy finer sugar & order muffins" to "Continue to see Mrs. Ward. At night Park & your Red cloak'd Dulcinea." Memoranda encompass self-rehuke ("You have raked 3 days now, be sober") and self-congratulation ("You are now on good Plan"). Diary entries incorporate evaluation of his conduct: the memorandum for a visit to the Duke of Queensberry, whom he hoped would secure him a commission in the Guards, includes, "modest but free. be in earnest press home," which is offset by the entry, "I was rather more basfull than I could have wished." Conversely, his attendance in a company of hundreds at Northumberland House is a personal triumph: "I could observe People looking at me with envy, as a man of some distinction & a favourite of My Lady's. Bravo thought I... There's conduct for you." Turnbull comments that Boswell "sought a self-validation in the applause of the great British metropolis";

hence the cultivation of the most eminent. In one entry he aims to be an amalgam of the best qualities of Addison, Steele, and the actor West Digges. Writ large through the text is Boswell's need for self-identification in relation to greatness: "I breakfasted with Mr. Garrick. I was proud at being admitted to the Society of so great an Actor." His ultimate accolade is in hosting a supper for Johnson, Goldsmith, and others at the Mitre Tavern, after which he records his intention of occupying Johnson's garret when the great man is no more.

Boswell encapsulates his design for life in the phrase, *otium cum dignitate*. Success, he reminds himself constantly, requires that he be *retenu* (glossed as "self-disciplined and restrained"), involving curbing his talent for "nettling" people, a Scottish characteristic which he possessed in abundance. Boswell exemplifies the problem facing the Scot of ability: the Scottish stage is too small, the audience regularly the same. As Turnbull says, "Boswell wanted to shake free of the familiar and escape the negative gaze of a narrow world of punitive, censorious, deflating scrutiny"—a feeling shared by Robert Louis Stevenson, vividly dramatized by George Douglas Brown in his novel, *The House with the Green Shutters* (1901), and identified by Edwin Muir in *Scottish Journey* (1935) as an enduring Scottish problem. Turnbull recognizes the inherent paradox in Boswell's situation: "his ambitions of personal distinction need to be pursued 'without being known or look'd at', for he can indulge liberty and whim only in the bustling and crowded non-particularity of London's urban gaze." Visits from Scots including William Robertson and James Fordyce are characterized by what Boswell terms "Edinburgh familiarity and railery." Dinner in the company of Lord Eglinton's housekeeper, a lady possessed of an "abominable Glasgow tongue," prompts the resolve "never again to dine where a Scotch-woman from the west was allowed to feed with us." "Hameley" encounters with the Erskines of Kellie leave him "hurt with the taunts of ridicule," eliciting the memorandum, "learn genteel...so as to be proof against Fife vulgarity." Yet their support of the Stuarts strikes a chord with him, and when they return north he acknowledges the value of their company.

Recounting taking leave of his parents, Boswell writes: "the idea of being my own Master pleased me much"; and he enthuses: "I have discovered that we may be in some degree whatever character we chuse." Yet he deludes himself in believing he can free himself from the shaping influences of family, religion, and culture. Here the divergence of illusion and reality is manifest: "I shall never forget the dismal hours of Apprehension, that I have endured in my youth from narrow notions of Religion while my tender mind was lacerated with infernal horror. I am surprised how I have got rid of these notions so entirely." As Turnbull notes, Boswell's father's "unswerving expectation, prescribing the pattern of his son's life, emerges as a kind of secular equivalent of the determinist Calvinistic deity." The affinities with Stevenson's *Weir of Hermiston* (1896) are striking, with Boswell in the role of Archie, his father that of Lord Hermiston, and Boswell's sympathetic great-uncle, Basil Cochrane, equating with the humane Lord Glenalmond.

Lord Auchinleck's values were anathema to his son in two important respects: he scorned what he termed "scribbling," and he warned against mimicry. Acting was attractive to his son in offering an alternative to the formed self. Boswell wrote of his adolescence when he "used to walk down the Cannongate, & think of Players with a mixture of narrow-minded horror, & lively-minded pleasure." Conceivably his attendance at Thomas Sheridan's elocution classes in Edinburgh was motivated by the prospect of a thespian career as much as the wish to conceal his Scottish origins. Certainly the journal abounds with instances of role-playing: "resolved to be a Black-guard," he picks up a series of women whom he tells he is a barber or a highwayman, only to find his vanity gratified in that he was "always taken for a Gentleman in disguise"; and "solacing" his existence with a succession of whores, he comments: "I thought myself Captain Macheath." "Louisa" he enjoys "as an Actress who had played many a fine Lady's part"; and of another encounter he remarks: "I approached her with something like the air of a Tragedy Hero." Boswell is not merely recording his experiences: he is observing himself playing roles in situations that he has created. In this early journal he hones the talent for stage-management that would serve him so well in his *Life of Samuel Johnson*; but here the subject is himself. At times his self-observation in the role of benefactor is redolent of such Men of Feeling as Mackenzie's Harley and Sterne's Yorick: the donation of sixpence to an urchin is lauded as "a specimen of my own tenderness of disposition and willingness to relieve my fellow creatures." Also typical of sentimental fiction is the way in which Boswell scrutinizes not just his own behavior but the responses of others to it. Here is his evaluation of his participation in a discussion of Helvetius, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Hume: "I was rational & composed, yet lively & entertaining. I had a good opinion of myself, & I could perceive my friend Temple much satisfied with me."

Rightly, Turnbull observes that in his journals Boswell "is both subject and observer, centrally involved yet strangely detached." This ambivalence is reflected in his prose in fluctuations between first, second, and third persons, and in pronoun slippage (the latter also a feature of Burns's letters). Likewise, the lure of immediacy is such that after two weeks Boswell eschews the perfect tense in favor of the present. Such immediacy is essential for conveying the flux of experience and response. As Boswell notes, "The mind of a young man (his Gallery I mean) is often furnished different ways."

Boswell's characteristic mix of naivety and candor produces much to delight connoisseurs of irony. At times his unwitting revelation of self and self-contradiction recalls the self-ironizing monologues of Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, Galt's *Annals of the Parish*, Hogg's *Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, and poems of Burns such as "Holy Willie's Prayer." Noting that he has sought the advice of Sir David Dalrymple (Lord Hailes) on conduct and reading, young Boswell remarks: "This was paying him a high Compliment." On discovering that the author of an anonymous letter is William Cochrane, judge-advocate for Scotland, Boswell exclaims: "I did not think he had humour enough to write such a letter & I told him so." Having explained to Andrew Erskine the superior status of friend over companion, and having assigned him to the latter category, Boswell finds inexplicable Erskine's failure to write. Encountering Lady Margaret Hume, whom he had stood up, he reproduces her words, apparently oblivious to the knife in the velvet glove: "She seemed to understand my worth, & said it was a pity that I should just be lost in the common stream of people here." Highly ironic in the light of his obsessive pursuit of a commission is Boswell's observation on finding that Oxford student, William Shepherd, longs for a military career: "So strangely do people mistake themselves!"

"What a curious inconsistent thing is the mind of Man!," Boswell exclaims, and then explains what has prompted this comment: "In the midst of divine service I was laying plans for having women, & yet I had the most sincere feelings of Religion." Boswell sets a goal of consistency which is at odds with human complexity. This he acknowledges when a discussion of Hamlet with Sheridan leads him to observe, "notwithstanding of his seeming incongruities, [Hamlet] is a perfectly consistent character." Boswell's candid self-presentation, incongruities and all, as he wages the battle between reason and instinct, endows his account with universal appeal. With justification Turnbull sees Boswell's journal "belonging uniquely to the literature both of the time in which it was written and the time in which it was recovered and published."

The journal's further value is in the access it provides to the time in which it was written. Boswell is our roving eye on London life in its diversity. The reader is transported from salons to Newgate; from the arrival of the Venetian ambassadors to Buckingham House, where our guide talks to the sentries; from the House of Commons, where he extols the oratory of Pitt, to "Mrs. Salmon's famous wax-work in fleetstreet," where exhibits include replicas of three Cherokees, recent visitors to London. Partly owing to Boswell's ability to "nettle" people, the reader is present at debates involving the foremost figures of the day, such as Goldsmith, Sheridan, and Garrick, on topics ranging from acting to the sublimity of Ossian and Hume's prose style. And, preeminently, we have access to Johnson's views on diverse subjects and the good doctor at his apophthegmatic best ("He talked of the anxiety which Men have for Fame; and how the greater it is, the more affraid are they of losing it"; "He said that great parts were not requisite for a Historian; as in that kind of composition, all the greatest powers of the human mind are quiescent").

In all of this, the editor's richly informative annotation is invaluable. It is particularly gratifying that this work of meticulous scholarship is available in paperback under a popular imprint. Hopefully it will raise awareness of Boswell in the popular consciousness, not least in Scotland.

Kenneth Simpson, University of Glasgow

James Boswell: The Journal of his German and Swiss Travels, 1764. Edited by Marlies K. Danziger. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press; New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press. Pp. liii + 436.

This journal was first published in 1928 by Geoffrey Scott in the *Private Papers of James Boswell* and was re-edited in 1953 by F. A. Pottle for the "trade" or "reading" edition, where it forms the first volume of *Boswell on the Grand Tour*. The present edition, edited by Marlies Danziger as the first in the Yale Research Series of Boswell's Journals, offers a revised and more complete text, including Boswell's daily memoranda, along with his "Ten lines a day" verses. It respects the original spelling and punctuation of the manuscripts (including those in imperfect French) and offers comprehensive critical, historical, and linguistic notes. There are also valuable appendices, which include writings related to Boswell's meeting with Rousseau and maps illustrating his itinerary.

The journal begins on 18 June 1764 when Boswell, after having spent just under a year in Utrecht, set out to travel through Germany and Switzerland; it ends on New Year's day 1765, when he crossed the Alps on his way to Italy. During most of the travels he was on his own, a young Scottish gentleman armed with letters of introduction mainly to German courts. This was very different from the arrangements made by the typical wealthy British aristocrat on the Grand Tour, who was normally accompanied by a tutor and servants and whose itinerary did not include Germany (or such outlandish places as Corsica, visited by Boswell later). The present simple adaptation by the editor of Boswell's own title: "Journal of my travels," is obviously preferable to "Boswell on the Grand Tour."

It has long been recognized that the journal is a splendid source of information on the countries visited. Boswell describes the primitive conditions of transport in public conveyances and the discomfort of accommodation in country inns; he gives brief descriptions of towns and cities and has a keen interest in buildings, paintings,

and the contents of libraries; he offers interesting observations on the people he met, who range from heads of State to ordinary servants and include diplomats, librarians, academics, administrators, and literary figures, of whom the most distinguished were Rousseau and Voltaire. The annotation of this dense mass of material is exemplary, drawing on a multitude of sources, including German and Swiss archives.

Pottle, in his introduction to the trade edition, complains that the Journal "has little if any overall design" apart from the chronological sequence of places visited. However, there is, in fact, a design insofar as its main subject is James Boswell himself who, as always, is in search of his identity. For Boswell a journal was by no means a simple factual record; his opinion on this was later expressed to Johnson: "As a lady adjusts her dress before a mirror, a man adjusts his character by looking at his journal." This use of the journal was put into practice during his stay in Utrecht, when he tried, unsuccessfully, to model himself on Johnson. The journal would continue to be a means of self-examination, but according to a different plan, which rejected the idea of taking another person as a model: "I must be Mr Boswell of Auchinleck and no other. Let me make him as perfect as possible" (20 July 1764). To achieve this goal he had to overcome a sense of inferiority which he attributed to his Scottish education. This he soon resolved, and it was as a proud Scot that he sported, in full view of Frederick the Great (who refused to meet him), a Scottish bonnet. He also had to learn to be "retenu" (discreet) and sometimes he failed miserably, as when, in Berlin, in the presence of the Dutch ambassador, he blurted out that Belle de Zuylen had too much wit for the Dutch; this occasioned a characteristic reproof recorded in the journal: "Blockhead that I was! Let never man blunder out reflections against any country when he does not very well know his company" (8 July). However, little by little, thanks to the experience of travel and self-examination, he achieved a remarkable degree of confidence and self-improvement. As Marlies Danziger points out in her introduction, the great test came when Boswell made elaborate plans to meet Rousseau and Voltaire. The result was a triumph: Boswell conducted himself, not as a passive spectator with a sense of inferiority, but as an active participant in a series of lively and unforgettable dialogues. As he left for Italy he could not help congratulating himself that, at least for the moment, he had found the true Boswell and writes to Temple on 28 December, "Now I am a very different man. I have got another character which I am proud of."

The editing of the work is to the highest standards. The introduction is informative on the historical background and perceptive on Boswell's character and ideas (including his hypochondria and religious beliefs). The editorial decision to include the memoranda and manuscript drafts offers the reader invaluable sources for the study of how Boswell turns raw material into fluent prose. This is an edition offering a fascinating text which will be read for its own sake and, thanks to the comprehensive notes and the excellent index, will be consulted as a valuable work of reference, both by students of Boswell and by those with a more general interest in the period.

Cecil Patrick Courtney, *Christ's College, Cambridge*

Tara Ghoshal Wallace, *Imperial Characters Home and Periphery in Eighteenth-Century Literature*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2010. Pp. 244.

Juliet Shields, *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity, 1745–1820*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Pp. viii + 224.

Tara Wallace's excellent book on how a range of British writers engage with the theme of empire challenges some well-established critical orthodoxies. Providing a neat and satisfying chronological framing for a study of writers in the long eighteenth century, the introductory chapter examines the imperial theme in Aphra Behn's seventeenth-century work *Oroonoko* and in Robert Louis Stevenson's nineteenth-century novel *The Master of Ballantrae*. She begins, that is, with two writers, one English, one Scottish. But here, as in the rest of her book, she resists the idea that there is any fixed "Scottish" response to the idea of empire that sets it apart from that of mainstream, metropolitan English writers. What this means is that her book challenges the view that postcolonial literary theory can be unproblematically deployed in the study of Scottish literature—even when the theme of empire itself is being addressed by Scottish writers. Inevitably Edward Said and Homi Bhabha are cited in the text, but their views are qualified, if not rejected. Thus, Wallace says that the texts she analyzes "provide a corrective to the kind of postcolonial criticism that posits collusion between literary text and imperial agenda" (p. 18). To Said's suggestion that "in the main departments of cultural thought" there was little resistance to the notion of an imperial mission, she responds that in fact "popular and authoritative British writers from Alexander Pope to Walter Scott warn that imperial power poses grave social and moral dangers for the metropole" (p.18). Similarly, she questions the post-Said orthodoxy that the late eighteenth-century British Orientalists were no more than "a covert arm of imperialism, no less violent in their effects than press-gangs and naval armaments" (p. 143).

Rather than postcolonial clichés, *Imperial Characters* provides the reader with a series of subtle and nuanced studies of groupings of texts in which issues involving the development of the British Empire are explored.

Thus, Pope's "Windsor Forest" is juxtaposed with Thomson's "Seasons"; Defoe's *Colonel Jack* and *Moll Flanders* with Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*; Robert Bage's *Hernsprong* with Elizabeth Hamilton's *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*; and Scott's *Guy Mannering* with his story *The Surgeon's Daughter*. In each case the groupings work effectively to illuminate the individual texts. Both "Windsor Forest" and "The Seasons" recognize and even celebrate Britain's imperial expansion, but Pope emphasizes "the cultural and moral difficulties inherent to successful empire building" (pp. 37–38), while Thomson (the Scot) provides an "ultimately reassuring portrait of a world in which Britannia rules" (p.65). In the case of Defoe and Smollett, however, the roles are reversed. In Defoe's novels, the American colonies are a New World seen in a largely positive light as offering native Britons a fresh start and a hopeful future. For Smollett (the Scot), on the other hand, imperial adventuring is morally and physically dangerous, and represents a destabilizing threat to the home country. Robert Bage and Elizabeth Hamilton are probably somewhat less popular and authoritative British writers, but Professor Wallace expertly uses the differences between them—Bage was a political radical while Hamilton was a consciously conservative anti-Jacobin Scot—to show how fictional characters from the imperial periphery could voice effective criticism of the imperial centre.

Imperial Characters is highly recommended as an elegantly written and exciting addition to the growing bibliography of work on the theme of empire in eighteenth-century Scottish and English literature. Juliet Shields's *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity*, published as part of the Cambridge Studies of Romanticism series, has quite a lot in common with Tara Wallace's volume. And by this I mean rather more than that some of the same texts—*Humphry Clinker* and *Letters of a Hindoo Rajah*—are analyzed in both books. Each work challenges a different set of critical orthodoxies. Shields's book throughout its length makes a striking case for the critical importance of eighteenth-century sentimental literature in the creation of something as central as an emerging English, Scottish, and British national identity. Hence, in her conclusion Shields is able to argue that traditional literary historiography has unfairly marginalized sentimental writing. Histories of the development of the novel in the eighteenth century have been too Anglocentric in their focus; women writers have been assumed to predominate in sentimental literature; sentiment has not been seen as the literary tool of the politically dispossessed (women and Scots); and sentimental novels have dared to value rural peripheries over the metropolitan center. What has not been recognized in this conventional account is that both women and Scottish writers produced a sentimental literature with the same end in view: "to expand the boundaries of a national community and a literary sphere that were predominantly English and male, and thus to facilitate their own integration" (p.171).

To make its case, *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity* in five chapters analyzes a series of works ranging from Macpherson's *Ossian* through Mackenzie's *Man of Feeling*, Smollett's *Roderick Random* and Boswell's *London Journal* to a group of Scottish national tales by Anne Grant, Susan Ferrier, and Christian Isobel Johnstone, as well as works by Scott, Hogg, and Galt. Throughout the book Shields proves to be a shrewd and sophisticated textual analyst. However, whereas *Imperial Characters* finds a range of variations on its imperial theme, *Sentimental Literature and Anglo-Scottish Identity* finds that all of its much more varied material contributes to the book's central thesis: that however divided Great Britain may have been by economic, political, and ethnic conflict, it becomes "a nation united by shared feeling" (p.47). The intellectual underpinning for this notion of a community created by shared sentiment and feeling is provided by Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. So it is Smith who emerges here as a kind of father-figure of sentimental fiction.

I've no doubt that some eighteenth-century literary scholars will not be entirely persuaded by Shields's thesis on the role of sentimental literature in nation-building. And of course specific points are inevitably open to question. For example, I think she underestimates the degree to which the dispute over the authenticity of *Ossian* was essentially linked to a wider Anglo-Scottish cultural war in the 1760s, while at the same time she overestimates the degree to which that dispute mattered to the great mass of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century readers. But scholars of Romanticism in general, and of Scottish Romanticism in particular, will find much food for thought in this lively and challenging book.

Andrew Hook, Emeritus, University of Glasgow

John Home's Douglas: A Tragedy. With Contemporary Commentaries. Edited by Ralph McLean. Glasgow: Humming Earth, 2010. Pp. xx + 529.

I have hoped for years that someone would bring out a new edition of *Douglas*, the play that caused a sensation on the Scottish stage in 1756 and created a furor in the Church of Scotland; engaging the sympathies and advocacy of the best minds of the Scottish Enlightenment, it elicited equally virulent antagonism from its opponents. A scandal in its time whose repercussions rumbled on for years in a pamphlet war on the moral worthiness of the stage, after the success of its initial performances in London and Edinburgh, it became—with the imprimatur of Sarah Siddons in the role of Lady Douglas—a staple of Anglo-American theatre well into the nineteenth cen-

tury. It has rarely been performed or reprinted since. Gerald Parker's 1972 edition in Oliver and Boyd's Fountainwell Drama Series is a tight little volume, sparing of commentary or annotation—altogether difficult to enthuse about. Hard to come by, and adhering to static neoclassical stage conventions, *Douglas* has been an equally hard sell to students of eighteenth-century Scottish literature; like its near-contemporary, that other *cause célèbre* James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*, it has (with a few honorable exceptions) been more cited than read. Exemplary work by Howard Gaskill, Fiona Stafford, and others has transformed the situation with regard to the Ossianic canon: we now have an accessible, authoritative full text with supporting contemporary material, a new biography, and several excellent essay collections that collectively address literary, political, and social issues associated with the work and its astonishing international and translational afterlife. We may hope, with this fine new edition, that a similar level of scholarly attention may turn (or return) to *Douglas* and the *Douglas* controversy.

Ralph McLean's *Douglas* is on an altogether different scale from Parker's slim volume. A hefty paperback of 530 pages plus front matter, it's less convenient in the hand—but how much more informative. A brief introduction retells the history of the gestation and original production of the play in London and in Edinburgh, and rehearses the anecdote told by Alexander Carlyle's autobiography and Henry Mackenzie's *Life of John Home*, of the famous play-reading in which Home himself played the hero Young Norval, David Hume the villainous role of Glenalvon, and Hugh Blair the maid. McLean then turns to introduce the controversy surrounding the play's production on stage and the ensuing pamphlet war. He identifies both a "Literary" and a "Religious" backlash to the play, the former elicited by the exorbitant claims made by its nationalistic advocates (the famous, though possibly apocryphal, triumphant cry of "Whaur's yer Wully Shakspeare noo?" heard at its first Edinburgh performance). Carlyle recalled that "the play had unbounded success for a great many nights in Edinburgh, and was attended by all the literati and most of the judges.... The town was in an uproar of Exultation that a Scotchman had written a tragedy of the first rate, and that its merit was first submitted to their judgment" (*Autobiography*, 1910, p. 327). There were too (as with the Ossian controversy) clear political and factional dimensions to the argument.

The text of the play reprinted here is based on the first (Edinburgh) edition of 1757, with the patriot, even jingoistic, Edinburgh prologue as well as the more restrained neoclassical London prologue. The typeface is clear and attractive; the play rewards re-reading in this form. I was only regretful that the editor did not annotate or supply a commentary; but the focus of his work lies in the matter that follows the play itself (which is over by page 55 in this edition). The remainder of this substantial volume is devoted to the play's contemporary reception: thirty-five items of invective, adulation, argument, critique, and emulation in a range of genres from treatise to hallad. These are individually introduced and carefully rendered in facsimile reproduction, which can be wearisome on the eye, but is never illegible and often typographically and formally revealing. The volume concludes with two useful appendices giving biographical details of the main figures involved in the *Douglas* controversy and a timeline of the pamphlet exchanges.

So what emerges from this very welcome assemblage? This is not the place for a full reassessment, but McLean has given us material to begin the process. First, it is good to have *Douglas* back in print, in an affordable form and with supporting material that should make it an excellent classroom text for both literary and historical students and scholars of eighteenth-century religious controversy. *Ossian* and *Douglas* shared an eminent skeptical opponent: Samuel Johnson, famous would-be scourge of Macpherson, also declared that there were "not ten good lines" in *Douglas*. There are, and more: this is a text that deserves proper critical attention, and it has been seriously neglected by literary critics. The focus of McLean's volume, as I've indicated, leans more to recovery of the textual battles that succeeded the play's first performances. Here he makes a major contribution to scholarship: excavating the extent and teasing out the provenance and relationships of the pamphlets to one another was an exacting task, eased but by no means rendered nugatory by the existence of Gale's *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (ECCO), and accomplished with authority. There's huge matter for reflection here; I'll conclude by noting two things that stand out immediately as requiring further scrutiny. First, there is the centrality of David Hume to the controversy. His support of his cousin and the dedication to Home ("you possess the true theatric genius of *Shakespear* and *Otway*, refined from the unhappy barbarism of the one, and licentiousness of the other") in his *Four Dissertations* are well known; McLean's sequence demonstrates the extent to which Hume, his views, and the "figure of Hume" dominated the subsequent pamphlet exchange in its literary, religious, and political dimensions. Many more battles are being fought and many more forms of opposition are being rehearsed here than can be accounted for by disagreement over the value of a new play. Secondly, the writer who emerges head and shoulders above other controversialists in force of argument, style, and sophistication is John Witherspoon. Reprinting his *Serious Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage* is a considerable bonus, and a reminder that if *Douglas* is a play unduly neglected by eighteenth-century literary scholars, Witherspoon's is one of its most underrated talents. Following Ned Landsman's pioneering work, historians recognize his centrality to the period; it is time that this powerful voice made itself better heard in literary scholarship.

McLean has produced a rich, thought-provoking volume; we are indebted to him and to Humming Earth Press for making available again this important body of primary material.

Susan Manning, University of Edinburgh

Arnold Johnston, *The Witching Voice: A Novel from the Life of Robert Burns*. San Antonio, TX: Wings Press, 2009. Pp. 326.

Robert Crawford and Christopher MacLachlan, eds., *The Best Laid Schemes: Selected Poetry and Prose of Robert Burns*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009. Pp. xxxvii + 271.

The Witching Voice spans the years 1784 to 1788, those frequently considered to be the most formative for Robert Burns's development as a poet. Commencing with the funeral of the poet's father, the novel negotiates the most eventful and turbulent years of Burns's life: his struggle to maintain his family; his numerous and often complicated relationships with the opposite sex; his rise to literary fame; his lionization by Edinburgh society, and his eventual, anti-climactic return to his rural roots.

Arnold Johnston's Burns is the passionate, impulsively sexual, and yet often contradictory character that we glean from a close examination of the poet's correspondence; not the sentimentalized "Heaven-taught" ploughman of so many fictional depictions of the poet. Indeed, the novel is carefully researched and executed throughout, and makes skillful use of Burns's own work—correspondence, poetry, prose and song—to propel the narrative. Particularly effective is Johnston's rendering of Burns's turbulent dealings with the Presbyterian kirk session, his problematic relationship with strict religious orthodoxy, and his common-sense approach to matters religious.

While the thematic content of *The Witching Voice* is well-informed, entertaining, and highly readable, the narrative betrays the fact that the work, in its first incarnation, was not a novel but a play. Use of the present tense throughout, combined with frequent and extremely detailed descriptions of individual characters' actions, means that the topography of the novel is very much apparent. However, Johnston's fluid dialogue and effective use of the Scots dialect keep this from detracting significantly from what is a detailed and sensitive portrayal of the life, and indeed the loves, of the Scottish National Bard, accompanied by generous and informative appendices (including a bibliography, a list of the attractive illustrations used throughout, and a useful glossary of Scots words).

The most recent edition of Burns's poetry and prose, Robert Crawford and Christopher MacLachlan's *The Best Laid Schemes*, has been meticulously composed with the modern reader in mind. The concise and informative introduction charts Burns's development as a poet and song writer, followed by a diverse selection of Burns's poetry (political, religious, and sentimental), including the poet's most iconic works: "Tam o Shanter," "The Holy Fair," "The Jolly Beggars," and "The Cottar's Saturday Night," to name but a few. The editors have provided a thorough line-by-line glossary which neatly and conveniently renders Burns's use of Scots accessible to an international audience. Furthermore, readers will find a sufficiently comprehensive and easily navigable selection of notes to each individual text at the back of the book.

The collection boasts five "rediscovered" poems, transcribed from manuscripts in Burns's holograph held by the National Library of Scotland and the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum in Alloway. Overlooked or ignored by previous editors, these are the product of exhaustive and thorough archival research, and their discovery and potential provenance is usefully outlined by the editors. Crawford and MacLachlan's selection of prose includes extracts from Burns's Commonplace Book, the poet's famous autobiographical letter to John Moore of 4 January 1789, and a selection of the poet's sentimentally postured letters to Agnes McLehose, contrasted with the infamous, sexually explicit, and phallicistic "Horselitter" letter written to the poet's friend and crony, Robert Ainslie, on 3 March 1788. Taken together these provide a clear example of the skill and artifice of Burns as a diarist and correspondent. *The Best Laid Schemes*, then, provides a broad range of texts which demonstrate the diversity of Burns's canon and also the complexity of Robert Burns as both man and poet: an excellent edition for the use of scholars and enthusiasts alike.

Pauline Anne Mackay, University of Glasgow

Eric J. Graham, *Burns and the Sugar Plantocracy*. Foreword by T. M. Devine. Ayr: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2009. Ayrshire Monographs No. 36. Pp. 123.

The commemoration of the bicentennial of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade has increased academic and general interest in the significance of the Scottish role in New World slavery. This is perhaps exemplified by the popular fascination with Robert Burns's aborted journey to Jamaica in July 1786, which also continues to attract the gaze of historians. It is now accepted that Burns intended to travel aboard the *Nancy* to Savannah La Marr in Jamaica via Antigua but abandoned his plans, mainly due to the commercial success of the Kilmarnock

edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*.

Although this monograph revolves around the “what if Burns had gone” scenario, Eric Graham, Honorary Postdoctoral Fellow at the Scottish Centre for Diaspora Studies, University of Edinburgh, adopts a new approach. Using the Atlantic world as a framework, Graham extends the examination beyond the shore of Scotland to reveal much about Burns’s immediate circumstances as well as conditions on the slave plantations where he would have been employed as a bookkeeper. At the same time, the very real impact of the repatriation of capital from the West Indies to Scotland is outlined. Indeed, this study demonstrates how the landed gentry in Ayrshire profited from their involvement in plantation slavery and used these proceeds to improve their estates.

The format marks an adventurous change from the normal style of the Ayrshire Monographs series, with full color illustrations including rare maps of Scottish plantations in Jamaica. However, there seem to be minor production and indexing issues, although they take little away from the overall appearance.

The text is structured around the “Jamaica bodies,” the slave plantation owners whom Burns referred to in his humorous poem “On a Scotch Bard, Gone to the West Indies” (1786), written while pondering a move to the Caribbean. Graham uses this framework to examine Burns’s mindset before leaving, and to further explore three case studies of the Ayrshire social elite with connections to New World slavery. The first case study concerns the Hamiltons of Ayr, who owned the plantations Rozelle and Pemberton in Jamaica. Various themes of plantation life are scrutinized, including the “culture of opportunistic litigation,” the transfer of ownership in Scotland as well as the hazards of slave life. Important eyewitness testimony is cited to reveal a unique Scottish perspective of “Tacky’s Revolt” in St. Marys in 1760 (p. 35). The second family history concerns the Oswald family of Ayrshire, particularly Richard Oswald of Auchincruive, who has already been shown to be at the pinnacle of the African slave trade in David Hancock’s *Citizens of the World* (1995). The final case study of the Cunyngghams of Glengarnock and St. Kitts outlines how the Atlantic provided the nexus with an established “Scots Lot” in the Leeward Islands (p. 78). The text ends with conjecture about Burns’s life after returning from his sojourn to Jamaica. The moral dichotomy that faced the bard—and all Scots—is a key theme in the study.

This pioneering text awaits further studies concerning the impact of slavery on Scotland. The Foreword by T. M. Devine suggests that this local approach could be replicated across the nation, which would surely illuminate the obscured relationship with chattel slavery. Devine has recently posed the far-from-rhetorical question: “Did Slavery Make Scotia Great?,” suggesting that Scotland could prove a “fertile ground” for those examining the impact of chattel slavery on the development of Britain (*Britain and the World* 4 [March 2011]: 40–64). This monograph adds weight to Devine’s thesis, albeit at a local level.

This study has therefore added to the growing dossier of evidence concerning the impact on Scotland by examining “the earliest and most complete set of records to have survived on British involvement in black chattel slavery” (p. 11). Graham has an encyclopedic knowledge of primary source material in the Scottish archives as well as a career interest in the landed “plantocracy” in the west of Scotland in the eighteenth century. He has leaned on this knowledge to construct a detailed synthesis, using primary and secondary sources meshed with genealogical research in an accessible and well written monograph. The text is fully referenced with extensive footnotes, allowing the reader to delve deeper into the context of the bards canceled sojourn. As such, this text will interest scholars of the Scottish involvement in plantation slavery, as well as general readers concerned with Burns’s circumstances in 1786.

Eric Graham has woven an impressive historical analysis using his favored method of examining society through family papers and genealogical research. This text makes an important contribution to the knowledge of not only the “sugar plantocracy” in Ayrshire and Burns, but also of conditions for Scots in the plantations. Ironically, while up to twenty thousand young Scots sojourned to the Caribbean between 1750 and 1800, the young farmer from Alloway never experienced the conditions so vividly recreated here.

Stephen Mullen, University of Glasgow

James Livesey, *Civil Society and Empire: Ireland and Scotland in the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World*. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2009. Pp. x + 294.

This ambitious work of intellectual history should be of great interest to ECSSS members, especially in a year when the society will hold its annual meeting at the Research Centre for Irish-Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen. For this work makes a major contribution to this burgeoning field of inquiry.

The introduction (“Civil Society and the Eighteenth-Century Atlantic World”) demonstrates mastery of a wide range of historiographies and debates in social scientific theory. Livesey presents a cogently argued thesis to provide understanding of the historical origins and evolution of the concept of civil society, which he contends is one of the very few terms in political theory to have become a widely adopted slogan. He addresses both historical and contemporary concerns in making the compelling case that the legacy of those who first formulated the idea

(and ideal) of civil society in the “provincial” communities of the eighteenth-century British Atlantic Empire still shapes profoundly the complex and contested meanings of civil society today.

The first chapter (“Coffee, Association, and Cultural Hybridity in Seventeenth-Century England”) traces the emergence of new ideas and practices of sociability that eventually came to be conceived as civil society. In Livesey’s account, this intellectual framework was adapted by local elites in Scotland and Ireland to negotiate their place in the world of eighteenth-century British commercial empire. The next two chapters (“Improvement and the Discourse of Society in Eighteenth-Century Ireland” and “The Authority of the Defeated: Catholic Languages of the Moral Order in the Eighteenth Century”) are both well constructed and important discussions of Irish intellectual history. Indeed, these chapters, along with chapter 4 (“The Experience of Empire: The Black Family, Britons, and the Emergence of Society”), constitute valuable contributions to the broader historiography of empire and the Atlantic world. I learned a great deal from them, and they are also probably the most original and interesting sections of the book. Chapters 2 and 3 trace the creative adaptation and re-articulation in Ireland (by both Protestants and Catholics) of English-derived political, economic, and social thought. The discussion of Catholic thought in Ireland, ranging from Jacobite discourses of political economy to moral theory, is especially insightful and thought-provoking. Livesey also makes important connections with Scotland and Scottish thought in these chapters, as he does throughout the text. The fourth chapter is both a micro-history of a particular family network, the Blacks (whose origins were in Aberdeen, but whose members were placed in important trading centers throughout Ireland, Britain, and Continental Europe), and a broad reflection on the fluidity of identity in the British Atlantic world.

As one might expect, eighteenth-century Scottish thought is at the heart of Livesey’s intellectual project, and the author engages critically with the influential scholarship of many leading figures in this field, in terms of both methodological approaches and specific analyses of eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual culture. We might therefore expect chapter 5 (“A Habitat for Hopeful Monsters: David Hume and the Scottish Theorists of Civil Society”) to be of most immediate interest to ECSSS members. Yet while Livesey demonstrates an impressive mastery of primary and secondary sources and makes some important points that develop his larger argument, this chapter does not really offer a new reading of the Scottish Enlightenment and its major thinkers, such as Hume. Chapter 6 (“Civil Society and Empire in Revolution: Ireland and Britain in the 1790s”) does a very good job of analyzing a key period in which the limits of civil society were revealed, especially in the brutal violence that tore Ireland apart. The discussion of Scottish connections here, such as the Speculative Society in Edinburgh, will be of particular interest.

The conclusion, in returning to some of the contemporary concerns of the introduction, makes striking arguments of large significance. Its length, though, at only five pages, suggests that Livesey has perhaps not been able to develop fully his claims and insights. Ultimately, however, this monograph is an impressive achievement that should be of interest to both scholars and the broader public.

Paul Tonks, Yonsei University

Silvia Sebastiani, *I limiti del progresso. Razza e genere nell’Illuminismo scozzese*. Bologna: Il Mulino, 2008. Pp. 501. [*The Limits of Progress: Race and Gender in the Scottish Enlightenment*]

This book represents a major contribution to scholarship on the Scottish Enlightenment and, indeed, the European Enlightenment more generally. Its central arguments are original, important, and cogent, and it is based on formidable and impeccable scholarship. The author examines Scottish Enlightenment theories of historical progress and their relationship to debates about racial difference. A belief in progress has been described as a kind of metaphysics of Scottish Enlightenment historical writing. Writers such as Adam Smith, John Millar, or William Robertson argued that human societies all over the world had a tendency to develop along similar lines, through a succession of stages that were usually defined in terms of their modes of subsistence, though these stages were also believed to be accompanied by increasing levels of refinement, morality and manners. This belief in a universal form of progress however appeared to be contradicted by the seeming failure of certain societies to match the levels of development achieved in eighteenth-century Europe.

Race was used as an explanation for this lack of progress. Sebastiani presents an excellent discussion of racial theory in Enlightenment thought, starting in the seventeenth century and extending beyond Scotland to include theorists throughout Europe such as Montesquieu, Blumenbach, Turgot, Buffon, and Voltaire. She discusses Montesquieu’s static model, which explained differences in national character without any recourse to ideas of historical evolution and change. Unlike Montesquieu his fellow countryman Turgot in his *Tableau philosophique* of 1750 attributed a prominent role to historical change in explaining national differences. These debates about national differences were often intimately related to the discussion of race. Thus, Voltaire combined a belief that national character was the product of historical change with a defence of polygenesis, the idea that variations between different human races were not the result of historical processes, but were more fundamental, natural fea-

tures of these races.

Scottish authors also engaged thoroughly and critically with these ideas, adding their own notions of historical evolution to them. In the Scottish Enlightenment one of the main advocates of polygenesis was Henry Home, Lord Kames, who formulated an original synthesis of polygenesis with "stadial" historical theories of human progress. According to Kames, the backwardness of native Americans in particular reflected the fact that they were a naturally inferior race. One of Kames's most famous contemporaries, the clergyman and historian William Robertson, agreed that native Americans were racially inferior to Europeans but argued that this racial inferiority was the result of a historical process of degeneration, an idea Robertson derived from the works of the Abbé Cornille de Pauw especially.

Chapter 4 of Sebastiani's book is an analysis of the debates over racial difference in one of the most important intellectual circles of the Scottish Enlightenment, the Aberdeen Philosophical Society of the 1760s and 1770s, which included many leading literary and philosophical figures, from Thomas Reid and James Beattie to Alexander Gerard and James Dunbar. These theorists tended to put forward a radically universalist notion of human progress, which was directed against the arguments of people like Kames, but which left unresolved some of the questions Kames had intended to address.

In her final chapter Sebastiani considers the connections between discourses about gender and racial theory in the Scottish Enlightenment. It was often argued that the condition of women improved as societies moved from barbarianism to the higher stages of social development, culminating in the polite and refined relationship between the sexes among eighteenth-century Europeans. Yet here too some barbarian societies, it seemed, failed to progress along the lines mapped out by stadial historical theory. The men among the native Americans, for example, were widely believed to be effeminate, whereas the female nature of their women was often depicted as perverted. An example of this attempt to link the development of gender relations to racial difference is the controversy over the "discovery" of the fragments of Ossianic poetry that James Macpherson published in the 1760s. According to Macpherson, relations between the sexes among the ancient Celts were exemplary, in spite of the fact that they were barbarians. The unnatural and perverted state of gender relations in other, contemporary nations was a reflection not of their barbarian level of development but of their peculiar racial characteristics. In writings by people like Macpherson, the relationship between the sexes became a touchstone of the ability to progress toward true, modern refinement.

In her conclusion Sebastiani turns to the work of John Pinkerton, in which the story of progress becomes that of a particular, superior race as the agent of universal progress through conquest and colonization. Sebastiani's argument is nuanced, lucid, and powerful throughout, and remarkable for its breadth. It is a significant scholarly achievement and ought to be read by all who are interested in the intellectual history of the Scottish Enlightenment and Enlightenment debates about race and gender generally. An English translation would be highly desirable.

Thomas Ahnert, University of Edinburgh

Annette Meyer, *Von der Wahrheit zur Wahrscheinlichkeit. Die Wissenschaft vom Menschen in der schottischen und deutschen Aufklärung*. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 2008. Pp. 335. [From Truth to Probability: The Science of Man in the Scottish and German Enlightenments]

The subtitle of Annette Meyer's Cologne dissertation refers to the parallel development in what in the second half of the eighteenth century was known as the natural history of man in Scotland and as the history of humankind in the German lands. These histories were the main variations on the theme of the science of man, the general term under which the nature of man was studied, in particular his status as a moral being in the context of natural and historical circumstances. Meyer extensively discusses the institutionalization of the science of man in, among others, learned societies and academies, with their openness to a wider public by holding, for instance, important prize contests. She also emphasizes the crucial role of the praxis-oriented law and medical faculties of the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow and the philosophical faculties of Halle and Göttingen, where various disciplines related to the science of man were taught. The Germans generally acknowledged the impulse from Scotland and profited from it in their own anthropologies and histories of man, nature, and culture. Scottish publications were made known to an interested general public through quick translations and reviews in learned and general journals. That Meyer does not deal exclusively with a few great names such as Hume, Ferguson, Millar, and Smith in Scotland, Lessing, Herder, and Kant in Germany, is one of the great merits of the book. Instead, and indicative of her systematic approach, it is concerned with a larger group of practitioners of the new science. Thus, Meyer also covers the works of Scottish authors such as Anderson, Dunbar, Fordyce, Gregory, Hutton, Kames, Logan, Monboddo, Robertson, Russell, Stuart, Smellie, and Tytler, as well as a host of all-but-forgotten German authors commonly known as popular philosophers. They all were committed to a scientific method that Meyer describes as hypothetical-deductive, based on balancing general principles with the plausibilities of self-observation and exter-

nal experience.

This leads to the main title of the book. It refers to the epistemological change from traditional "scholastic" philosophy, in which deductive discovery of truth was ultimate, to the much more restricted cognitive claim of probability in the science of man for which Hume laid the foundation when he wished to introduce the experimental method of reasoning into moral subjects. Meyer sees two philosophical principles underlying the new empirical science. The first is the constancy of human nature, enabling the discovery of patterns of human behavior, although Hume's successors became increasingly aware of the variety in human nature. The second seemingly contradictory principle concerns man's perfectibility. By connecting it to the first principle, the Scots interpreted it not as precondition for the break with a supposedly original happy state of nature, as Rousseau had done, but as man properly living up to this elementary part of his constant nature to develop his potentialities over time. In the synthesis of these two principles, and applied to the species as a whole, Meyer sees the specific Scottish contribution to a natural history of humankind, its origins and development. It divided nations not synchronically, according to climate or religion, but on a temporal scale of possible progression and retrogression. With change at its core, the science of man after Hume became a historical science, or better, it became a typical Enlightenment amalgam of history and natural philosophy. The critical distance to ancient and in particular biblical sources, and increasingly also to contemporary travel accounts, lent credibility to narratives about the peoples of earlier history and distant lands, and the methods of comparison, analogy, and causality subjected the unruly facts of history to scientific standards. While natural history in the Scottish mold did not amount to a philosophy of history, Meyer contends that it was an early form of a theory of history. History was no longer experience (*historia*), nor a storehouse of examples; the historical-anthropological study of the past now accounted for cultural differences among humankind fashioned by time itself. In the German situation, a contrast developed between philosophy of history and history as an academic discipline, with the emergence of historical anthropology as a middle road between these two.

This is a rich and fascinating study. Meyer's grasp of the sources and the secondary literature is impressive, and her astute comments on the latter are instructive. An English translation would be in order to learn from the comparison with the German situation as well as to offer the English-speaking reader insight into the state of scholarship on this theme in Germany.

Johan van der Zande, Oakland, California

Alexander Murdoch, *Scotland and America, c.1600–c.1800*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Pp. x + 201.

Although Alexander Murdoch's new book bears the title *Scotland and America, c.1600–c.1800*, many of the arguments concentrate on the changes brought about by American influence on Scottish society in a post-revolutionary era. Murdoch's most innovative premise asserts that "Scottish-Americans claim a significant importance for themselves in helping to make America, and Scots naturally focus on this when thinking about their country's exchanges with America, neglecting the very considerable impact of America in making modern Scotland" (p.1). The first section of the book deals with Scottish trade, namely the settlement and influence in the American colonies in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, while the second segment examines how America culturally influenced Scotland in the nineteenth century.

While many of the themes addressed in the first part of this book have been taken up by others, Murdoch adds new dimensions to the discussion. The author contends that the early history of Scottish desires for transatlantic trade and empire were hamstrung by the ill-planned and ill-executed attempts to establish a Scottish colony at Darien. The Act of Union of 1707 opened up economic opportunities for Scottish merchants, who rapidly subsumed a substantial slice of the British tobacco trade with the American colonies. The commercial success of this venture led to closer cultural and economic ties between the two countries. Murdoch makes the interesting claim that "the willingness of Scottish firms to advance them cash and to purchase crops outright [from the Chesapeake tobacco growers] gave them considerable advantage in attracting trade" (p. 77). In contrast, English merchants bought tobacco on consignment, which meant a delay in payments critically important to the perpetually cash-strapped Southern planters. Murdoch maintains that the tobacco trade was the primary vehicle for Scottish thought into colonial America: "If the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment played a key role in the establishment and development of the United States, those ideas reached America via the ships of the Scottish tobacco merchants, in the form of the exported print culture of the Scottish Enlightenment." Although that assertion may be partially accurate, a more sustainable explanation may derive from the Scottish system of universal education. In the eighteenth century Scotland found itself in the ironic situation of a nation that had a proliferation of educated young men bedeviled by an anemic economy, which led many of them to the American colonies, seeking opportunity and staying to tutor and teach their colonial cousins. The pragmatic realities that underpinned common sense philosophy became the core tradition of the American Enlightenment. Evidence for this conclusion comes from the multitude

of influential Scottish educators who were conspicuous in colonial America, such as John Witherspoon at Princeton and James Blair and William Small at the College of William and Mary, augmented by Americans who were either educated in, or had deep intellectual ties to, Scotland, including Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Finley, and a vast array of Scottish tutors and instructors.

The second half of the book contains a more provocative thesis. Murdoch proposes that (1) the great social issues (slavery, American Presbyterianism, and education) inherent in the Scottish experience in America transformed expectations and traditions at home; (2) Scottish national identity was mitigated by the integration of Scotland into the British Empire through cultural rather than political or economic means but was partially restored by events taking place in America, and (3) the adoption by the Scots of the American model of political, social, and religious institutions ameliorated the effects of a more diverse population and industrialization at home.

Murdoch claims that the issue of the slave trade and the abolition of slavery, which divided America, united the Scottish church. The Church of Scotland, having been divided over the system of patronage in the eighteenth century, was brought together again by the common mission of abolishing slavery: "In many ways, the Church's participation in the campaign to abolish the slave trade would reunite the Church and give it a sense of moral purpose during a period of increasing social and political tension" (p. 96). The switch from an agrarian economy to an industrial one left many "agricultural labourers, factory workers and Highland peasants" (p. 101) empathizing with the second-class status of the American Indian. Native Americans, the concept of the noble savage, and the poems of Ossian were all joined with common and sentimental bonds. Many Scots saw explicit correlations between the culture of Native Americans and those of the ancient Celtic tribes fighting for freedom against an oppressive foreign force. The concept of the "sublime" savage devoted to freedom, civic values, and an innate moral sense is perhaps the reason why the epic poetry of Ossian resonated so clearly with both British and American audiences.

Murdoch concludes that after the American Revolution the constitutional imperative of the separation of church and state "became an increasingly attractive model to more and more Scots within and without the Church of Scotland as a means of preserving Scottish national identity and a distinctively Scottish Christian mission" (p. 128). He also argues that the "Great Awakening" in America reconstituted a diverse, contentious, and fractured religious community and assimilated it into a united, evangelical Protestant Christianity with a strong nationalist identification. As transatlantic travel and improvements in communications increased cultural exchange in the nineteenth century, "America became an increasingly important influence on the changing religious culture of Scotland as it became a more ethnically diverse and pluralistic society" (p. 139). The most original contribution of Murdoch's book is his investigation of the influences originating in America and impacting events and perceptions in Scotland during the nineteenth century.

Martin Clagett, Omohundro Scholar in Residence, The College of William and Mary

Jeffrey Stephen, *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007. Pp. 274.

When the Union of England and Scotland was negotiated in 1707, the security of the Church of Scotland in the new British state was the single most sensitive issue that had to be addressed. And yet, Jeffrey Stephen points out, there has never been a full-length monograph on the response of members of that church to the Union. *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707* is an attempt to fill that void, offering a closely detailed look at Presbyterian activities and sentiments both within and outside the established church before and during the negotiations. There are few major surprises here—the lack of a full monographic treatment does not mean the subject has been completely unattended—but Stephen does assemble the evidence into a persuasive portrait of a church that was less automatically hostile to union than has sometimes been supposed, but instead kept its eye on the main prize of ensuring the Presbyterian settlement. If a faction feared, with some reason, that union would open Scotland to trends and influences that the most traditional Presbyterians disdained, they were in the end possibly outnumbered and certainly outweighed by those who concluded that, on balance, the established church was probably more secure with union guarantees than in the unsettled state that would have resulted from the treaty's rejection.

It is not the liveliest read. Stephen never strays far from his sources, providing a mostly chronological narrative of official actions and public pronouncements, with some discussion as well, similarly close to the facts, of parish and popular protests. That is partly because he avoids much engagement with the historiography. He does seem to have read most of the relevant works, at least until the recent spate of studies that accompanied the Union tercentennial, and which probably appeared too late for inclusion, but they rarely intrude on the narrative. The general thesis would seem to complement Christopher A. Whatley's recent conversion to the position that the Union was largely implemented by leaders who sincerely believed it was in Scotland's interests (see Whatley, with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, 2006), but Stephen is less concerned to place his work within the historiogra-

phy.

There are of course advantages to such an approach. Stephen provides a wealth of detail. Moreover, the overall argument about the general reluctance of the leaders of the Church of Scotland to stake a position on union once its status was secured makes a good deal of sense. Stephen is keen to contend that much of the alleged Presbyterian opposition to union was in fact suggested, and certainly overstated, by Jacobites and others whose concern for the security of the church was less than sincere. Stephen finds that the bulk of the parish protests against the Union came from the inhabitants of parishes rather than from the churches, much of it stoked by the political opposition. Still, the emphasis on church leaders and the actions of official bodies, such as presbyteries and the Commission of the General Assembly, may well cause him to understate both the breadth and depth of concern about the consequences of union that a significant portion of the Presbyterian populace clearly felt.

Stephen pays more attention to popular sentiment among dissenting Presbyterians—the Cameronians and Hebronites, and indeed he devotes a good deal of attention to the different positions of the two. While both professed loyalty to the covenants and condemned the Church of Scotland's refusal to revive them, the Hebronites were otherwise willing to work with the established church, a position the Cameronian United Societies condemned. They differed in their positions on union as well, with Hebronites favoring a confessional confederation, built upon the Solemn League and Covenant, and Cameronians distrusting un-covenanted rulers and favoring a covenanted republic. Yet contemporaries and historians have both had difficulty telling them apart, and some of the principal actions against the Union, including the burning of the Articles of Union at Dumfries, were carried out by Hebronites rather than their more radical counterparts. Stephen rebuts the often-repeated but highly unlikely claims of coordinated resistance to union by covenanters and Jacobites. What we probably can say is that both covenanting communions maintained a suspicion of English influences on the Church of Scotland and of English intentions that was shared with many in the west of Scotland.

One of the strengths of the book is that Stephen lays out in detail the complicated array of questions that the Union suggested for Presbyterians: the issues were never confined to the formal discipline of the Church of Scotland. What would happen to England's sacramental tests; would they limit the political place of Scottish Presbyterians in the newly united kingdom? What of existing oaths, including the monarch's place as member and head of the Church of England? What of English bishops sitting in a British Parliament? None of these questions were answered to the full satisfaction of the Scottish Church.

The book ends rather abruptly with the Union accomplished, with barely a glance at whether Presbyterian hopes and fears would be realized. We know, of course, that before long patronage and toleration would be imposed on the church by the Union Parliament, as many opponents had anticipated. We know as well that the church nonetheless retained its Presbyterian form of worship without serious challenge, even from a House of Lords in which English bishops sat. What we don't yet know is how the church would be affected after 1707 by its position as a somewhat autonomous national church in an Erastian Britain, or how those things would affect the status of the rapidly growing community of Presbyterians in what was now a British overseas empire.

Ned Landsman, State University of New York at Stony Brook

Andrew Henderson, *The Life of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland*. Edited by Roderick Macpherson. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010. Pp. xxx + 318.

The author of this work, Scottish born but lifelong resident in England, was a truly Augustan exemplar: journalist, historian, biographer, mathematics tutor, publisher, bookseller, and poet—one who embodied, eminently, so many of the diverse intellectual/artistic currents for which the age is renowned. Yet, despite his achievements, Henderson has remained a relatively forgotten figure of the eighteenth-century British literary world. Vital biographical details are sparse—a slim entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004) and scattered references in a family genealogy—and his historical stature remains undefined. Much of his prodigious literary output still awaits serious scholarly analysis.

The present volume, a reprint of the first edition published in 1766, is therefore welcome not least because the editor, Roderick Macpherson, has provided much new and suggestive material about Henderson's early life, not easily available elsewhere, and data (some of it controversial) clarifying the role of other, also so far unnoticed contemporaries associated with Henderson and influential in shaping his literary approach. Despite this deeper contextualization, however, Henderson's biography of Cumberland, now as when it initially appeared, has the earmarks more of hagiography than a balanced life history. Ultimately, it shows Cumberland in an impossibly good light during every phase of his life, according to a recent bibliographer of the royal duke (Jonathan Oates, *Sweet William or the Butcher?: The Duke of Cumberland and the '45*, 2008, p. 3), while for John Prebble, Henderson is merely Cumberland's "servile biographer" (*Culloden*, 1961, p. 127).

Almost from the outset, highly questionable assertions abound: that the Hanoverian kings and their male

offspring were “naturally soldiers...born with all the ardor of military genius” (p. 11); that Cumberland had mastered calculus, geometry, navigation, fortification, and gunnery, all by the age of fifteen (pp. 20–21); that the war with Spain, declared in 1739 and marked by failure and great expense, was somehow “advantageous to Britain” (p. 25). Equally, although informed readers might agree to some extent with Henderson’s description of the Earl of Stair, appointed commander of British forces preparatory to the Austrian Succession War (1740), as “a man of great abilities” (p. 30), it should be remembered that by this time he had not seen active service for nearly thirty years and by any standards was not an easy individual to get along with—a source of potential trouble given the fact that King George II, his immediate superior, was hardly more tractable. Further complicating matters was their deep-rooted divergence of opinion over the very purpose of the war itself—a divergence Henderson does not even hint at. While George II’s priority, at all times, was his personal reputation and the fate of his German possessions, which made him excessively cautious, Stair believed in striking boldly when military conditions were favorable (Reed Browning, *The War of the Austrian Succession*, 1993). That Stair encountered endless difficulties in persuading the king to commit himself to a particular strategy, or risk the hazards of battle, diminished the effectiveness of his own role, created chronic friction, and hence harmed the vital unity of command. Finally, contrary to Henderson’s claim (p. 35), the crushing defeat of the crack regiment of French *Mousquetaires Noirs* in 1748 was due not solely to concerted British volleys but also to the joint action of Austro-British dragoons, who forced the enemy to give ground, with heavy casualties (Michael Orr, *Dettingen, 1743*, 1972, pp. 60–61).

Also disputable is the author’s rendition of the critical battle of Fontenoy, inflating the number of French dead and curiously portraying the action as an English victory—historically quite incorrect. True, the British infantry did display admirable discipline and fire control, but ultimately Cumberland’s impudent use of repeated, costly frontal assaults on heavily fortified positions allowed Marshal de Saxe to exploit the advantage of resting on the defensive and thus win the battle. The latter’s tactical brilliance soon yielded further successes: at Roucoux (11 October 1746), Laufeldt (2 July 1747), and the capture of Maastricht (7 May 1748). It was the combination of these victories, together with the resultant threat to Hanover, that compelled Britain, at Aix-la-Chapelle (1748), to surrender the important conquest of Louisbourg—an unpalatable reality that Henderson blithely manages to air-brush out of his narrative.

In the event, Cumberland—Henderson’s encomiums notwithstanding—lacked the finesse and imagination of a top-flight commander like Marlborough or, for that matter, de Saxe, against whom he was clearly out of his depth. Cumberland was a good administrator, well liked by his men and personally brave—but courage was not enough; in the vital counterparts of vision, resourcefulness, and charisma, he was woefully deficient (Rex Whitworth, *William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland: A Life*, 1992).

More historically accurate is Henderson’s appraisal of the ’45—particularly his recognition that (the myths of Jacobite zealots notwithstanding) contemporary responses to a Stuart restoration were tepid at best, even in the Northern Counties where, by the time of the uprising, disaffection had noticeably abated. As he put it succinctly: “He [the Pretender] was deceived by others and indeed he deceived himself” (p. 84). Adroitly the ruling Whig oligarchy exploited its strengths and negated any outside attempts to capitalize on its weaknesses, such as they were, until the crushing of Jacobitism once and for all at Culloden. Here Henderson’s work is a salutary corrective to the fantasies of pro-Jacobites, then (and among some nostalgic historians lingering even to this day) concerning the true prospects of the movement nationwide as a viable threat to the Hanoverian regime.

Untenable, therefore, is his contention that Cumberland, an untested youth of twenty-four, appointed captain general of British forces in March 1745, was amply qualified. Hardly! The appointment was not based on experience or demonstrated merit but, as in the French army, happened because the king was his father: an inveterate weakness of dynastically bred preferment, with unfortunate consequences. Although Henderson implies that from the start suppression of the uprising was a top ministerial and royal priority, modern research has shown that both George II and Cumberland were reluctant to transfer badly needed troops from the Continent, hoped the insurgents could be subdued by available forces on the spot, and were most concerned to first stem the growing tide of French power abroad (W. A. Speck, *Butcher: The Duke of Cumberland and the Suppression of the ’45*, 1995 edn., pp. 16–36). Division, not a united front, as is suggested, characterized the high command—certainly during the first six months of rebellion.

Raising the militia, moreover, was a more troublesome affair than Henderson allows. Notably few “Addresses” to the Crown were presented, and many of these were orchestrated by court supporters. Edinburgh was only with great effort put into a posture of defense, which duly proved ineffectual, while during the encounter between Jacobites and royal forces at Prestonpans (20 September 1745), the latter fought with shameful lack of spirit, courage, or discipline. None of these incidents is adequately explored in the text, which obscures them with sweeping eulogies for the spontaneous groundswell “of loyalty to the King’s person and government” (p. 112), allegedly within the nation at large.

No less inaccurate are Henderson's aspersions against leading European monarchs—for instance, describing Frederick the Great as “docile” and “a puppet of France” (p. 147), at a time when the latter was astutely elevating Prussia to great-power status against incredible odds. Such an immense task would have been far beyond the abilities of George II or Henderson's hero Cumberland, both of whom Henderson appears to consider equals to Frederick in military professional skill.

Equally doubtful is Henderson's estimate of the British troops defeated at Falkirk as “men of undoubted bravery and reputation” (p. 159). In truth, these forces—the cavalry above all—performed poorly, turning tail and fleeing once the rebels advanced. Many of their officers were equally remiss: indeed, six were court-martialed and drummed out of the army (Speck, *Butcher*, p. 110).

The final British victory at Culloden—where the Jacobite cause was irretrievably lost—Henderson attributes exclusively to the superior generalship of Cumberland, a conclusion not supported by the findings of newer research. Yes, Cumberland showed admirable fortitude and mastery of detail, but he had exceptional advantages in numbers, firepower, logistical superiority, enjoyed an excellent operational site, and benefited from widespread enemy desertion and from having a dolt for an opponent (John L. Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars*, 2002; Jeremy Black, *Culloden and the '45*, 1990). Cumberland's slender military talents were soon to be revealed again, following his return to the Continent in February 1747, then still at war, where he was defeated again by de Saxe at the battle of Lauffeld. History repeated itself during the Seven Years War, when Cumberland, while commanding the British army in Germany, lost the crucial engagement at Hastenbeck against the mediocre French commander, Marshal d'Estrées. This forced him to sign the humiliating Convention of Kloster Zeven which left Hanover under French occupation and endangered other vital principalities on the Continent. It also forced him to return home in disgrace, resign all his military appointments, and retire into private life (Karl W. Schweizer, *War, Politics and Diplomacy: The Anglo-Prussian Alliance, 1756–1763*, 2001). Not surprisingly, Henderson only thinly surveys these dire events, but in the process again distorts historical accuracy in his fulsome attempt to exonerate Cumberland at all cost. Hastenbeck he attributes to massive French superiority (not so), and to dereliction by Hanoverian troops (not proven); Cumberland's headlong retreat he calls “honorable” (p. 251) against all evidence to the contrary, and he completely ignores the serious military and diplomatic implications of the Kloster Zeven agreement.

The final section of the book provides a lively, if inevitably dated, chronicle of domestic politics between 1760 and 1765 (the year of Cumberland's death), with interesting vignettes of leading political figures, the Peace of Paris, and the Wilkite phenomenon. Appended are two letters from Henderson to Samuel Johnson—one giving his impression of the Western Isles, the other rebutting Johnson's jaundiced view of the Scots.

In sum, although Henderson's work does not constitute an authentic, critically balanced life—many if not most of his conclusions having been discredited by subsequent research—it is still useful for its wealth of first-hand observations and insights, and simply as a fluent narrative that constitutes an example of the panegyric or literary eulogy, a highly popular genre of eighteenth-century historical writing. An index and some clarifying textual notes would have made the volume even more valuable.

Karl W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Elizabeth Foyster and Christopher A. Whatley, eds., *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600 to 1800*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010. Pp. 334.

The volume under review is one of four published under the general title *A History of Everyday Life in Scotland* and is edited by the series editors. For readers of a newsletter devoted to eighteenth-century Scottish studies, the first point of note might be that this is a volume of essays on everyday life in early modern Scotland, not eighteenth-century Scotland (the nineteenth and twentieth centuries each get their own volume in the series). This reflects what this reviewer perceives as a decline in the influence of the idea that Scotland in the eighteenth century and the “modern world” are obviously closely related. There were powerful elements of continuity as well as change in early modern Scotland, not least in relation to popular culture, and the contents of this volume support that argument.

Some essays take the long view of early modern Scotland more than others. Essays by Deborah Symonds on “Death, Birth and Marriage”; Helen Dingwall on “Illness, Disease and Pain”; Elizabeth Foyster on “Sensory Experiences: Smells, Sounds and Touch”; and Joyce Miller on “Beliefs, Religion, Fears and Neuroses” (including magic and belief in witches) all open up important new perspectives on neglected aspects of life in early modern Scotland. How far did life really change for most of the population in the eighteenth century? Robert Dodgshon's essay on “Everyday Structures, Rhythms and Spaces of the Scottish Countryside” and Christopher Whatley's on “Work, Time and Pastimes” partly address this question. By the end of the eighteenth century it does appear that major changes were occurring in Scottish popular culture under the impact of agricultural “improvement,” urbani-

zation, and the increase of textile manufactures, although Whatley makes the point that care has to be taken over whether these changes really affected the standard of living of the majority of the population even by the end of the eighteenth century. For the expanding middle class, the eighteenth century was a century of transformation, but they did not make up the majority of the population. As Whatley observes, "until the final third of the eighteenth century, the impression is of a society where paid employment on a regular basis was not easy to find" (p. 283).

Contributors whose work might be more familiar to readers with interests in the eighteenth century include Christopher Whatley, of course, who contributes a second essay under the title "Order and Disorder"; Charles McKean ("Improvement and Modernization in Everyday Enlightenment Scotland"); Stana Nenadic ("Necessities: Food and Clothing in the Long Eighteenth Century"); Bob Harris ("Communicating"); and Alastair Durie ("Movement, Transport and Travel"). Nenadic's essay complements Whatley's essay on work in many ways, citing the Old Statistical Account as evidence of relatively recent rises in the standard of living by the end of the eighteenth century in diet and clothing as well as housing, including a fascinating section on the "impact of new prosperity and fashion." Also of great interest is Bob Harris's challenging essay, as much of what he discusses relates to what others have described as "the popular enlightenment" or "the social history of ideas." Again, the emphasis is on continuity rather than change.

Harris writes that "Scotland in 1800 remained a society in which many vital elements of communication were oral" (p. 164), implying that history written from documentation and printed sources can only recover a limited awareness of the social lives of the majority of the population. For Harris, it is important to keep in mind that "despite the growth of print and the increasing speed with which information, news and people travelled between communities" (p. 182), and for most of the population continuities with the past remained stronger than changes associated with modernity, even as late as 1800. In the helpful and provocative annotated bibliography for his chapter, Harris points out that "historians of the Scottish Enlightenment" have emphasized "production rather than reception of ideas," and his essay benefits enormously from the important contributions that David Allan and others have made to our knowledge of the reception of the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment in Britain as well as Scotland.

A substantial amount of the content of this book thus reflects the research that Bob Harris, Charles McKean, and Christopher Whatley have been directing as a joint project involving the university of Oxford and Dundee, focused on the impact of the Scottish Enlightenment on smaller Scottish urban centers. The four chapters they contribute to this book will give those interested in the project a preliminary idea of the direction it has taken. Overall, the evidence in this book suggests that "early modern" Scotland, inclusive of the eighteenth century, appears less and less "modern" as we learn more about it. The implication is that we should not assume that the term "Scottish Enlightenment" coincides with Scotland in the eighteenth century. That is why the great historians of the Scottish Enlightenment were so interested in the history of Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Alexander Murdoch, University of Edinburgh

David Philip Miller, *James Watt, Chemist: Understanding the Origins of the Steam Age*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009. Pp. x + 241.

James Watt (1736–1819) is of course known for his work on the steam engine. Born and educated in Scotland, he eventually emigrated to the English Midlands to make his fortune in the early years of the Industrial Revolution. Several studies have addressed Watt's posthumous reputation in recent years. However, despite attempts to flag Watt's deep connections to chemistry, such research has done little to change the "mechanical" label given to him by his Victorian admirers. Indeed, the *DNB*'s entry for Watt still lists him as an "engineer" and a "scientist" but not as a "chemist." The title of David Philip Miller's *James Watt, Chemist*, therefore, says it all. For those who do not research the history of science, technology, and industry, this might seem like a fairly straightforward claim. However, for those who do, this position might be controversial. Why? Like the work of many Enlightenment thinkers, Watt's contributions to science, industry, and the Scottish nation were refashioned during his life and after his death. By saying that Watt was a chemist, Miller is effectively challenging the notion that Watt was solely a nascent physicist. That is to say, Miller questions the scientific importance assigned to Watt's work by the Victorians. This is a bold move and it challenges the way in which Watt has been traditionally portrayed within the history of Victorian thermodynamics and within the history of industrial creativity in general.

Miller skillfully shows that the "chemical Watt" was transmuted into the "mechanical Watt" in two significant ways. The first transformation was a social one. This refashioning of the "mechanical Watt" emerged in the later years of Watt's life and was then reinforced explicitly by political maneuvers led by James Watt, Jr., and implicitly by the scientific aims of Victorian institutions. This part of the story is addressed in the first few chapters of the book, where Miller traces the ways in which mechanical motifs were used to portray Watt and his equipment

during the nineteenth century. Concentrating on two public statues of Watt in particular, Miller shows how Watt's image was constructed to conform to the ideals that were consistent with contemporary notions of progress and rationality. Out went the dirty sweat and the nostril-wrenching smells of Watt's workshop, and in came the sanitized "geometer," "mechanic," and "craftsman-engineer" that fit well into emerging Victorian perceptions of scientific inquiry. This part of Miller's book is relatively easy to follow and successfully builds on the larger re-evaluation of the Scottish Enlightenment that has been taking place over the past two decades.

Watt's second transformation was a scientific one. Miller makes two central claims to support this view. The first is that Watt was an innovative chemist. Miller establishes this point by explaining how Watt's experiments were a direct extension of the practices and theories that were the domain of Enlightenment chemistry. This account presents a rich picture of the kind of problems that Watt was trying to solve in his steam experiments. Importantly, Miller shows that Watt's view of combustion and vaporization was tied strongly to the eighteenth-century notion that heat was a substance and not necessarily a force, wave, or burst of energy. The latter view of heat, moreover, was entertained more by natural philosophers, that is, thinkers who were often not very concerned with how their theories could actually be used to make money or to improve society. One of the interesting aspects of Miller's book is the way in which he shows how this elite group used Watt's findings to support an emerging theory of heat that was different from the one that Watt actually used to conduct his experiments. This point is linked closely to Miller's second claim, which is that Watt was not a "proto-thermodynamicist." In order to understand the weight of this claim, we must briefly recall that thermodynamics is the study of the relations between heat and motion, and that it treats heat more as a force and less as a substance. Many of the Victorians who later wrote about Watt held this area of science to be *the* cutting-edge field of the century; so it should come as no surprise that they treated Watt's steam experiments as precursors to the work of latter scientists like Lord Kelvin. Miller shows that this occurred not only in scientific articles but also in core textbooks that were used to train nineteenth-century physicists. The larger historiographic gem that emerges from Miller's analysis is that many Victorian scientists conflated Watt's understanding of heat with the thermodynamic principles that eventually became influential in physics.

James Watt, Chemist is based on a wide collection of sources that range from artifacts like statues and kettle pots to letters and diagrams. Moreover, many of Miller's points are hard won because they are extracted from chemical sources that require great skill to understand—a skill that is not sufficiently appreciated by historians and scientists. This being the case, Miller deserves to be congratulated for writing an important hook that shows how educators, scientists, and journalists used the life and work of James Watt in ways that confirmed their own beliefs, desires, and expectations. As such a study, it underscores the importance of establishing both the social and intellectual context of scientific thinkers, and it highlights several core problems engendered by Victorian historiography that are still with us today.

Matthew D. Eddy, Durham University

Alexander Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009. Paperback edition, 2010. Pp. 392.

Alexander Broadie's *A History of Scottish Philosophy* won the Saltire Society's Scottish History book of the year award for 2009, and it is easy to see why. Broadie's self-appointed task is to make the case for a distinct Scottish tradition of philosophy. He sets about this task in a careful and scholarly manner. His claim is not that there is a consistent set of ideas that are passed through the writings of Scottish philosophers; nor is it that the practice of philosophy in Scotland is distinct or specially set off from movements in the philosophy of other European nations. Instead, Broadie makes the case that Scottish Philosophers have been shaped by a shared cultural inheritance as they, discretely, have pursued philosophical inquiry. One might even say that the case being made is for philosophy as a "traditional" Scottish activity—a part of the cultural inheritance of the nation that shifts and changes through time but is always present in the cultural life of the Scots. This claim is not restricted geographically, in the sense of examining only philosophy practiced in the Scottish universities, as many of the early figures covered here spent most of their lives abroad. Rather, Broadie examines a group of thinkers who, over a historical period of eight hundred years, have shared the characteristics of being Scottish and being philosophers. His interest is in the ideas that they advanced and the activity (philosophy) that they pursued.

The book is structured as a historical narrative that provides brief biographical and historical context but for the most part focuses on a clear explanation of the core philosophical ideas of a cast of Scottish thinkers running from John Duns Scotus to John MacMurray. Readers of this newsletter will be chiefly interested in the chapters on Hume, Smith, and the Common Sense School. Broadie provides a clear account of the chief themes in the work of each and considers the relationships and oppositions between them. Part of his purpose in the book is to

remind us that the “awesome” achievements of eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy “did not come from nowhere” (p. 5). His point is not that there is a consistent current of shared ideas running from the medieval period through to the Enlightenment, but rather that there is a consistent tradition of philosophizing that laid the ground for the achievements of the Enlightenment.

The book also covers the legacy of eighteenth-century philosophy by discussing transitional figures such as Dugald Stewart and Sir William Hamilton. The gradual incursion of German ideas into the interests of Scottish thinkers is nicely described as Scottish philosophy taking on a “faint German accent” (p. 291) and is contrasted with the development of psychology as a distinct discipline to which Scottish thinkers such as Alexander Bain made early and important contributions. The Enlightenment has a long tail in Broadie’s account, but his assessment of nineteenth-century thought is not through the lens of decline from the Enlightenment or of the Renaissance that is part rejection of it. Rather, given his commitment to examining the activity of philosophy, it involves an examination of nineteenth-century thought for its own philosophical significance. Broadie’s case for a Scottish tradition of philosophizing leads him to reject accounts that seek to divide Scottish thought into Medieval, Reformation, Enlightenment, and Idealist periods. His point is not that these terms are meaningless but that they lead the reader away from the core truth that there is a “single sweep of intellectual activity” through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Although Broadie does not make a claim for a consistent set of ideas that mark off Scottish philosophy, he does hint that four recurring concerns or interests reappear. These themes—the importance of history, the practice of science, libertarianism in the free will debate, and realism in metaphysics—are viewed as recurring concerns of Scottish thinkers. They do not agree on what they have to say about them, but they do return to them as problems. While Broadie does not argue that there is something specific “in the water” in Scotland that leads these concerns to recur, his case for a developing cultural backdrop against which Scottish philosophy takes place does invite the reader to ponder what aspects of the Scottish cultural inheritance led its philosophers to return to these concerns over such a long period.

In a history of this nature there will obviously be some figures who appear only briefly (e.g., Gershom Carmichael and Adam Ferguson) or who are excluded, and some themes that, space permitting, might have been developed further (e.g., elements of Scotland’s theological and political thought might well have complemented much of the analysis here). But Broadie provides an admirably clear account of Scotland’s philosophical tradition that pays suitable, but not monopolistic, tribute to the eighteenth century. It represents a fine achievement.

Craig Smith, University of St. Andrews

Robert Zaretsky and John F. Scott, *The Philosophers’ Quarrel: Rousseau, Hume, and the Limits of Human Understanding*. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2009. Pp. x + 247.

When David Hume met Jean-Jacques Rousseau in Paris in 1765, he had no idea that his encounter with this most celebrated and notoriously most difficult of French *philosophes* would lead to one of the most remarkable friendships of the high Enlightenment and, within a year, descend into one of its most famous disagreements. The relationship between Hume and Rousseau fascinated contemporaries across Europe and has had the same effect on scholars ever since. *The Philosophers’ Quarrel* tells the story of how these two giants of the Enlightenment fell out so spectacularly, and tries to explain why this happened. The authors, Robert Zaretsky and John T. Scott, are, respectively, professors of French and political science and previously co-authored a book on Rousseau entitled *Frail Happiness*.

In their highly readable hook, Zaretsky and Scott paint a picture of a prickly, flamboyant, and contradictory Rousseau, contrasted by a well regarded and well liked but sometimes socially awkward Hume. Paying a great deal of attention to their individual backgrounds and characters, the authors do not let the two men meet properly until halfway through the book. Much is made of Rousseau’s quest for solitude and ability to make enemies, the most notable being Voltaire (“the Lord of Ferney”). Hume is also described as a tortured soul, and his well-known breakdown and subsequent change of heart, character, and mind are discussed at length. The intention is obvious: the authors set the scene for the “philosophers’ quarrel” which is to come, almost inevitably, when the two men finally meet. From the moment they are introduced in Paris, toward the end of Hume’s diplomatic mission there, it is clear to the reader that this friendship is destined to fail. Rousseau’s irrational and juvenile behavior—his initial unwillingness to attend the theatre, followed by the public spectacle he creates while watching the play; his reluctance to accept Hume’s offer of taking him back to Britain with him and finding a peaceful retreat in England, seeing him being coaxed on to various modes of transport like a child—culminates in Rousseau verbally attacking Hume, only to jump on his lap afterward, bursting out into tears and begging for forgiveness. The reconciliation was only temporary, however, and soon Rousseau openly accused Hume of interfering in his personal correspon-

dence. The allegations found their way into the British press, and by the summer of 1766 their friendship had come to an end.

Zaretsky and Scott explain the unraveling of Hume and Rousseau's friendship by their respective philosophies which, they imply, shaped their perceptions of each other. This is a valid and interesting approach; yet *The Philosophers' Quarrel* fails to deliver as its protagonists fall out. Although the authors cite a great deal of correspondence, they have neither delved further into the archives nor demonstrated much engagement with current historiography, despite the bibliography suggesting otherwise. Instead, they offer an interpretation based on the idea that the philosophy of each man determined his psychology—an interpretation that is simplistic (Hume's advice to Mme. de Boufflers regarding the possibility that her lover may marry her), often strained (Rousseau's behavior while watching a play in—to him incomprehensible—English), and at times flawed (Rousseau's supposed rejection of experience). While describing the world of the Parisian salons, where Hume and Rousseau met, as transnational, they offer a very inward-looking interpretation and fail to engage with some of the broader elements and issues of Enlightenment studies, such as the public sphere, the importance of friendship and personal relations, and the more sophisticated social and, especially, intellectual concerns of the high Enlightenment. The result is the unconvincing argument that Hume's "reason" and "experience" clashed with Rousseau's rejection of these. In other words, the two men's philosophies put limitations on their ability to understand each other.

The Philosophers' Quarrel falls somewhere between a historical novel and a scholarly publication, although the authors clearly aim mainly at the latter. Unfortunately, as a historical novel, the book also fails to deliver. While the book is an easy read, I was soon irritated rather than fascinated by an annoying and highly unsympathetic Rousseau and a phlegmatic Hume. Numerous spelling mistakes, sometimes to hilarious effect (Boswell "baldly" asks if he can stay the night at Ferney), and factual errors (the reigns of Louis XIV and Louis XV are confused, for example) do little to improve my opinion of Zaretsky and Scott's work. While it may appeal to a more general audience, few specialists will find merit in this book.

Esther Mijers, University of Reading

Vivienne Brown and Samuel Fleischacker, eds., *The Philosophy of Adam Smith: Essays Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (*Adam Smith Review*, vol. 5). London: Routledge, 2010. Pp. x + 266.

Good conferences establish an agenda of work to come in the years that follow. Bad conferences present completed work, sometimes out of soon-to-be published books or journal articles. While the latter material is more polished, it is also less inspiring. *The Philosophy of Adam Smith* is actually the fifth issue of *The Adam Smith Review* and a record of many papers given at a 2009 conference at Balliol College, Oxford, commemorating the 250th anniversary of Adam Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. It is, for the most part, representative of a good conference.

Following this volume, the agenda for Smith studies appears to be divided into three questions: (1) What do we learn by juxtaposing various editions of *TMS*? Smith's thoughts evolved over the six editions published during his lifetime. The changes, the contributors inform us, tell us a great deal. (2) How does Smith's theory compare to other philosophers'? This may seem like standard fare, but with a few notable exceptions, Smith scholarship has mostly focused on Smith's influences rather than placing him alongside other thinkers as equals. (3) What does Smith mean by sympathy? Several of the contributors challenge dominant interpretations, causing us to question whether, even after all this time, there can ever be consensus on the "hinge" of Smith's system.

Three essays in the volume focus on the differences between editions. D. D. Raphael presents a compelling case for understanding the 1759 edition of *TMS* on its own terms; Emma Rothschild argues for a better understanding of the book as a *historical* text; and Ryan Patrick Hanley makes the case that Smith is neither skeptic nor theist but, rather, a devotee of Hume's "natural belief." Hanley's article looks like a comparison of Smith and Hume, but its core lies in its discussion of how changes to the last edition reveal Smith's adoption of this Humean concept. The next thread in the book, the comparison of Smith and others, is represented by Charles L. Griswold's look at Smith and Rousseau's *pitié*, Angelica Nuzzo's examination of Smith's moral theory in light of Hegel, and Alice MacLachlan's argument for the superiority of Smith's approach to resentment over Butler's. Patrick R. Frieron claims to elucidate Smith's notion of intrinsic judgment but spends more time on comparisons of others' accounts than on *TMS* itself (he emphasizes Aristotle, G. E. Moore, and Martha Nussbaum.) It is thus best regarded as a comparative piece.

The essays on sympathy are wide-ranging. Bence Nanny argues that sympathy should not be understood as correspondence, but rather as a "visceral imaginative reaction" that is very different from empathy (p. 101). Robert Urquhart identifies "a paradox of sympathy," an irresolvable difference between *TMS* and *WN*'s notions of

individuality, although in the end, the problem is resolved by acknowledging the different “approaches” and “contexts” of the two works (p. 191). And Fonna Forman-Barzilai argues that despite contemporary commentators’ suggestions to the contrary, Smith is *anti*-cosmopolitan. However, she too qualifies her claim in the end, this time by discussing two distinctive “strands” of cosmopolitanism in Smith and considering *TMS* alongside *WN*, and not just in isolation (p. 156).

The volume is rounded out by several other essays emphasizing complexities attached to sympathy: Stephen Darwall’s discussion of Smith and honor, Geoffrey Sayre-McCord’s look at the role of utility for the impartial spectator, and Abby Ted Siraki’s reconstruction of Smith’s theory of tragedy. (This highlights Hume’s criticism of sympathy in the first edition of *TMS* and Smith’s famous response in the second; it therefore overlaps with the first thread I identified.) Finally, the volume closes with a brief account of Smith’s time at Balliol College by Ian Simpson Ross, which, among other things, offers a concise contribution to debates about Smith’s theory of market-based education (pp. 254–55).

The Philosophy of Adam Smith cannot quite figure out whether it’s a hook as the title advertises, a journal issue, as its lineage suggests, or conference proceedings, as its origin betrays. Some essays are as polished as any book could be, but the essays do not follow from one another in any meaningful way. This suggests a journal, with each component standing on its own. But the essays are uneven. The editing is odd in places, preserving unnecessary repetition, anachronistic informalities, and on a couple of occasions, too much rehashing of well-known material in the field. In the end, it feels more like conference proceedings than anything else.

The Philosophy of Adam Smith is, no doubt, important reading for Smith scholars. But I am more excited about the work that it promises than the volume itself. Given how good and how “in-progress” the contributions are, most readers will walk away anxious to read what comes next.

Jack Russell Weinstein, University of North Dakota

Nicholas Phillipson, *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life*. London: Penguin Books, and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010. Pp. xix + 346.

Ian S. Ross, *The Life of Adam Smith*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xxxii + 589.

Adam Smith is very fortunate to have Nicholas Phillipson and Ian Ross for his biographers. Indeed, all who wish well to Smith’s legacy must be grateful to both authors for the signal services their books have rendered in bringing the story of Smith’s life and thought to new and wider audiences. At the same time, it is a rare reader who will find both books equally engaging; even as both ultimately present a quite attractive picture of Smith as a deeply humane philosopher, their routes to and methods of so doing are very different.

Phillipson’s work is destined to be the more broadly popular of the two. Its aim is to provide an “intellectual biography” (p. 6) that traces the connections between Smith’s thought and character, as reflected in his published and extant unpublished works. The man who emerges from Phillipson’s portrait is deeply sympathetic, and it is impossible to read without great pleasure his account of Smith’s evolution from “tough-minded ambitious young philosopher” (p. 8) to mature civic administrator and “public intellectual” (p. 275). Along the way, Phillipson sketches all the key episodes in the story of Smith’s personal and intellectual life, from the historical events of his times at Kirkcaldy, Glasgow, Oxford, Edinburgh, Paris, and London, to his intellectual encounters with philosophical contemporaries from Hutcheson, Hume, and Montesquieu to Condillac, Voltaire, Rousseau, and Quesnay. In his prosecution of this latter task, Phillipson helpfully reminds us how much work still remains to be done on this front. It is to be hoped that his book, alongside the researches of several other contemporary scholars, will continue to inspire further scholarship on the understudied question of Smith’s sources.

Phillipson’s narrative finds its core in the claim that the “great project” that “shaped the whole of Smith’s intellectual career” was “to develop a genuine Science of Man” (p. 2). It is a project that he is said to have inherited from Hume—indeed, we are told that Smith was “the perfect Humean” (p. 71). And even though, as we know, Smith was compelled to leave this project “unrealized” (p. 6)—which Phillipson attributes to its being “beyond his physical resources” (p. 279)—this remains Smith’s signal and distinctive ambition. This focus has several benefits. In the first place, it enables Phillipson to show us a much richer figure than allowed by the all-too-familiar character of Smith as founding father of political economy or as patron saint of *laissez-faire*; Smith, as architect of the science of man, it is suggested, rather conceived of political economy as one element among many in social science, alongside the scientific study of the origin, evolution, and functions of language, jurisprudence, rhetoric, and morals. This reminder is very welcome. Yet at the same time one wonders whether focus on the science of man doesn’t at times swing the balance too far in another direction and minimize the significance of Smith as author of

The Theory of Moral Sentiments—that is to say, as a philosopher. *TMS* is chiefly in Phillipson's account a study of the relationship of commercial society to the civilized values of politeness and sociability. This is clearly an important dimension of *TMS*, but one might not unreasonably wonder whether it is the only or even the most important dimension. The past few decades have seen a welcome explosion of interest in *TMS* among scholars in a wide variety of academic fields—from experimental economics to neuroscience to contemporary philosophy—who have found in it much that illuminates their own independent lines of inquiry. As such, one wishes that this enjoyable book, so deservedly destined to become the standard popular account of Smith's life, had done more to illuminate Smith's philosophy, in *TMS* and beyond, and how it informs his broader project.

Ross's book provides a study in contrasts. Whereas Phillipson provides a brisk account that is immediately engaging, Ross's work is meant principally for the scholar. Phillipson himself describes Ross's book as "a deeply researched modern attempt to set Smith's life and works in contemporary contexts and one to which every modern Smith scholar must remain indebted" (p. 286). And this is quite right: in his level of critical detail and in his thorough and generous documentation of the archival, personal, and published sources on which he draws, Ross gives us a life of Smith that is not likely to be rivaled anytime soon. For all those interested in Smith's life and the lives of the contemporaries with whom he was engaged, Ross's book will be the authoritative source for the facts.

Given that these virtues were on display in the first edition of Ross's *Life*, published in 1995, readers will naturally want to know what is new in the second edition. Those hoping for revelation may be disappointed; nothing like the dramatic discoveries of the transcriptions of Smith's rhetoric and jurisprudence lectures (for which we can be grateful) or discoveries of his inaugural lecture at Glasgow or notes of his natural theology lectures (for which we can hope) has occurred in the interim. At the same time, Ross's diligent engagement with the recent specialized secondary literature and his continued engagement with archival sources enable him to bring added depth on a few discrete fronts. In the first place, Ross calls useful attention to the debates in the recent literature on some of the most important developments in contemporary scholarship on Smith, including his appropriation of Stoicism (p. 478n2), his engagement with Rousseau (p. 462n3), and the meaning of the notorious invisible hand (p. 472n7). Beyond this, readers are treated to new details on the question of Smith's possible knowledge of the early stages of the French Revolution and its influence on the sixth edition of *TMS* (pp. 413–21), on Hume's annotations on a printed copy of Smith's letter to the *Edinburgh Review* (p. 460n2), on the discovery of several letters from Dr. Tronchin to his son touching on Smith (p. 459n1), and on the authenticity of Voltaire's praise of Smith (p. 466n10).

This is hardly a comprehensive list, but it does serve to suggest that in most cases Ross's additions are framed as discrete points that supplement, deepen, or clarify points raised in the first edition. At the same time, two more general themes of some import emerge when these revisions are taken collectively. The first is the second edition's description of Smith as a fundamentally "eclectic" thinker (e.g. pp. xviii, 52, 88, 180, 453n3, 455n8, 464n8, 478n2). Ross means this in two senses. First, he is calling attention to Smith's engagement with the ancient Eclectics, invoked in *TMS* at 7.2.3.1-2. Second, he is providing grounds for resistance to a once-dominant belief that Smith is best understood through the lens of Stoicism. This is very helpful, and usefully builds on excellent recent work by Leon Montes and Neven Leddy, as Ross notes. Less welcome are two new footnotes that collectively comprise ten densely packed pages in which Ross offers a fairly detailed overview of global macroeconomic policy since the 1970s. The key players here are not Hume and Smith but Reagan and Thatcher, Bush and Blair, Friedman and Greenspan. Ross himself asks halfway through the first note, "what has all this to do with Adam Smith?" (p. 485). While he has an answer, it is hard to shake the feeling that Ross's spirited analysis would have been better published somewhere other than in this otherwise admirable biography, which so nicely complements Phillipson's engaging and very different project.

Ryan Patrick Hanley, Marquette University

The G. Ross Roy Collection of Robert Burns. An Illustrated Catalogue. Compiled by Elizabeth A. Sudduth, with the assistance of Clayton Tarr. Introduction by G. Ross Roy. Foreword by Thomas F. McNally. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009. Pp. xx + 456.

The history of Robert Burns collecting in North America is a research project worth pursuing. A number of legendary names—legendary at least in the hearts and minds of Burns scholars and followers—come to mind: John Gribbel, the Philadelphia collector who, famously and generously, gave the two-volume Glenriddel Manuscript (now in the National Library, MSS 86–87) to the Scottish nation; the two-generation collection of the Buffalo-based department store owners Robert B. Adam, Sr. and Jr., who (though better known for their remarkable Samuel Johnson collection, now part of the Hyde Collection at Harvard), amassed one of the great Burns collec-

tions of the day; A.S.W. Rosenbach, the Philadelphia dealer who dominated the rare book trade in the first part of the twentieth century and who accumulated Scotland's National Bard in large quantities. Gribbel's collection (of which Burns was only a part) was dispersed, partly in a 1941 New York auction; the Adam collection was bought in its entirety by Rosenbach, who added to it, sold items, and finally left the core of the collection to the Philadelphia library that bears his name. Detailed records at the Rosenbach of all the firm's Burns acquisitions, sales, etc. await the making of a fascinating account of the story of the twentieth-century market for Burns.

Among others entitled to share the Burnsian stage with these men, one is well known to ECSSS members: G. Ross Roy of the University of South Carolina. In the second half of the last century (and, of course, to the present day), Ross Roy has been the leading figure in the world of Burns collecting and Burns scholarship. His comprehensive collection and his extensive publications are monuments no less to his passion than to his acumen. Though perhaps lacking the boundless financial resources of the above-named collectors, and though reaping the Burnsian field when harvests could not compare with those of earlier times, Ross, together with his grandfather W. Ormiston Roy before him, has created a resource that is invaluable in every sense of the word. It is not merely a gathering of high-spot "trophy" items—though there are a considerable number of these—but an expansive and varied research collection, the catalogue of which comprises over four hundred pages.

In an era of online library catalogues and the digitization of more and more material, it is commendable that this work has been printed and bound in the handsome, old-fashioned way. No fuzzy search can replace the experience of leafing through the densely packed pages of this book and discovering something new. Burns himself, who loved books, would have enjoyed reading though this volume. A 76-page index is one of the best features, and the compilers should be praised for their efforts in this department. It must be said, however, that the index—not to mention the *Catalogue* itself—would have been more easily navigable if there had been some kind of a numbering/referencing system imposed on the items within each of the six main sections: I. Manuscripts and Typescripts; II. Printed Materials, Books, and Sheet Music by Burns; III. Burnsiana; IV. Art, Prints, Posters, and Photographs; V. Sound, Film, and Video Recordings; and VI. Realia and Cultural Objects. This is not to suggest that the more than five thousand items listed are not arranged in a logical manner. The basic plan within each section is chronological—an arrangement that lends itself to a loose narrative flow that is a reward of sorts for those who take the time to read the *Catalogue* in a systematic way. This is particularly the case in the first section, dealing mainly with manuscript material, where the notes are extensive and engaging. The placement of undated items at the end of the sections affords the reader some pleasant surprises, such as a Burns holograph of the poem "As I walk'd by myself, I said to myself" (p. 16). It might have been possible for the cataloguers to deduce the dates of such material and place them in sequence, but this is not a serious criticism.

Another surprise is the appearance of a small group of items at the end of the Manuscripts & Typescripts section beaded "Burns Inscriptions." These are four highly important books owned by Burns and inscribed and/or annotated by him, including an extensively annotated copy of volume one of John Moore's *Zeluco* (p. 19). The following entry is given in full as an example of the kind of annotations with which the Ross collection is embellished:

Moore, John.

Zeluco: Various Views of Human Nature Taken from Life and Manners, Foreign and Domestic.

London: Printed for A. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1789.

2 v.; 19.5 cm.

Volume 1 only. Modern brown morocco, beveled boards, gauffered edges.

Robert Burns's copy, with his signature and penciled marginalia in his hand. Given by Burns to Mrs. Dunlop. *Letters*, II, 37,

270. Exhibited at the Burns Exhibition, Glasgow, 1896. Lent by Mrs. Dunlop. See *Memorial Catalogue*, no. 1205A.

[an image of the inscription appears here]

Dr. John Moore was introduced to Burns's poetry when Mrs. Frances Dunlop sent him a copy of the Kilmarnock edition.

The two men opened a correspondence, and one of Burns's letters was the famous long autobiographical one of 2 August 1787, which supplies important details about the poet's early life and reading. In his letters to the poet, Moore comes across as a bit pompous: he suggested that Burns use English rather than Scots, but as deferential as Burns was to Moore, he wisely ignored his advice. The doctor sent him a copy of his novel *Zeluco*, and on Christmas morning 1793, Burns wrote to Mrs. Dunlop exchanging copies of the work, with these words: "Tell me how you like my marks & notes through the Book. I would not give a farthing for a book, unless I were at liberty to blot it with my criticisms." At one point Burns has written, "A glorious story!" The inscription to his friend reads: "My much esteemed Friend Mrs. Dunlop of Dunlop—Robert Burns."

Another welcome feature of the *Catalogue* is the material illustrated. There are about seventy-five images, mainly in black and white, conveniently listed at the front. Sparing little or no expense, the work also contains eight pages of color plates. The color images include the famous wooden porridge bowl and horn spoon belonging to Burns; the binding and title page of the Kilmarnock edition; a creamware jug from 1835, decorated in relief with scenes from "Tam O'Shanter"; and a row of variant bindings of the Henley-Henderson edition. It might have been

a good idea to give page references to the entries for these items, so that the reader could more easily locate their descriptions.

In all, this is a comprehensive (acquisitions up to June 2008), descriptive list of a remarkable collection—a jewel in the Scottish literary crown at the University of South Carolina. And yet it is only a collection within a larger collection gathered by Ross Roy. These other items—generally speaking Scottish literature not directly connected with Burns—could not be included but can be found in the university's online catalogue, which also includes Burns-related acquisitions since June 2008.

With so many items, it was a huge and even noble undertaking to bring together solid bibliographical records with original copy-specific descriptions. The compilers—not to mention the collector himself—are to be congratulated. It almost seems petty to wish that the eye of a professional copyeditor/proof reader had scrutinized the *Catalogue* one last time. This would have eliminated some minor redundancies and other inconsistencies. It is hard to believe, for example, that the John Miers oval silhouette of Clarinda is in fact 9 x 9 cm (p. 368), and it seems excessive to describe the legendary Burnsian porridge bowl (and spoon) as follows:

Wooden bowl.

1 wooden bowl; 17 cm. in diameter

A wooden bowl, with metal foot, Marked with the initials "R. B." and the date "1770."

Displayed at the Glasgow Centenary Exhibition of 1896 as Burns's own porridge bowl. Purchased by W. Ormiston Roy in 1932.

Horn spoon.

1 horn spoon; 22 cm.

Horn spoon with tapered handle purported to have belonged to Robert Burns. Purchased by W. Ormiston Roy probably in 1932.

In the private collection of G. Ross Roy.

Despite these small oversights (or rather repetitions), this *Catalogue* is not merely a delicious bowl of porridge but a full Scottish cooked breakfast that will heartily nourish the Burnsian community for some time to come.

William Zachs, Edinburgh

Iain Gordon Brown, *Rax Me That Buik: Highlights from the Collections of the National Library of Scotland*. London: Scala Publishers, 2010. Pp. 144.

Those of us who do archival research on eighteenth-century Scotland owe an enormous debt to the National Library of Scotland, especially if our work involves manuscripts. Iain Gordon Brown, the Principal Curator of the Manuscripts Division, has been particularly important in this regard during a long career at the NLS that will come to a close in September. Among other things, Iain has written a succession of delightful and well illustrated books on Scottish art and architecture, literature, and antiquarianism. My personal favorites—*Poet and Painter: Allan Ramsay, Father and Son* (1984) and *Monumental Reputation: Robert Adam and the Emperor's Palace* (1992)—combine elements of art and architectural history with social history, literary history, book history, and much else. In works like these, familiar figures appear in new forms, and the reader sees (that is the appropriate verb) more deeply into the Scottish past.

Like Brown's earlier publications, *Rax Me That Buik* is well illustrated and erudite, and carries the mark of its author's unique perspective on Scottish cultural history. But this time the subject matter ranges very widely across the centuries, with little time or space devoted to any one topic. Brown has given us a book of the library's "highlights," defined (in opposition to "treasures") as "fascinating, intriguing and historically significant printed books, manuscripts, maps, music and ephemera" (p. 4). Each page of the book consists of one or two images of such artifacts, with explanatory text and reference numbers. These are organized into fourteen thematic chapters that move more or less chronologically from the Middle Ages to the present. The eighteenth century is well represented, but the coverage is sporadic and unpredictable rather than systematic. We are treated to the personal vision of one of Scotland's greatest librarian-scholars, and the results are always visually striking and learned, if at times a touch idiosyncratic. It is safe to say that no one will come away from the book without having encountered new things of interest: for example, I was pleasantly surprised to see the image of James Boswell's inscription in a copy of Martin Martin's *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1703) that is dated 16 April 1774 and begins with these words: "This very Book accompanied Mr. Samuel Johnson and me, in our Tour to the Hebrides in Autumn 1773" (p. 117). One can't blame the author for sometimes boasting about the library's holdings, as when he describes Hume's correspondence as "the greatest of all archives relating to the Scottish Enlightenment" (p. 74) or the NLS's Scott holdings as "arguably the finest collection in any library in the world of a great writer's literary manuscripts, correspondence and papers" (p. 95). After all, the boasts may well be true.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

Recent Articles by ECSSS Members

- Thomas AHNERT, "Francis Hutcheson and the Heathen Moralists," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 8 (2010): 51–62.
- Corey E. ANDREWS, "Venders, Purchasers, Admirers: Burnsian 'Men of Action' from the Nineteenth to the Twenty-First Century," *Scottish Literary Review* 2 (2010): 97–115.
- Corey E. ANDREWS, "The Genius of Scotland: Robert Burns and His Critics, 1796–1828," *International Journal of Scottish Literature* (www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk), no. 6 (2010).
- Nigel ASTON, "James Beattie in London in 1773: Anglicization and Anglicanization," in *SLEC*, 139–61.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "Hume y inflexibilidad de la justicia: propiedad, comercio y expectativas," *Anuario Filosófico* 42 (2009): 65–88.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "'But Art Itself Is Natural to Man': Ferguson and the Principle of Simultaneity," in *AF:PPS*, 143–53, 214–17.
- Charles Bradford BOW, "Samuel Stanhope Smith and Common Sense Philosophy at Princeton," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 8 (2010): 189–209.
- Alexander BROADIE, "Aristotle, Adam Smith and the Virtue of Philosophy," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 8 (2010): 79–89.
- Rosalind CARR, "Women and Darien: Female Participation in a Scottish Attempt at Empire, c. 1696–1706," *Women's History Magazine* 61 (2009): 14–20.
- Rosalind CARR, "The Gentleman and the Soldier: Patriotic Masculinities in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 28 (2008): 102–21.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Robert Burns and Ireland," *International Journal of Scottish Literature* (www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk), no. 6 (2010).
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Robert Burns and the Excise," *The Drouth*, no. 34 (2009/10): 69–73.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS et al., "Some Recent Discoveries in Robert Burns Studies," *Scottish Literary Review* (2010): 143–58.
- James CAUDLE, "James Boswell (*H. Scoticus Londoniensis*)," in *SLEC*, 109–38.
- Leith DAVIS, "Negotiating Cultural Memory: James Currie's *Works of Robert Burns*," *International Journal of Scottish Literature* (www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk), no. 6 (2010).
- JoEllen DELUCIA, "Bluestocking Salons and the 'Bower of Malvina,'" *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 23 (2009): 10–13.
- John DIXON, "Between Script and Specie: Cadwallader Colden's Printing Method and the Production of Permanent, Correct Knowledge," *Early American Studies* 8 (2010): 75–93.
- John DIXON, "Cadwallader Colden and the Scottish Enlightenment in Transatlantic Context," *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 23 (2009): 7–10.
- Ryan K. FRACE, "Vice, Virtue, and Industry: The Church of Scotland's Employment of Political Economy, c. 1700–c. 1752," *Religion in the Age of Enlightenment* (2009 [i.e., 2010]), 1:171–97.
- Ryan K. FRACE, "Religious Toleration in the Wake of Revolution: Scotland on the Eve of Enlightenment," *History* 93 (2008): 355–75.
- Howard GASKILL, "Ossian na Europa," in *Poesias de Ossian*, ed. Gerald Bär (Lisbon, 2010), 15–53.
- Howard GASKILL, "'Von Celtischen Galischen Sachen soll nächstens etwas folgen': Goethe und 'Ossians schotisches,'" in *Album Amicorum et Amicorum: Für Hans Grüters* (Frankfurt am Main, 2010), 69–78.
- Katharine GLOVER, "Polite London Children": Educating the Daughters of the Scottish Elite in Mid-Eighteenth-Century London," in *SLEC*, 253–71.
- Mark GOLDIE, "Alexander Geddes at the Limits of the Catholic Enlightenment," *The Historical Review* 53 (2010): 61–86.
- Evan GOTTLIEB, "Blameless Empires and Long-Forgotten Melodies: Anne Grant's 'The Highlanders,' Walter Scott's *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, and the Poetry of Sympathetic Britishness," *JNT: Journal of Narrative Theory* 40 (2010): 253–74.
- Anita GUERRINI, "Scots in London Medicine in the Early Eighteenth Century," in *SLEC*, 165–85.
- Ryan Patrick HANLEY, "Scepticism and Naturalism in Adam Smith," in *The Philosophy of Adam Smith: Essays Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (*Adam Smith Review*, vol. 5), ed. Vivienne Brown and Samuel Fleischacker, 198–212.
- James HARRIS, "Introduction: The Place of the Ancients in the Moral Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 8 (2010): 1–11. [special issue on the ancients and Scottish Enlightenment moral philosophy]
- Eugene HEATH, "Ferguson and the Unintended Emergence of Social Order," in *AF:PPS*, 155–68.
- Eugene HEATH and Vincenzo MEROLLE, "Introduction," in *AF:PPS*, 1–8.
- Regina HEWITT, "Treason, Sedition and Reform: The Scottish Trials and Joanna Baillie's *Ethwald*," *Scottish Literary Review* 1 (2009): 1–19.
- Sandro JUNG, "'Staging' an Anglo-Scottish Identity: The Early Career of David Mallet, Poet and Playwright in London," in *SLEC*, 73–90.
- Michael KUGLER, "Adam Ferguson and Enlightened Provincial Ideology in Scotland," in *AF:PPS*, 125–42.
- Emanuele LEVI MORTERA, "Reid, Descartes e la *Way of Ideas*," in *Dal Cartesiano all'Illuminismo radicale*, ed. C. Borghero and C. Buccolini (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2010), pp. 103–25.

- Karen E. MCAULAY, "From 'Anti-Scot', to 'Anti-Scottish Sentiment': Cultural Nationalism and Scottish Song in the Late Eighteenth to Nineteenth Centuries," *Library & Information History* 26 (2010): 272–88.
- Karen E. MCAULAY, "Antiquarianism versus Creativity in Late Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Scottish Song," *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 24 (2010): 7–12.
- Vincenzo MEROLLE, "Hume as Critic of Ferguson's *Essay*," *AF:PPS*, 73–88.
- Frederick V. MILLS, Sr., "Granville Sharp and the Creation of an Episcopate: Ordo Episcoporum est Robur Ecclesiae," *Anglican & Episcopal History* 79 (2010): 34–58. [deals with Samuel Seabury and the Scottish episcopacy]
- Hiroshi MIZUTA, "Towards a General Theory of Government—As a Possible Third Magnum Opus of Adam Smith," *Transaction of the Japan Academy* 62 (2007) [in English and Japanese]
- Stana NENADIC, "Introduction" and "Military Men, Businessmen, and the 'Business' of Patronage in Eighteenth-Century London," in *SLEC*, 13–45 and 229–52.
- Jennifer ORR, "Samuel Thomson's Poetic Fashioning of the Ulster Landscape," *Scottish Literary Review* 2 (2010): 41–58.
- James OTTESON, "God and Smith's Impartial Spectator," in *Adam Smith as Theologian*, ed. Paul Oslington (London and New York: Routledge, 2010).
- James OTTESON, "Editor's Introduction," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 7 (2009): 1–7. [special issue on the sociology of the Scottish Enlightenment]
- Murray PITTOCK, "Plaiding the Invention of Scotland," in *Tartan and Tartanry*, ed. Ian Brown (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 32–47.
- Murray PITTOCK, "Scottish, Irish and Welsh Romanticism," in *Teaching Romanticism*, ed. David Higgins and Sharon Ruston (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, in association with Higher Education Academy/The English Subject Centre, 2010), 38–48.
- David RAYNOR, "Why Did David Hume Dislike Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society?*," in *AF:PPS*, 45–72.
- John G. REID, "Empire, the Maritime Colonies, and the Supplanting of Mi'kma'ki/Wulstukwik, 1780–1820," *Acadiensis* 38 (2009): 78–97.
- Jane RENDALL, "Scottish Citizens of London, Whigs, Radicals, and the French Revolution, 1788–1795," in *SLEC*, 272–99.
- Jane RENDALL, "Women Writing War and Empire: Gender, Poetry and Politics in Britain during the Napoleonic Wars," in *Gender, War and Politics: Transatlantic Perspectives, 1775–1830*, ed. Karen Hagemann, Gisela Mettele and Jane Rendall (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2010), 265–83. [Anne Grant]
- John ROBERTSON, "The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707: The Scope for a European Perspective," in *Forging the State: European State Formation and the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707*, ed. Andrew Mackillop and Micheal O'Siochru (Dundee: Dundee University Press, 2009), 49–67.
- John ROBERTSON, "The Conceptual Framework of Anglo-Scottish Union," in *Forms of Union: The British and Spanish Monarchies in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. Jon Arrieta and John Elliott, a special number of *Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos*, Cuadernos 5 (2009): 125–37.
- John ROBERTSON, Editor's introduction to Hugh Trevor-Roper, *History and the Enlightenment* (London: Yale UP, 2010), vi–xxii.
- Ian Simpson ROSS, "Adam Smith's Smile: His Years at Balliol College, 1740–46, in Retrospect," in *The Philosophy of Adam Smith: Essays Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (*Adam Smith Review*, vol. 5), ed. Vivienne Brown and Samuel Fleischacker, 253–62.
- G. Ross ROY, "Robert Hartley Cromek to William Creech," in *Homecoming 2009 Burns Chronicle Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of his Birth*, ed. Peter J. Westwood (2010): 504–12. [on five letters to Creech concerning Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns* (1808)]
- Ken SIMPSON, "Burns and Fergusson 'the bauld an' slee'," *Homecoming 2009 Burns Chronicle Commemorating the 250th Anniversary of his Birth* ed. Peter J. Westwood (2010): 469–78.
- Ken SIMPSON, "The Burns International Conference, 1990–2008," *Burns Chronicle* (Spring 2010): 64–67.
- Craig SMITH, "The Scottish Enlightenment, Unintended Consequences and the Science of Man," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 7 (2009): 29–46.
- Fiona STAFFORD, "Lice, Mice, Bumclocks, Grubs: The Challenge of Regional Language and the Legacy of Robert Burns," *International Journal of Scottish Literature* (www.ijsl.stir.ac.uk), no. 6 (2010).
- C. Jan SWEARINGEN, Review essay on Alexander Broadie's *A History of Scottish Philosophy* (2009), *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 43 (2010): 186–99.
- Siobhan TALBOTT, "Communities on the Continent: Franco-Scottish Network Building in a Comparative European Context, 1560–1685," in *L'Écosse et ses doubles: ancien monde, nouveau monde*, ed. Morag Landi (Paris, 2010), pp. 25–50.
- Siobhan TALBOTT, "My Heart is a Scotch Heart": Scottish Calvinist Exiles in France in their Continental Context, 1605–1638," in *Emigrants and Exiles from the Three Kingdoms in Europe, 1603–1688*, ed. David Worthington (Leiden, 2010), pp. 197–214.
- Siobhan TALBOTT, "Jacobites, Anti-Jacobites and the Ambivalent: Scottish Identities in France, 1680–1720," in *Écosse: l'identité nationale en question*, ed. Bernard Sellin, Pierre Carboni, and Annie Thiec (Nantes: CRINI, 2009), pp. 73–88.

Siobhan TALBOTT, "Scottish Women and the Scandinavian Wars of the Seventeenth Century," *Northern Studies* 40 (2007): 102-27.

Paul TONKS, "Empire and Authority in Colonial New York: The Political Thought of Archibald Kennedy and Cadwalader Colden," *New York History* 91 (2010): 25-44.

Paul TONKS, "Rethinking the Eighteenth-Century Province and Periphery: A Historiographical Reflection on Scotland, Scottish Thought, and the Government of the British Atlantic Empire," *Korean Journal of British Studies* 22 (2009): 139-59.

Paul TONKS, "William Playfair, the Scottish Enlightenment, and a Conservative Vision of the Historical World Order," in *Korean Journal of British Studies* 20 (2008): 371-93.

Mark TOWSEY, "Exporting the Scottish Enlightenment: The Reading Experiences of a Colonial Governor's Wife," in *L'Écosse et ses doubles: ancien monde, nouveau monde*, ed. Morag Landi (Paris, 2010), pp. 107-28.

Mark TOWSEY, "'Patron of Infidelity': Scottish Readers Respond to David Hume, c.1750-c.1820," *Book History* 11 (2008): 89-123.

Mark TOWSEY, "First Steps in Associational Reading: The Foundation and Early Use of the Wigtown Subscription Library, 1790-1815," *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 103 (2009): 455-95.

Mark TOWSEY, "'Philosophically Playing the Devil': Recovering Readers' Responses to David Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment," *Historical Research* 83 (2010): 301-20.

Jack Russell WEINSTEIN, "The Two Adams: Ferguson and Smith on Sympathy and Sentiment," in *AF:PPS*, 89-106.

C. A. WHATLEY, "Introduction: Recovering the Everyday in Early Modern Scotland" (co-author: E. A. Foyster), "Order and Disorder," and "Work, Time and Pastimes," in *History of Everyday Life in Scotland, 1600-1800*, ed. E. A. Foyster and C. A. Whatley (Edinburgh University Press, 2010), 1-26, 191-216, 273-303.

AF:PPS = Vincenzo Merolle and Eugene Heath, eds., *Adam Ferguson: Philosophy, Politics and Society* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2009).

SLEC = *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Stana Nenadic (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2010). ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland, vol. 8.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2010-31 Dec. 2010

Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2010: £5,206.37

Income: +£20,083.71 (dues and book orders: £1,113.25; interest (after taxes): £7.33; readjustment from 2009 St. An drews conference: £590; transfer from Bank of Scotland/Halifax Certificate of Investment: £18,373.13)

Expenses: -£406 (Princeton Theological Seminary student conference grants: £406)

Balance 31 Dec. 2010: £24,884.08

Bank of Scotland/Halifax Certificate of Investment

Balance 1 Jan. 2010: £17,300.45

Interest: £1,072.68

Total at maturity: £18,373.13 (transferred to Bank of Scotland Chequing Account)

Balance 31 Dec. 2010: 0

Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2010: \$6,106.69

Income: +\$8,555.45 (dues and book orders: \$3538; anonymous donation: \$250; transferred from PayPal account: \$4767.45)

Expenses: -\$4,692.25 (printing: \$1583; supplies: \$329.60; Princeton Theological Conference expenses: \$2,043.63; ten copies of *Scots in London* for resale: \$492.80; advertising: \$151.22; newsletter support: \$42; NJ state non-profit society filings for 2010 and 2011: \$50)

Balance 31 Dec. 2010: \$9,969.89

PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2010: \$3,782.21

Income: +1383.38 (dues and book orders: \$1,114.99; interest: \$3.47; currency transfers: \$264.92)

Expenses: -\$4,808.16 (PayPal fees: 440.71; transfer to Bank of America checking account: \$4,767.45)

Balance 31 Dec. 2010: \$357.43

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2010 [vs. 31 Dec. 2009]: £24,884.08 [£22,506.82] + \$10,327.32 [\$9,888.90]

Eighteenth-Century Scotland (ISSN 1085-4894) is published annually by the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society (ECSSS) and is sent to all ECSSS members each spring. Submissions of articles, announcements, and news items are welcome. Address all correspondence to the editor: Richard B. Sher, Executive Secretary-ECSSS, New Jersey Institute of Technology, University Heights, Newark, NJ 07102-1982, USA.

ECSSS officers for 2010–2012: President, Mark G. Spencer (history, Brock University); Vice-President: Catherine Jones (English, U. of Aberdeen); Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Richard B. Sher (history, NJIT and Rutgers University-Newark); Members-At-Large: Özlem Çaykent (history, Istanbul), and Ralph McLean (English, U. of Glasgow).

ECSSS Executive Board: Mark G. Spencer (to 2014); Catherine Jones (to 2014); John W. Cairns, law, University of Edinburgh (to 2014); Ned Landsman, history, Stony Brook University (to 2012); Susan Manning, English, University of Edinburgh (to 2014); Richard B. Sher (to 2016); Juliet Shields, English, U. of Washington (to 2012); Kenneth Simpson, English, U. of Glasgow (to 2012); Craig Smith, Philosophy, University of St. Andrews (to 2012).

Tell a Friend—or a Library—about ECSSS

If you appreciate this newsletter, others may, too. Please tell a friend or your university library about us. Increased membership will enable us to continue to provide members with excellent services at bargain rates. Our membership fees are payable to "ECSSS" in either U.S. dollars or pounds sterling, or via Paypal.com to ecsspp@gmail.com (adding \$1 per subscription to cover Paypal.com's administrative fees).

For calendar year 2011 the rates remain:

Individuals: \$30 or £18

Graduate Students, Retired, or Unwaged: \$15 or £9

Institutions: \$40 or £25

Supporting: \$40 or £25

Five-Year: \$125 or £75

Copies of back issues, when available, are \$5 or £3 each for individuals (\$10 or £6 for institutions).

Visit Us on the Web at www.ecss.org

For information on our Studies in 18th-Century Scotland book series:

<http://www.bucknell.edu/script/upress/series.asp?id=3>

Eighteenth-Century Scotland
Federated NJIT/Rutgers-Newark History Department
New Jersey Institute of Technology
University Heights
Newark, NJ 07102-1982 USA
Tel: 973-596-3377
Fax: 973-596-5345
E-mail: sher@njit.edu