EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

The Newsletter of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society

No. 26 Spring 2012
ISSN 1085-4894

ECSSS BACK IN ABERDEEN

ECSSS headed north last summer for its second conference at the University of Aberdeen (where we previously met in 1995), this time held under the auspices of the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies (headed by Cairns Craig) from 7 to 10 July 2011. Titled "The Arts and Sciences of Progress," the conference featured plenary lectures by Colin Kidd (then of Queen's U. Belfast) on "Hypocrisy and Dissimulation in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Case of the Rev. Alexander Fergusson of Kilwinning" and Fiona Stafford (Oxford U.) on "Everything Unreconciled? The Place of Macpherson's Ossian," as well as a closing plenary lecture by Calum Colvin (U. of Dundee) on contemporary artistic representations of Ossian. The Ossianic themes were part of a celebration of the 250th anniversary of the publication of Macpherson's first Ossianic epic, *Fingal*, and many of the leading scholars of Ossian participated in the conference, including (besides Fiona Stafford), Howard Gaskill, Dafydd Moore, Nick Groom, and Gauti Kristmannsson, among others. Other literary panels focused on topics such as "Bardic Literature," "Literature, Politics and Popular Culture," and "Bards and Poets." Philosophical and religious topics were well covered in panels on "Common Sense Philosophy and Religion," "Common Sense and Moral Sense," "Theological and Religious Issues," "The Nature of Progress," and an all-star panel on "Hume and his Contemporaries" with Alexander Broadie, M. A. Stewart, James Harris, and David Raynor. Two panels dealt with Scotland and America: "Scottish Emigrants in North America" and "Scotland and America." This conference also continued a recent tradition of round tables focused on particular publications: this year's round table, organized by Ryan Hanley for the International Adam Smith Society and chaired by Nicholas Phillipson, explored recent translations of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. This is only a small portion of the panels on offer at the conference. The conference was also enriched by a splendid excursion to Fyvie Castle, which houses an exceptional collection of eighteenth-century Scottish paintings, especially by Henry Raeburn. From Fyvie the participants traveled to the Aberdeen Art Gallery for the conference dinner, where Nicholas Phillipson, who has done so much to develop the field of Scottish Enlightenment studies as a teacher and a scholar, was awarded the Society's Lifetime Achievement Award by his Edinburgh University colleague, Susan Manning.

Our thanks to Cairns Craig and his Institute for welcoming us to Aberdeen!

SCOTLAND IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Brilliant spring weather and an equally splendid conference program combined to make ECSSS's 25th anniversary conference in Columbia, SC, a huge success. Hosted by the University of South Carolina's Libraries, the conference was held from 12 to 15 April 2012 in the new Ernest F. Hollings Special Collections Library, where conference organizer Patrick Scott had arranged an extraordinary book exhibition on eighteenth-century Scottish themes. In keeping with the bookish setting, the theme of the conference was "Media & Mediation in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: Voices, Manuscripts, and 'Guid Black Prent.'" Even before the conference officially began, walking tours were held of the old campus (founded in 1801), and Elizabeth Sudduth, Director of the library's Irvin Department, hosted a stimulating pre-conference session on four Scottish projects now in progress at the university. The conference proper began on the afternoon of the 12th with David S. Shields of the host university presenting a plenary lecture on "The Man with the Plan: Sir John Dalrymple, the Final Theorist of the First British Empire." Then Patrick Scott's fine exhibition formally opened amidst a wine reception.

Over the next two days there were seventeen concurrent panels and three more plenary talks and panels on a wide range of topics. Print and manuscript

media were the focus of several panels, including "The Pamphlet and the Press," "Paratext and Marginalia as Textual Mediation," "Literary Mediations," "Mediation in the Scottish Rhetorical Tradition," and a plenary round table on "Book History and Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies"— featuring Stephen W. Brown (Trent U.), co-editor with Warren McDougall of the recently published *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion*, speaking about the production of that volume. A panel on "Religion, Print, and the American Revolution" bridged the gap between print culture and religion, and the latter topic also came to the fore in panels on "The Seceders" and "Mediating the Presbyterian Tradition." David Hume and Adam Smith each had dedicated panels. Not to be outdone, Robert Burns had two and a half, as we might expect at a conference situated in the largest and most important center of Burns studies outside of Scotland, thanks to a lifetime of collecting by G. Ross Roy. Burns was also the centerpiece of another plenary, the annual W. Ormiston Roy Memorial Lecture, delivered this year by Nigel Leask (U. of Glasgow), on "'Writing myself out': Robert Burns's Manuscript Books and the Eighteenth-Century Commonplace Tradition." Scottish character and sociability received attention in a panel on "Sociability and Improvement" and another panel marking the recent publication of Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning's *Character, Self and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment*. The arts and popular culture were not neglected either, as we saw in panels on "Cultural Mediation and the Arts," a paper by Andy Greenwood on the castrato Tenducci's brief career in Edinburgh in a panel on "Mediating Gender," and the concluding plenary on "Medialities and Scottish Popular Culture," featuring Maureen McLane (New York U.) and Ruth Perry (MIT).

With all work completed, the fun began. First came the conference dinner, after which ECSSS president Mark Spencer (Brock U.) presented conference organizer Patrick Scott with an engraving of the poet and physician John Armstrong. Next vice-president Catherine Jones (U. of Aberdeen) presented the Society's Lifetime Achievement Award to ECSSS past-president Jane Rendall (U. of York). Besides her significant scholarly contributions, Jane has been a tireless mentor to younger women scholars such as Catherine, and she is the first woman to receive this honor. The conference concluded with a rousing ceilidh hosted by Thomas Keith (Pace U.), featuring vocals by Ruth Perry, Ian Simpson Ross (U. of British Columbia) and Ingrid Ross, Maureen McLane, and Stephen Brown; poetry readings by William Dawson (*Burns Chronicle*), Ralph Stewart (Acadia U.), Henry Fulton (Central Michigan U.), and Pauline Mackay (U. of Glasgow); piping and accordion-playing by William Donaldson (MIT); and fiddling by Nigel Leask and teenage local prodigy Austen Speare. Thank you Patrick Scott for making our 25th annual conference such a pleasure!

DAWSON & TOWSEY ELECTED

At the AGM in South Carolina, the membership elected Deidre Dawson (Residential College of Arts and Humanities, Michigan State U.) as president and Mark Towsey (History, U. of Liverpool) as vice-president., replacing Mark Spencer and Catherine Jones, respectively. Valerie Wallace (history, Victoria U. of Wellington) and Andy Greenwood (Music, U. of Chicago) were elected members-at-large. Ned Landsman (History, State U. of New York at Stony Brook) and Craig Smith (Philosophy, U. of St. Andrews) were reelected to four-year terms on the Executive Board, while Ken Simpson (English, U. of Glasgow) and Juliet Shields (English, U. of Washington) ended their terms on the Board.

SEE YOU AT THE SORBONNE

ECSSS's next conference will be at the Sorbonne in Paris from 3 to 6 July 2013, under the able direction of Jean-François Dunyach. It will be co-sponsored by the International Adam Smith Society, with the theme "Scotland, Europe and Empire in the Age of Adam Smith and Beyond." The opening plenary lecture will be delivered by Emma Rothschild (Harvard U.), and other plenary talks were being planned at press time. There will also be a visit to Musée Carnavalet, a concert by the Sorbonne Scholars, and a very special conference dinner at Le Procope (est. 1686). For more information, see the enclosed Call for Papers, also posted at the Society's website (www.ecsss.org).

Also keep in mind: in October 2014 ECSSS will meet in Montreal with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, followed by the Enlightenment Congress in Rotterdam in July 2015.

ECSSS AT ASECS

ECSSS had an especially notable presence at this year's ASECS conference in San Antonio, Texas, 22–24 March 2012. The conference venue was the Hyatt Regency, nestled on the beautiful Riverwalk. ECSSS sponsored two panels of four papers each on Friday morning. The first, "Varieties of Enlightenment in Scotland and America" (chaired by Mark Spencer) featured Jonathan Yeager, "Enlightenment and Evangelicalism in the Life and Thought of John Erskine," Caroline Austin-Bolt, "American Happiness and Scottish Sympathy, Or, How the Idea of Sympathy Informs America's Pursuit of Happiness," Roger Fechner, "John Witherspoon on Speaking and Writing

Proper English in Scotland, England, and America," and C. Jan Swearingen, "Patrick Henry and the Presbyterians of Virginia: The Scottish Jeremiad in America." The second morning panel, "Gender and/in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" (chaired by Leith Davis) featured Linda Van Netten, "Reinforcing and Restoring British National Identity in the Face of the American Threat: Mary Ann Hanway's *A Journal to the Highlands of Scotland*," Elizabeth Kraft, "The Duchess of Gordon and Robert Burns," JoEllen Delucia, "A Philosophy of Conjectural Fiction: The Scottish Enlightenment and the Aesthetics of Progress in the Novels of Maria Edgeworth and Regina Maria Roche," and Aida Ramos, "Entrepreneurs, Spinners, and Strumpets: Women's Labor in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Political Economy." Twenty-eight attendees gathered together in the Navarro Room for a lovely luncheon (co-sponsored with the Irish Studies Caucus). Finally, there was an ECSSS-sponsored afternoon roundtable (chaired by Leith Davis) on "Irish and Scottish Articulations in the Eighteenth Century," with contributions by Michael Brown, Thomas Curley, JoEllen Delucia, Jim Smyth, and Natasha Tessone. All three of ECSSS's sessions were well attended, with lively participation from the audience. Thanks to Mark Spencer and Leith Davis for once again organizing such a fine program.

Next year's ASECS meeting will be in Cleveland, Ohio, 2–7 April. ECSSS will sponsor one session on "Scottishness, Britishness, and the Union," organized by our new vice-president, Mark Towsey (m.r.m.towsey@liverpool.ac.uk), and another (jointly with the Irish Caucus) titled "Across the Great Divide: Connecting Eighteenth-Century Irish and Scottish Studies," organized by Leith Davis (leith@sfu.ca). Those interested in participating should contact the organizers directly or apply on the ASECS website when the panel topics are announced in the summer.

HUME AFTER 300 YEARS

The Hume Society and the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh joined together to celebrate David Hume's 300th birthday with a memorable six-day conference at the Old College, 18–23 July 2011. Under the direction of James Harris and Susan Manning, the conference began on the evening of 18 July with a plenary lecture by Amartya Sen on "David Hume and the Demands of Ethics." Of particular interest to ECSSS members were Karen O'Brien's plenary lecture on "Human Agency in Hume's Historical Thought"; a panel discussion on Nicholas Phillipson's reissued *Hume: The Philosopher as Historian*, featuring David Allan and Moritz Baumstark; a panel discussion on "Hume as Stylist" that included Adam Potkay; a paper by Ryu Susato on Hume's social philosophy; a paper by Marc Hanvelt on Hume on the liberty of the press; a panel discussion of several recent books, including John Wright's on *A Treatise of Human Nature*; a panel on "Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment in India," with Vicky Coltman, Michael Fry, Emma Rothschild, and Amartya Sen; and a paper on "A Bibliography for Hume's *History of England*" by Roger Emerson and Mark Spencer, with commentary by David Raynor.

Visitors to the conference could also enjoy a lovely exhibition of Humean books and images at the Writers' Museum in Lady Stair's Close. Organized by William Zachs, and featuring materials from his personal collection, the exhibition was accompanied by a handsomely printed catalogue titled *David Hume: Man of Letters, Scientist of Man.*

WALTER SCOTT, COWBOY

Due to unfortunate timing, the Ninth International Scott Conference took place at the University of Wyoming at the same time that ECSSS was meeting in Aberdeen last summer (5–9 July 2011). Titled "Walter Scott: Sheriff and Outlaw," the conference was impressively organized by Caroline McCracken-Flesher. Among the ECSSS members and friends who participated (besides Caroline herself) were Tara Goshal Wallace, Matthew Wickman, Ian Duncan, Leith Davis, and Evan Gottlieb.

CSSP ACTIVE

On 2–4 March 2012 the Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at Princeton Theological Seminary held its spring workshop on "From Sympathy to Empathy: Hume and Beyond." Upcoming this 6–9 September is an international symposium on "Scottish Common Sense Philosophy and the Natural Law Tradition in America," celebrating the bicentenary of the seminary. For more information, go to the center's website at www.ptsem.edu/library/cssp.

ADAM FERGUSON IN FRANCE

In a remarkable development, Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) has been selected as the set text for all candidates for the "civilization" option in the "English" agrégation in France in 2012 and 2013. The agégation is the highly competitive examination that is taken by all candidates for secondary school certification in France.

To mark the occasion, Clotilde Prunier of the Département d'études Anglophones in the Université Paris Ouest Nanterre La Défense organized a one-day conference at her university on 3 February 2012. The conference began with Alexander Broadie, "Why Should We Read Adam Ferguson Today?," which could have been used to justify the inclusion of the

Essay as a set text. Katherine Nicolai elaborated on the different ways in which Ferguson engaged with antiquity; Bertrand Binoche discussed the relationship between Ferguson and Montesquieu; Silvia Sebastiani, set the *Essay* in the context of Scottish debates on the natural history of man and the concept of "civil society"; Michel Faure emphasized the ambiguity of Ferguson's apparent nostalgia; and Norbert Waszek, "Progrès et déclin chez Ferguson: 'a long, cool look at both sides of the medal of modern civilization,'" expanded on Duncan Forbes's description of the *Essay* that appears in his subtitle.

J.G.A. POCOCK HONORED

This year's American Historical Association conference in Chicago honored John Pocock with a panel on 5 January 2012 to celebrate his sixty years of scholarly achievement. The panel was organized and chaired by Peter Miller (Bard Graduate Center) at the behest of AHA President, Anthony Grafton. John Marshall, a colleague of Pocock's at Johns Hopkins U., opened the tributes by focusing on the richness and subtlety of Pocock's discussion on English understandings of "liberty" in *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* (1957). John Robertson (Cambridge U.) discussed the contexts of Pocock's reception in the United Kingdom, contrasting Cambridge, where Pocock studied, but of whose "School" he was always a distant member, with Oxford, which was more sympathetic to his interests in religion and historiography. Robertson recalled the impact of *The Machiavellian Moment* (1975) on the modern study of the Scottish Enlightenment, as a generation of scholars responded to his suggestion that Scottish historical thinking had owed much to the kind of "civil history" pioneered by Machiavelli and Harrington. But he pointed out that Pocock's interest in "sacred history" is almost equally long-standing, and that both are integral to his understanding of Gibbon's achievement in the now five great volumes of *Barbarism and Religion* (1999–).

Two other panelists addressed themselves particularly to Gibbon. Orest Ranum, another Johns Hopkins colleague, suggested that even though Gibbon's interest extended to *Ossian*, he had never quite understood the place of the North in the Romantic imagination: Gibbon was not Walter Scott. Finally, after Bela Kapossy (U. of Lausanne) also spoke, John Pocock responded to all the panelists with a panoramic, unscripted talk, commenting on key moments in his intellectual biography, and reviewing the progress of *Barbarism and Religion*. He was, he reported, advancing deep into his sixth and almost certainly final volume, which would reach the fall of the Empire in the West, the end of Gibbon's third volume. As it happened, he had come to Chicago from reading the histories of Whitaker and the Macphersons, whence Gibbon derived his understanding of *Ossian*, and he hoped to have new observations on the subject.

John Robertson, Cambridge U.

SCOTTISH STUDIES IN TEXAS

Graduate students at the University of Texas at Austin have started a Scottish Studies interest group led by English Department faculty Sam Baker and George Christian. The group meets regularly for a variety of activities, looking at Scottish art, letters, and philosophy of the Enlightenment and Romantic periods. Recently graduate students Connie Steel, Jay Voss, and Matt Gertken gave sneak previews of their conference papers on Hume, Smith, and Swift at an informal panel on eighteenth-century Scotland and Ireland. In April Robert Jacks shared a dissertation chapter on James Boswell's Corsican adventures over beers at the Dog and Duck. The next week there was a Burns poetry night at the Dive. We invite ECSSS members traveling through Austin to join us for a sociable beverage (or two). For more information, contact Connie Steel (connie.m.steel@gmail.com).

Connie Steel, U. of Texas at Austin

SCOTTISH STUDIES AT HARVARD

On 17 April 2012 a one-day workshop took place at Harvard University on the theme "Globalizing Scottish History." Sponsored by Harvard's Center for History and Economics, the workshop brought together established academics, postdoctoral scholars, and graduate students from both sides of the Atlantic in order to bring fresh perspectives to the study of Scottish history by transcending the traditional focus on the nation-state. The workshop was organized by Valerie Wallace, the inaugural Fulbright Scottish Studies Scholar and Visiting Fellow at Harvard University, whose award is sponsored by the US–UK Fulbright Commission and the Scottish government. The workshop's proceedings were tweeted throughout the day and can be viewed on Twitter @GlobalScot2012.

David Armitage (Harvard U.), introduced the day by outlining three approaches to the field of global history: the diasporic, dialogic, and diachronic. Placing Scotland's history in a global context, Armitage suggested, could enhance our understanding of Scotland's place within the wider world, but the discipline of global history could also be developed by using Scotland as a lens. We should not only "globalize Scottish history," Armitage argued, but also "Scotticize global history." The first session generated much sparkling debate and focused on the early modern period. The session showcased three excellent papers which placed Scottish political and intellectual debate within a European and transatlantic framework.

Colin Kidd (Queen's U. Belfast), spoke on the theme of sovereignty and the world of 1707; Paul Jenkins (U. of Wisconsin at Madison), highlighted the European dimension to Scottish debates over Quaker radicalism; and Ralph McLean (U. of Glasgow), spoke on the influence of Scottish rhetoric in revolutionary America. The second session began with an illuminating paper by Will Deringer, a graduate student at Princeton U., on the meaning of the Equivalent, the politics of calculation, and the Union of 1707. Deringer was followed by Tariq Ali, a graduate student at Harvard, who presented on the jute trade and Dundee's relationship with the Bengal delta. Ali speculated that the Scottish industrialists' encounter with Bengal produced a new discourse on rural development. Emma Rothschild (Harvard U.), ended the session with commentary on the potentials and drawbacks of globalizing Scottish history. Is global history merely bombastic nationalist history on a grander scale? The final session included a paper by Valerie Wallace on the imperialist and universalist dimensions to the Scottish Covenanting movement. William Donaldson (MIT) spoke next on the global diffusion of bagpiping. Workshop participants had the honor and great joy of listening to Bernard Bailyn (Harvard U.) and James Duncan (Harvard U.) give closing remarks on the day's proceedings. As David Armitage noted in his introduction, Bailyn, together with the late John Clive, initiated the dialogue between provincialism and cosmopolitanism in a special issue of the *William and Mary Quarterly* in 1954. Bailyn suggested that Scotland's people, their exodus and circulation, are central to the history of a globalized Scotland. Samuel Johnson was wrong, Bailyn argued; the Scottish diaspora did not weaken the nation but rather strengthened it, reconstituting it globally.

The workshop marked the culmination of a year-long, interdisciplinary Scottish Studies Reading Group, also organized by Valerie Wallace, and consisting of faculty, graduate students, and undergraduate students from Harvard and MIT. In fall 2011 the group read and discussed writings on the Scottish Enlightenment by several ECSSS members, including Colin Kidd, John Robertson, Richard Sher, and Paul Wood. In the spring the group broadened its focus to consider the interrelated themes of language, literature, and the history and relevance of the global and transnational turn for Scottish scholarship, including the literature of empire and the uses of Gaelic literature.

Valerie Wallace, Harvard U.

NRS FOUNDED

Since the last issue of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, the National Archives of Scotland (NAS) has merged with the General Register Office for Scotland (GROS) to form the National Records of Scotland (NRS). The formal union took place on 1 April 2011 and brought together two of the main organizations holding public records in Scotland. GROS held the old parish records of baptisms, marriages, and burials from before 1855, as well as the later, statutory registers and the Scottish censuses. NAS held the records of Scottish government, the courts, and the land registers. The prime interest for most ECSSS members will be the records of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century government, the courts, and the church, together with the outstanding collection of private, family, and other records held by the former NAS. All these series have transferred to the new organization, and although there have been some changes to our public services, most regular visitors will notice little difference. Ongoing digitization continues to speed onsite access to a variety of original records from the former NAS. Access to original records and images remains free for historical research. There is a charge for using the online and onsite resources of ScotlandsPeople (now part of NRS) that are indispensable for biographical research.

Behind the scenes, cataloguing work continues, and we hope later this year to complete a revamp of an older catalogue of the Moray of Abercairny papers (GD24). This will highlight significant Jacobite material, as well as many important documents about the politics, religion, and society of eighteenth-century Scotland, and will be searchable on our online catalogue. We also expect to be able to announce the purchase for the nation of a major collection which will be of particular interest to ECSSS members.

Inevitably much work remains to be done to complete the amalgamation. The email and website addresses for the former NAS will continue for some months yet, but soon both former organizations will have a single new address at www.nrscotland.gov.uk.

David J. Brown, Head of Court, Legal and Private Records, National Records of Scotland

SHS REACHES OUT

Founded in 1886, the Scottish History Society exists to promote the study of Scotland's past, and in particular to pursue the publication of manuscript sources relating to all aspects of Scottish history. The Society's members, who include academics, students, and interested members of the public, receive an annual volume, which normally comprises a critical edition of a major manuscript or body of manuscripts, together with a substantial introduction explaining the source, its background and its context. The Society also publishes occasional *Miscellany* volumes, incorporating a number of shorter manuscript editions and introductions. The Society's volumes are now published by

Boydell and Brewer.

While SHS volumes range across Scottish history since the twelfth century, the Society has a long tradition of publishing vital primary source material from the eighteenth century. This goes back to our very first publication, *Bishop Pococke's Tours in Scotland, 1747–1760*, edited by D. W. Kemp in 1887, but includes many more recent volumes, such as Daniel Sezchi's edition of the correspondence of George Lockhart of Carnwath (1989) and Alastair Durie's volume on *The British Linen Company, 1745–1775* (1996). ECSSS members may be particularly interested to learn of some forthcoming eighteenth-century publications, such as Keith Beebe's two-volume edition of *The McCulloch Examinations of the Cambuslang Revival, 1742*, shortly to go to press. The next *Miscellany* will also contain three items of special interest to ECSSS members: "A Narrative of the Rise, Progress and Success of the Societies of Edinburgh for Reformation of Manners," by Sir David Home, Lord Crossrig (edited by Nathan Gray); "The Most Memorable Passages of the Life and Times of Mr John Bell, 1706" (edited by Jeffrey Stephen); and "John Erskine's Letterbook, 1742–45" (edited by Jonathan Yeager).

The SHS welcomes new members. Membership forms and further information can be found at www.scottishhistorysociety.org/departments/scottishhistorysociety. We would also welcome proposals for new primary source publications, whether for a full-length volume or a shorter miscellany piece: please contact me if you wish to discuss this possibility (jdmccallum0@hotmail.com).

John McCallum, SHS General Editor

IN MEMORIAM: ANDREW SKINNER

Andrew Skinner (1935–2011), one of the foremost historians of Scottish political economy during the age of Adam Smith, died on 22 November 2011 at the age of 76. Born in Glasgow, where he was educated, and raised near it, Andrew was arguably the last member of a rich, mainly Glaswegian, school of scholarship on the history of Scottish political economy that stretched back to W. R. Scott and included R. L. Meek and A. L. Macfie—whose retrospective 1967 volume, *The Individual in Society: Papers on Adam Smith*, is still worth consulting in order to understand what Andrew inherited from this tradition. Andrew's major contributions to the field began in 1966, with the editing of the first modern edition of *An Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy* by Sir James Steuart, then a forgotten figure outside of the school just mentioned. A decade later he collaborated with R. H. Campbell as the joint textual editors of the now-standard two-volume edition of the *Wealth of Nations* (1976) in the Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith, published by Oxford University Press. Although he never wrote a monograph, Andrew produced a seminal collection of essays on Smith in 1979: *A System of Social Science*. Later he and R. H. Campbell collaborated again, to co-author a brief biography of Smith and a volume of essays on the Scottish Enlightenment, both of which first appeared in 1982.

As these works increased his academic reputation, Andrew was elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1988 and of the British Academy in 1993. He also moved up the ranks in the University of Glasgow's Department of Political Economy, rising from lecturer in 1964 to the Daniel Jack Professor in 1985 and finally the Adam Smith Professor from 1994 until his retirement several years later. At the same time, he was playing an increasingly large role in university administration, as dean of the faculty of social sciences, then clerk of senate, and finally vice-principal for the arts faculty.

Andrew was hospitable with friends, and he was an early supporter of this society. For many years, I could not go to Glasgow without being taken for lunch or at least a coffee at the College Club, with no opportunity to reciprocate. Andrew had passed a year at Cornell University as a postgraduate student (earning what he called his BTA—Been to America), and he was always a generous friend to North American scholars, whom he sometimes entertained with his wife Mary (who survives him) at their home in Cardross. At ECSSS's first major conference (after two small ones), in Glasgow in the summer of 1990, Andrew was a very active participant, chairing one panel, reading a paper on the economic significance of the 1790 edition of Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* at another panel, and participating in the memorable concluding round table on Glasgow and the Enlightenment with Tom Devine, Roger Emerson, Andrew Hook, and D. D. Raphael. My most vivid memory of Andrew comes from the magnificent reception and dinner that the Lord Provost and city of Glasgow put on for our conference at Glasgow City Chambers on 2 August 1990, when Andrew appeared in Highland dress, looking every bit the distinguished Scottish scholar and academic administrator that he was.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

David Armitage has been elected an honorary fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities...**Tom Bonnell**'s eagerly awaited volume of the original ms edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* covering the period 1776–80 will be published this summer...in 2011 **Toni Bowers** published her book *Force or Fraud:*

British Seduction Stories and the Problem of Resistance, 1660–1760 (Oxford U. Press) and finished a forthcoming volume of essays (co-edited with Tita Chico), titled *Atlantic Worlds in the Long Eighteenth Century: Seduction and Sentiment*; now Toni intends to return to work on her long-deferred work on the language of the 1705–1707 Union debate…**Leslie Ellen Brown** is now professor of music emeriti at Ripon College, enjoying retired life in Pennsylvania and completing a book on the interplay of ethics and aesthetics in the Scottish Enlightenment…**Olivier Bruneau** is now associate professor of mathematics at the U. of Lorraine in Nancy, associated with the Archives Poincaré…**Özlem Çaykent** has a new position teaching history at 29 Mayis University in Istanbul…**Martin Clagett** has finished his book on Jefferson's teacher, William Small…last August **JoEllen DeLucia** gave birth to a son, Simon,…**Ian Duncan** has been appointed to the Florence Green Bixby Chair in English at the U. of California at Berkeley; in 2011 Ian published a new edition of James Hogg's *Confessions of a Justified Sinner* for Oxford World's Classics (2010) and gave keynote lectures at three international conferences on Romanticism…**Matthew Dziennik** completed his PhD at the U. of Edinburgh in Dec 2010 with a thesis on Highland soldiers in British America from 1756 to 1783; during the 2011–12 academic year he was the Bernard and Irene Schwartz Postdoctoral Fellow at the New York Historical Society and The New School University, working on "Committee and Community in the Revolutionary Middle Colonies"…**Matthew Eddy**'s second child, George, was born last New Year's Eve… **Louisianne Ferlier** was spotted working on George Keith at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, where she was the Humphry Wanley Fellow…**Clarisse Godard Desmarest** received her PhD from the U. of Paris–Sorbonne with a thesis on the culture of the Scottish elite (see article below)…**Knud Haakonssen**, now of the Swedish Collegium for Advanced Study in Uppsala, has spent the first half of 2012 as the Lim Chong Yah Professor of Political Science at the National U. of Singapore…**Colin Kidd** has been appointed professor of modern history at St Andrews U.…**Bruce Lenman** is putting together a collection on military engineers and the state…**Susan Manning** and Eve Tavor Bannet have co-edited a new volume of articles on *Transatlantic Literary Studies 1660–1830*, published by Cambridge U. Press… **Caroline McCracken-Flesher** has published two new books: *The Doctor Dissected: A Cultural Autopsy of the Burke and Hare Murders* (2012) and *Scotland as Science Fiction* (2011)…in November **Karen McAulay** of the re-named Royal Conservatoire of Scotland spoke to the Mull Historical and Archaeological Society on Alexander Campbell's Hebridean song-collecting…**Zubin Meer** is the editor of *Individualism: The Cultural Logic of Modernity* (Lexington Books, 2011), which puts special emphasis on eighteenth-century realism… **Katherine Nicolai** received her PhD from the U. of Edinburgh in Nov 2011 with a thesis on "The 'Scottish Cato'? A Re-examination of Adam Ferguson's Engagement with Classical Antiquity"...**Jennifer Orr** received her PhD in Scottish literature in June 2011 from the U. of Glasgow with a thesis on Samuel Thomson (see her article below)…**Pam Perkins** is the new president of CSECS...**Alasdair Raffe** is now lecturer in history at Northumbria U. in Newcastle upon Tyne...last Nov **Philipp Rössner** of the U. of Leipzig successfully completed his senior doctoral thesis on economics and social unrest in central Europe during the Reformation and was appointed Privatdozent (PD)… **Patrick Scott** has retired as director of the U. of South Carolina's Irvin Dept. of Rare Books & Special Collections and a distinguished professor of English; he continues as co-editor of the projected new series of the journal *Studies in Scottish Literature* and as research fellow for Scottish collections, working with the G. Ross Roy Collection, on the late R. D. Thornton's unpublished material on James Currie, and on a volume for the Stirling–South Carolina Edition of James Hogg…in Nov **Rick Sher** kicked off Trinity College Dublin's conference on "Ireland, America, and the Worlds of Mathew Carey" with a plenary lecture on conflicting visions of reprinting in late 18th-century Britain, Ireland, and America, delivered at the National Library of Ireland…**Fiona Stafford** and Gerald Bär have edited for publication by Peter Lang the proceedings of a conference on Ossian and national epic, held in Lisbon in Nov 2010…**M. A. Stewart** has been honored with the presentation of a Festschrift, entitled *Philosophy and Religion in Enlightenment Britain: New Case Studies*, edited by Ruth Savage and published in April 2012 by the Clarendon Press, Oxford...in summer 2011 **Jeff Strabone** was a fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the U. of Edinburgh…in Nov **Paul Tonks** was married in Korea, where he has taught for several years, and he reports that he and his new wife are expecting a summer baby… **Mark Towsey** has been appointed director of postgraduate research at the U. of Liverpool…**Mark Wallace** is spending this summer as a visiting research fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, U. of Edinburgh…**Valerie Wallace** spent the 2011–12 academic year as a Fulbright Scottish Fellow at Harvard U., where she inspired a reading group on eighteenth-century Scotland; she will soon head to New Zealand to take up a position in the History Dept. at Victoria U. of Wellington…**Jack Weinstein**, the director of the Institute for Philosophy in Public Life at the U. of North Dakota, was promoted to professor of philosophy in 2010…**Jonathan Yeager** has signed a contract with Oxford U. Press for an anthology of writings by eighteenth-century evangelicals.

Samuel Thomson and the Continuity of Scottish Enlightenment Culture in the North of Ireland, 1790–1816

By Jennifer Orr
University of Oxford

Samuel Thomson (1766–1816), known popularly as the "Bard of Carngranny," experienced a period of fame during the 1790s and early 1800s, when he published three volumes of verse and became a regular contributor of poetry to Belfast newspapers. Thomson is closely associated with the radical Belfast activists of the 1798 Rebellion, and his enduring political radicalism eventually was substituted for a visionary, Romantic spiritualism. Considered within the political, social, historical, and theological contexts which informed his work, he is significant as a literary artist, an initiator of literary discussion and correspondence, and the father of a northern school of Irish poets at the intersection of eighteenth-century Augustanism and first-generation Romanticism. Thomson also provides an interesting study in the complexities of Scottish and Irish identity in the early Romantic period, and it is that aspect of his career that forms the focus of this article.

For many years the name Samuel Thomson was familiar in Scottish literary studies only as a correspondent of Robert Burns. Like so many of Burns's poetic contemporaries, Thomson greatly admired Burns's poetry and political views, but this relationship must be placed within the context of an entrenched cultural marriage between Scotland and the north of Ireland. Centuries of migration between the two islands and a plantation of settlers, many of whom were Scottish Presbyterians, not only altered the character of Ireland demographically but also formed a secure foundation for "Scottish" literary culture. From the beginning of the eighteenth century, Irish Presbyterian students traveled to the University of Glasgow to be educated, since entry to Trinity College Dublin required an oath to the Protestant (Anglican) succession. One such young man was the Ulsterman James Arbuckle (1700–1742?), who subsequently became an early influence on the poetry of Samuel Thomson. Writing to Burns in 1791, Thomson purposefully referenced a line from Arbuckle's own epistle to Allan Ramsay, as if establishing himself in a tradition of Ulster-Scots poetic dialogue between brother poets:

> "'tis so long since Scotia's plains
> could boast of such melodious lays.'"
> 'twould take, O Burns! an able pen,
> To match thy merit and due praise.

Certainly Scottish themes and imagery—albeit addressed in English—were widespread from the early eighteenth century, not least in the *Ulster Miscellany* (1752), which featured several poems in the Scots language. The contemporary popularity of Allan Ramsay has been somewhat overshadowed by a greater amount of scholarship relating to Robert Burns's contested influence on the United Irish poets of the 1790s. Ironically, Thomson penned more than twenty verse epistles to a range of contemporary poets, and only one to Burns.

Thomson recognized himself as a hybrid product of a Dissenting Irish culture, referring to Scotland as the land "where our forefathers had their homes." By claiming this heritage, he was consciously identifying with self-improvement, literacy, and the Enlightenment philosophy of the Scottish universities, exemplified by Francis Hutcheson (1694–1746), the Ulster-born professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow. Yet the inspiration of the Enlightenment was tempered by Romantic interest in the language of the common people, which in Thomson's case was the vernacular Scots diction, spoken in County Antrim, which he mixed among his English language poetry. Thomson's choice of a "hame-bred" muse dressed "in costume Scotch o'er bog and park" ("To Captain McDougall, Castle Upon," 1806) was a symbolic choice that went beyond mere linguistics: it referred to a distinctly Irish inspiration expressed not only through vernacular language but also through verse forms such as the Standard Habbie and Christis Kirk stanzas, which had by Burns's time become staples for vernacular poetry. Thomson's referencing of Burns and his decision to place the Ulster-Scots vernacular so centrally in his debut volume, *Poems on Different Subjects, Partly in the Scottish Dialect* (1793), was both a cultural declaration of independence and a pragmatic attempt to capitalize on Burns's bardic vocation as poet of a particular people. One of Thomson's earliest published poems in the Belfast newspapers, "The Simmer Fair" (1792), includes a subtitle "in the manner of Burns," which has often been read as a blatant intention to imitate; but it is not clear if the word "manner" refers to a choice of similar lin-

guistic form, stanza form, subject matter, or a combination of the three. Thomson had to be confident that such a model would appeal to his readership, both local and national, seeking to strike a balance between realism and literary convention. For Thomson, it is clear that Burns's depiction of Ayrshire folk culture included many recognizable scenes from life in County Antrim, particularly those relating to the Presbyterian religious politics and the culture of holy fairs.

Burnsian satire, particularly of community hypocrisy, was particularly resonant among the Presbyterian community in the north of Ireland, where disputes within the Scottish church were taken up with equal, and sometimes greater, fervor. Thomson's privileged reception in 1797 of a dictated manuscript of Burns's "Holy Willie's Prayer" (1785) revealed to him a more radical side of Burns's religious satire and, in addition to his wide reading in Augustan satire of Pope, helped to form his poetic voice. Indeed, his later poetry shows considerable development of the Scots dramatic monologue for his own themes. "A Peripatiae" (1806) shows the prevailing influence of Scottish verse forms in Thomson's work as he makes use of the Habbie stanza. Here the poet examines two themes of the late-Enlightenment period which look toward the Romantic period: corruptive wealth and the psychological mindset, drawing on Burns's description, in his "Second Epistle to John Lapraik" (1785), of Fortune as "but a bitch":

> Fortune, I'll nae mair ca' thee bitch,
> Base, hoodwink'd beldam, hag or witch,
> Gude faith, thou'st lent me now a hitch,
> To glad my heart,
> And set me up amang the rich
> To play my part.

The subject of the poem is a common tailor who has experienced a *Peripeteia*—a sudden change in fortune—and Thomson plays on the implications of revelation that accompany the use of *peripeteia* in Aristotelian drama to enable the newly wealthy protagonist to reveal his changed personality. The theme of gilded riches is conveyed in the speaker's contempt for the "duddy bykes, / O' cotter snools ydelvin dykes," conflating his former friends into stereotypical, nameless masses. The speaker, a man who has no learning and has never been more than six miles from home, allows his gold to "clatter," or speak clumsily, for him. He goes on to cite the benefits of gold in disguising what is rotten underneath, thereby exposing his own superficial gilding:

> 'Tis gold keeps a' the world alive,
> To war it mak's the sodger drive; [*soldier*
> It gie's auld maids, o' fifty-five,
> The cheek o' youth;
> And gars fause preachers aften rive, [*causes*; *attack*
> And hide the truth.

Thomson's speaker not only condemns himself but shifts into standard register, to remark more generally on how those oppressed by the rich still hold up their oppressors as role models:

> The fact is plain to half-shut eyes,
> However some their minds disguise;
> The wealthy man all ranks do prize
> As meritorious,
> And equally the poor despise,
> As base inglorious.

The implication is that the poor are conditioned to despise *themselves* and that all ranks secretly aspire to the rich man's status.

Thomson's own frustration with his status as an impoverished poet finds its voice at this point as the speaker comments that if a "man o' genius" is "duddy" or ragged, he will not be taken seriously by anyone, let alone the rich. There are hints of Robert Fergusson's parody of the macaronic Edinburgh citizen as the speaker critiques the fact that the "the veriest stupid dunce, / Clad *a la mode*" will be classed a "man o' merit" with the help of fortune. As the register relaxes back into braid Scots, the poet's voice retreats into the

speaker who hopes his "auld acquaintance" now see that it would be unfit to be "on equal terms" or "to joke thegither." The poet utilizes the final Habbie couplet in order to inject the sting of the speaker's malice; just as he assures himself of the inevitability of his family's "spitefu' dart / O ranklin' envy," he gives rise to his own spite: "But this I don't regard a fart, / 'Twill ne'er surprise me." The vulgar contempt of the tailor for his own family is revealed as he describes them as a "sneakin' pack and poor"—a quotation from Allan Ramsay's "Mouldy Mowdiwart; or the last speech of a wretched miser"—here used to refer to his relations who "mak" [him] sconner," or shrink away in disgust:

> I'm sure my daddy does perplex me,
> My brither's visits sadly vex me,
> My mither too, wi' kindness racks me,
> Auld stinkin' smoaker;
> I often wish when she distracts me,
> The devil choak her.

The referencing of Ramsay is wholly appropriate, given the many conflicted characters that Ramsay created in Standard Habbie poems like "Elegy on John Cowper, Kirk-Treasurer's Man." But the self-revelatory aspect of "A Peripitae" takes this one stage further in allowing the speaker to unravel his own miserly character. Given Thomson's infamously cantankerous reputation for satirizing himself and others, it is possible that the poet makes a sly, parodic reference to his own prospects, thankful that no reversal of fortune is likely to alter his attitude to friends. Consistent with the satirical tradition of the habbie stanza, the poem may make local references, but it still retains a universal moral against the accumulation of riches, and the power of money to corrupt.

Thomson was not content to reserve Scottish models for comedy, or simply to parry Ramsay, Fergusson, and Burns. When exploring and challenging Enlightenment social theory, and particularly in relation to the impact of poverty on the rural laboring classes—the centre of his radical political impulse—he appears to feel most comfortable using Scottish models. Furthermore, by contrast to previous assessments, it can be argued with confidence that Thomson's proficiency in Scots verse was propelled by the death of Burns rather than curtailed by it. To an extent, the end of Burns's poetic career in 1796 created a gap in the market for Scottish vernacular, enabling Thomson to move from reacting against the work of Burns in poems like "O Scotia's Bard, my Muse alas!" (1795)—a parody of Burns's "Does Haughty Gaul Invasion Threat"—to examine Irish political and social themes through the Habbie stanza in his famous United Irish allegory "To a Hedge-hog" (1799).

Following Burns's death in 1796, Thomson engaged with the political philosophy of one of Burns's most famous poems, "The Twa Dogs" (1786), to create a poem which was a philosophical and stylistic triumph. "Allan, Damon, Sylvander and Edwin, a Pastoral inscribed to my Rhyme-composing Brother, Mr Alexander Kemp" (1799) is by far Thomson's longest and most ambitious poem, combining the imagined voices of Allan Ramsay, Robert Fergusson, Robert Burns, and James Beattie, and incorporating them within a poetic competition. Setting the scene on "a shining day in flow'ry June, / When mountains, groves and vales were all in tune," the poet introduces Sylvander (Burns) and Edwin (Beattie) as "twa delightful swains, / As ever pip'd on Caledonian plains, / Sowing their sonnets to the season gay." Joined by Allan (Ramsay) and Damon (Fergusson), Edwin proposes a song competition in which he will judge the spontaneous poetic compositions of his predecessors. Thomson thus adopts the voice of each poet in turn, beginning with Ramsay, offering a characteristic composition in the style of each. Although he attempts to emulate each poet, he molds their output to his own philosophic agenda, focusing mainly on his often-favored anti-luxury motif. Thus Ramsay sings "The Bee and the Wasp, a Fable," in which the industrious bee triumphs over the "thieving" and opportunistic wasp, described as finding safety in selfishness, "A safety Nature ne'er design'd." Beattie praises Ramsay's efforts but counsels him to "quat the heathenish for your native fays!" and to abandon neoclassical models for the folklore of his native Scotland. Fergusson is then called upon to offer further verses featuring his "moving" pastoral character Corydon, who laments for his dead companion, Alexis. Beattie's reaction to Fergusson's poetry is emotional ("I love thy music), but he is nonetheless keen to summon Sylvander (Burns) to offer his "inchanting lay," "As wild as Ossian's own, sublime it rolls away."—setting the affective emotional tone of *The Poems of Ossian* as the apex of poetry.

In this poem Thomson famously provides a continuation of Burns's "The Twa Dogs, a Tale" (1785). Burns's poem takes inspiration, in part, from the dialogues of Fergusson, in which humble poverty is pitted against sophistication and manners. Caesar, an aristocrat's pet, and Luath, a poor man's collie, socialize to-

gether in spite of their class differences, demonstrating how the animals are more virtuous than their owners. The twist of Burns's poem comes as Luath rejects Caesar's sympathy for the poor man; as he argues, the poor man is happy because the most important things he can hope to enjoy are rest after toil and the company of family. Thomson had sent a fragment of Sylvander's tale—his continuation of Burns's poem—to Alexander Kemp, a Scottish poet resident in Coleraine, who had also made the acquaintance of Robert Burns during the late 1780s. In addition to a mutual acquaintance with the now-deceased Burns, Kemp and Thomson had also introduced many of Burns's pieces into the Belfast newspapers, and had formed their own acquaintance through a series of sonnets published under the pseudonyms "Albert" and "Alexis" in the *Belfast News Letter*. Since "The Twa Dogs" was a mutual favorite of Kemp and Thomson, a continuation of its political sentiments to reflect on contemporary Irish radical politics seemed an appropriate project for Thomson, then still intent on building a reputation within the Scots tradition.

As Sylvander (Burns) begins his tale, the reader ventures in midway through the dogs' dialogue, as if the piece is a continuation of the previous conversation as "recorded" by Burns. The reader is informed that the dogs are discussing "simple man, again, the lord o' the creation," but Thomson begins by allowing Caesar directly to question the justice of man's dominion over animals on the basis of "this boasted reason, human pride," concluding that there is no difference between man and beast, save two legs. The poet reminds the reader of the absurdity of the situation, as Luath takes Caesar down a peg or two, reminding him that his life of leisure allows for such philosophical inquiries. Luath's speech soon reveals that he is dissatisfied with the "*cotter snools*" who feed him, suggesting that Thomson's collie himself may have become dangerously bourgeois, and far from Burns's admirer of the noble savage. In further contrast to Burns's Luath, Thomson's collie appears to eschew pride in rural virtue, detailing bitterly the many insults and sufferings he endures and claiming that he would give anything to swap lives with Caesar: "I'd gie my tail, but onie strife, / To niffer hames wi' you for life." Thomson performs a particularly interesting intertextual experiment in allowing his version of Caesar to point out the discrepancy between the Luath with whom he now converses and the Luath of his previous discussion (as imagined in Burns's poem): "I thought ye had been...as independent as a lark."

Thomson's Caesar is a much more cynical creation who "maist as soon be Hornie's cat" than even countenance swapping places with his "lick-plate...petty rogue" companion. He espouses a much more radical theory, that virtue is no more common in one class of life than in another:

> And Happiness and fair Content,
> Are no to onie station pent—
> Content an' Happiness the same,
> Just in the bosom hae their hame.
> Suppose we somewhat different are,
> But a' the difference hide and hair,
> We're form'd o' ae congenial mind,
> The disinterested, social kind;

Luath criticizes the "peace-destroying yelps" of the "vulgar, glutton, mungrell whelps" in the church, mill, and market-place. These lines, a post-1798 addition to the original manuscript, show Thomson implicitly accusing the emergent mercantile classes of encouraging the laboring classes to rise up during the Irish Rebellion. Thomson's Caesar and Luath appear to have arrived at a concept of virtue that is more Christian than civic republican, and both are implicitly critical of the misleading application of Rousseau's philosophy of the noble savage by the revolutionary masses, evaluating that this state of habitation is every bit as unobtainable as Rousseau himself had admitted.

The discussion between Caesar and Luath takes a distinctly theological turn, betraying the poet's own excited moral indignation that a virtuous heart does not necessarily merit reward on earth:

> This human life is but a farce,
> Where honest actors are but scarce.
> To see each wealthy blockhead thrive,
> And o'er the tap o' merit drive;
> And tho' the worthy are but feant,
> To see them pine in rags and want;
> To see that adoration given
> To paltry gold, man owes to heaven;

Thomson's Luath is less of a philosophical collie. Not content to say that God wills that some are poor and others rich, he expresses deep anger at the sinful behavior of those who hoard wealth. Alexander Kemp, the recipient of the poem's first draft, evidently interpreted the sentiments as seditious, warning Thomson to "shun politics" in his future works. Yet it is notable that, in the finished 1799 version, it is Caesar who appears to moderate the radical Luath, suggesting that Thomson intended a rather different subtext: the sage advice of the aristocracy is still of some value. The fact that Thomson puts pseudo-theological arguments into the mouths of his dogs takes the poem to a level beyond what Burns achieves in "The Twa Dogs" and demonstrates that he was prepared to revise Burns's social commentary significantly to suit his own political context.

The dogs' dialogue thus reveals some surprising common ground between the laboring class and aristocracy and reveals the heart of Thomson's political philosophy in the wake of the Anglo-Irish Union. Specifically, the poem divulges the poet's consciousness that the true class strife lies between men like himself, who were to form the radical masses of 1798, and an emergent bourgeoisie, which in its refusal to pass on the benefits of class mobility, is in itself a common enemy to both the poor man's collie and the aristocrat's pet. Here Thomson imbues his Caesar with an apparently Cobbettian world view, in which he modifies his snobbish, anti-aristocratic sentiments toward apportioning blame to corrupt mercantile classes who have succeeded only in narrowing the opportunities for the rural classes to better themselves:

> The *Poor*, who make the multitude,
> Untaught and vulgar, squalid, rude:
> The poor, who still the piper pay,
> Are left, alas! To grope their way

According to Thomson, the fault lies ultimately in poor education, which allows avaricious people, notably clergy, who "can't write worth a *spittle*...dare to prostitute the pen" to take advantage of others. Thomson appears to advocate strictly meritocratic principles rather than simply calling for a leveling of society; as Luath implies in his sub-Popean last word on "Dullness," it is not for the rabble to seize power by force of arms, as this results in "these conflicts that afflict these isles" which, notably, extend beyond Ireland alone to the whole of Britain.

Although Thomson's reworking of "The Twa Dogs" forms only one section of "Allan, Damon, Sylvander and Edwin"—the other three sections being written in the voices of Ramsay, Fergusson and Beattie—it is the most philosophically sophisticated in its attention to Enlightenment moral discourse and its application to the Irish political and education systems . Having ventriloquized four Scottish poets, Thomson clearly demonstrates that Burns's laboring-class radicalism sets him apart as Scotland's greatest poet. At the same time, he shows clear independence of Burns as he turns "The Twa Dogs" on its head by allowing his version of Luath to reveal the bitter reality of poverty and the class envy that inevitably accompanies it. The fact that this discussion is undertaken by two dogs heightens the poet's concern that Enlightenment philosophy can be dangerous when it falls into the hands of the uneducated. As Luath points out, both the aristocracy and the masses themselves will be sacrificed in the cause of their bourgeois leaders, motivated by greed and desire for their own advancement. While he eschews false pride in poverty, recognizing its full horror, he refuses to condone the overthrow of the aristocracy to achieve liberty. The message of the poem is that universal merit is to be found in men of all classes, effectively echoing Burns's universal brotherhood sentiments of "a man's a man for a' that." In a direct confrontation with the poet who was alleged to be his greatest inspiration, Thomson demonstrates his proficiency in using Scottish models to write himself into the tradition of his literary models. Sylvander's tale and "A Periptiae" date from the beginning and end of Thomson's career, respectively. Both show the continuity of recognizable Scottish cultural elements in Thomson's poetry, while at the same time showcasing Thomson's ability to revise his Scottish models for a distinctly Irish cultural agenda.

Jennifer Orr (jslorr@gmail.com) currently works for the University of Oxford, where she will be teaching students at Regent's Park College. This article is drawn from her 2011 doctoral thesis, completed in the Scottish Literature Department at the University of Glasgow with the title "Fostering an Irish Writer's Circle: A Revisionist Reading of the Life and Works of Samuel Thomson, an Ulster Poet (1766–1816)." In addition to publishing a variety of articles on Scottish and Irish literature, laboring-class poetry, Romanticism and Presbyterianism, she has produced academic resources for the BBC in Scotland and Northern Ireland. She is editor of the newly published Four Courts edition of Irish poetic correspondence from the circle of Samuel Thomson, *The Correspondence of Samuel Thomson (1766–1816)* (Dublin: Four Courts, 2012), which is reviewed elsewhere in this issue.

Artistic Expression, Cultural Heritage, and Scottish Estates: The Example of Hopetoun House

Clarisse Godard Desmarest
University of Paris-Sorbonne

The English phenomenon of the "country house" had a particular reception and connotation in Scotland, different from that already defined by Irish and American studies of colonial houses. Yet understanding the cultural significance of the houses of the Scottish aristocracy and landed gentry during the eighteenth century has been hampered by divisions among different disciplines. For example, historians of architecture concentrate mainly on the style of buildings, while social historians tend to see the evolution of stylistic features in architecture as deriving from social and economic transformations. A new approach to the subject necessitates considering the nation's attitude to its material and symbolic heritage from different perspectives, and using different approaches: political and social history, architectural and landscape history, and the history of collections. It is necessary to bring together many unconnected areas of scholarship and to examine a wide range of sources—including travel books, memoirs, private correspondence, diaries, house inventories, architects' plans, and visual representations. The political and economic context, the cultural influences acting on Scotland and the ways and means by which they were transmitted, the development of the architectural profession, the importance of the Grand tour, the nature of patronage, the differences between the old, landed aristocracy and the relatively *nouveau riche* gentry, and, in architectural history, the combination of interior, exterior, planning, and landscape must all be taken into account. Finally, applying this comprehensive methodology over a long period of time makes it possible to demonstrate the importance of cultural changes happening in Scotland which, despite often being considered peripheral in a European context, are key to the understanding of national and individual identities.

Hopetoun House in West Lothian, on the outskirts of Edinburgh, may be used to illustrate this comprehensive, multi-disciplinary approach to the nature of the aesthetic and productive improvements made on the estates in Scotland in the eighteenth century. Such a perspective enables us to identify the landowners who were eager to transform their estates and to understand how they did so. Parallels can be drawn with other estates of equal or smaller size. As one of Scotland's finest classical houses, Hopetoun is naturally dealt with in the standard books on Scottish architecture, such as James Macaulay's *The Classical Country House in Scotland, 1660–1800* (1987). It has been described as the Scottish equivalent of Blenheim; and since Hamilton Palace was destroyed in the 1920s, it remains one of the most exquisite surviving houses dating from the end of the seventeenth century and remodeled throughout the eighteenth century. John Fleming gave an account of the history of Hopetoun House in the magazine *Country Life* ("Hopetoun House, West Lothian," 5–12 January 1956), which was further enhanced by Alistair Rowan ("The Building of Hopetoun House," *Architectural History* 27 [1984]). The work of Sir William Bruce (c.1630–1710) at Hopetoun has been studied by James Macaulay ("Sir William Bruce's Hopetoun House," *Architectural Heritage* 20 [2009]) and Deborah Howard ("Sir William Bruce's Design for Hopetoun House and Its Forerunners," in *Scottish Country Houses, 1600–1914*, ed. Ian Gow and Alistair Rowan [1995]).

Charles Hope, first Earl of Hopetoun (1681–1742), was a key figure in the development of Hopetoun. He was ennobled by Queen Ann soon after he came of age and became a supporter of the Hanoverian dynasty. He was a Member of Parliament for Linlithgowshire from 1702 until his death and briefly served as a governor of the Bank of Scotland from 1740. Several years after the Jacobite uprising of 1715, he carried out a remodeling of Hopetoun which was contemporary to the work done at Floors Castle by the Duke of Roxburghe, the secretary of state for Scotland. When he first commissioned the architect William Adam (1689–1748) in 1721, Hope was receiving an annual pension of £3000. The analysis of the political context has shown the importance of occupying political functions and of being able to reap the fruit of patronage. Other landowners like Sir John Clerk of Penicuik (1676–1755), a friend of Hope and a fellow supporter of the Union of 1707, pursued a career in the law and in politics when he built the villa of Mavisbank and transformed his family seat at Penicuik. Charles Hope is representative of William Adam's patrons, who often enjoyed the benefits of a pension or a public function, such as Lord Dun, Lord Milton, and Lord Minto, all judges of the Court of Session.

The Hope family testifies to the special relationship the Scots forged with the Continent over the generations. The father and grandfather of the first Earl of Hopetoun exported lead from their mines in Leadhills via Leith to Amsterdam in Holland. The links with the Continent were maintained through the

Grand Tour. Charles Hope visited France and Italy, where he collected many architectural drawings. John Hope, future second Earl of Hopetoun (1704–1781), left Scotland at the age of eighteen for the Continent, where he stayed five years, from 1722 to 1727. Like the Clerks of Penicuik, the Hopes forged commercial and cultural ties with Europe, and their Grand Tours had a strong artistic impact in Scotland. During his Grand Tour, John Hope wrote a travel book and maintained a correspondence with his uncle James, the second Marquess of Annandale (1687–1730), a great admirer of Italy and an avid collector of works of art and of Dutch paintings in particular. The quality of the collection of the marquess can be assessed by examining the 1735 inventory of the cabinet of his own house, Craigiehall (NAS RH15/9/31), and at Hopetoun, where his collection found its way after his death. The description John Macky made on visiting Hopetoun shows a great intake from Italy in the house decoration, which was emphasized by the successive Grand Tours of the second Marquess of Annandale (John Macky, *A Journey through Scotland* [1723], p. 205). In his letters, the marquess asked his nephew to take particular notice of the interior decoration of the houses on the Continent, especially in France, and of the architecture and gardens of some Italian buildings like the baroque palaces of the *Veneria Reale* or the *Villa Albergatti*. John Hope brought back paintings for his uncle, and a great quantity of books were shipped to Hopetoun. The Marquess of Annandale may have asked for these commissions out of self-interest, or more probably to provide for the necessary sourcebooks needed by his brother-in-law, the first Earl of Hopetoun, who was then in the early stages of the modernization of Hopetoun House with the architect William Adam. The documents gathered in Italy may have helped to fuel the reconstruction project, even more so since there was then a true dialogue between the architect and his client. A posthumous portrait by David Allan of Charles Hope, seated at a table with his hands resting on several architectural drawings, confirms the skill and ambition of this virtuoso.

After the death of his father and that of William Adam in 1748, John Hope put into practice the knowledge he had acquired during his Grand Tour and commissioned the architects James and Robert Adam, the sons of William Adam, to continue the work at Hopetoun. Younger generations of Scots often called on architects of the same family as those chosen by their fathers. John, Robert, and James Adam were responsible for the completion of the house and the fine decoration in the rococo manner of the new state rooms in the 1750s and 1760s. Robert Adam was commissioned to buy furniture in Italy for Hopetoun. Like his father, Robert Adam felt sympathy and friendship for the Hopes which went beyond professional courtesy. William and Robert Adam were close to many of their clients, which explains why so many letters of the architects are kept in the Clerk of Penicuik archives. Other members of the Hope family pursued similar travels. Charles Hope-Veir (1710–1791), brother of the second Earl of Hopetoun, went on a Grand Tour in 1727 and again in 1754 with Robert Adam, when he paid a visit to his son William Hope-Veir (1736–1811). The two sons of the second earl, Charles (1740–1766) and James Hope (1741–1816), visited Italy between 1761 and 1763 with their tutor, William Rouet. The Hope family is therefore emblematic of the great commercial and cultural links that the Scots forged with the Continent over the generations.

John Hope, like Sir John Clerk of Penicuik and other gentlemen architects, maintained a correspondence with landowners to whom he gave advice. All landowners were not equally qualified for architectural projects, and Lord Hope was skilled enough to give the lord advocate, Charles Erskine of Tinwald, an account of the work being carried out at his house in Dumfriesshire from 1738. He judged the quality of the stone, which once polished was much nicer than he initially thought it would be (John, Lord Hope, to Charles Erskine of Tinwald, 11 Apr. 1739, National Library of Scotland, MS 5074, fol. 163) and even reported on discussing the design of the garden at Tinwald with William Adam (ibid., 13 Apr. 1739, fol. 167). The correspondence shows that some landowners, such as Charles Erskine of Tinwald and the second Earl of Aberdeen, relied on the advice of others for building their houses; Aberdeen, for example, was advised by Sir John Clerk about the plans of Haddo House (Earl of Aberdeen to Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, 5 Dec. 1731, National Records of Scotland, GD18/5005/1). Others, such as John Hope, were well aware of European taste and sometimes also of the technical aspects of architecture (Sir John Clerk to William Adam showing the sketch of a column and its base, c.1724, National Records of Scotland, GD18/4728/5). Like other prominent improvers, including Charles Maitland (1688–1744), sixth Earl of Lauderdale, and Sir John Clerk, who developed their respective estates of Thirlestane and Penicuik, John Hope was a member of the Society of Improvers in the Knowledge of Agriculture (est. 1723) and the Edinburgh Philosophical Society (est. 1737).

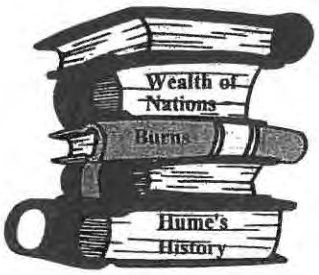
The analysis of the plans of Hopetoun House and the study of the park and gardens show the refinement of the Scots and the importance of the cultural transfers with the Continent. The lands in Abercorn parish were bought in 1678 by John Hope of Hopetoun (1650–1682). Hopetoun House was built by Sir William Bruce for Charles Hope, then a minor, from 1699 (building contract of 28 December 1698 concluded by Lady Margaret Hope, mother of the young Charles Hope, National Records of Scotland, GD45/17/769) and was

modified less than twenty years later by William Adam for the same patron. Some new research in the archives of the Kincardine family on the early career of Sir William Bruce has suggested that before becoming an architect Bruce was a merchant based in Holland who traveled throughout Europe at the end of the 1650s (Charles Wemyss, "Merchant and Citizen of Rotterdam: The Early Career of Sir William Bruce," *Architectural Heritage* 16 [2005]: 14–30). The variety of classical styles that prevailed in his architecture derived from first-hand knowledge of European architecture. The Palladian villas were one of his sources, which explains why Hopetoun House was included in the second volume of Colen Campbell's *Vitruvius Britannicus,* published in 1717 (plates 75–77). Various features of the plan of Hopetoun, such as the Greek cross pattern with an octagonal staircase, allow comparisons with the plan of the royal pavilion of Marly built from 1679. The ground floor arcades in the middle of the façade echo those of the Hôtel Tambonneau, built in 1642 by Louis Le Vau on the Boulevard Saint Germain in Paris. The horizontal rustication further confirms the influence of French mid-seventeenth century taste at Hopetoun. Like Sir William Bruce, William Adam was influenced by classical Italian architecture and possessed the books of Serlio, Palladio, and Scamozzi in his library at Blair Adam. William Adam's building project for Hopetoun appears in *Vitruvius Scoticus* (plates 14–19). Unlike Bruce, Adam conformed to the Palladian orthodoxy and rebuilt the quadrants, making them concave rather than convex.

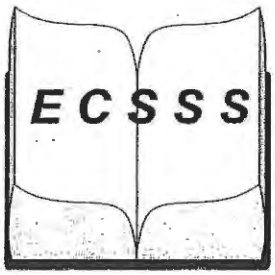
Although the architecture of both Bruce and Adam at Hopetoun justifies a comparison with the Continent, the transformation of the house was done in a very Scottish way, within a dynastic continuity. Like many other Scottish houses and palaces, Hopetoun was not completely rebuilt. At Hamilton Palace and at Hopetoun, William Adam proposed extending the great apartments for the houses so that they would be appropriate to the rank of their respective owners, the premier peer in Scotland (the Duke of Hamilton) and a newly created peer (who had become the Earl of Hopetoun in 1703). At Hopetoun, William Adam kept many aspects of the Bruce design but refronted the entrance façade and built two pavilions: one to the north to contain the stables and the other to the south for the library and billiards room. Although Adam's design for Hamilton Palace remained unanswered, it was in keeping with what James Smith had built at the end of the seventeenth century for the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton. In the park at Hopetoun, William Adam also seems to have relied on what Sir William Bruce and Alexander Edward (1651–1708), Bruce's draftsman, had built. Numerous documents in the archives show that the park was being fenced off, and fences appear in John Adair's map (c.1702) representing the Firth of Forth and the Hopetoun estate (National Library of Scotland, MS 1651 Z.69/01). Sir Robert Sibbald's description of a formal garden in the 1710s confirms the representation on Adair's map (Sibbald, *History of the Sheriffdoms of Linlithgow and Stirling* [1710], p. 21). The plan shows a gridded landscape of enclosures with a hint of both an axis and a cross-axis. The much more complex design with a system of avenues and vistas developed by William Adam in the 1730s appears on William Roy's *Military Survey of Scotland* (c.1750). At Hamilton also, William Adam improved in 1727 the plan of the garden designed by Alexander Edward in 1708.

The example of Hopetoun House demonstrates the value of adopting a cross-disciplinary approach when studying Scottish estates. The buildings are the expression of ideas and reveal ambitions. They reflect the character, family history, background, and status of the patrons, requiring a combination of political, economic, social, artistic, and architectural analyses. This example shows some of the features that this house had in common with other estates in Scotland. Many prominent landowners acted as patrons of the arts in Scotland and played political and economic roles. These were knowledgeable men who were among the circles of literati in Scotland and in England. They were dedicated to change, and on their return from the Grand Tour they applied a cosmopolitan taste of Dutch, Italian, French, and English origin in the architecture and decoration of their houses, while retaining Scottish features. Hopetoun allows comparisons with other houses of similar size or more modest size, like Kinross House. Its appearance reflects the history of many Scottish houses which grew through several generations, incorporating earlier structures.

Clarisse Godard Desmarest (clarisse.godarddesmarest@gmail.com) graduated in 2011 from the Sorbonne University with a European label PhD. This article is drawn from her thesis, "Expression artistique et conscience patrimoniale d'après les textes de l'Écosse des lumières." Part of her research involved formal cooperation with the University of Edinburgh and its Department of History of Architecture. Although her research has hitherto focused on the Scottish estates in the long eighteenth century and their aesthetic and productive schemes, her upcoming research will investigate the role played by the urban gentry in the cultural and artistic life of Scotland, especially in cities like Edinburgh.



BOOKS in REVIEW



Emma Rothschild, ***The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History.*** Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011. Pp. ix + 483.

At first glance Emma Rothschild's book looks like a family history of the Johnstones of Westerhall, minor Dumfriesshire gentry whose eighteenth-century fortunes happened to be closely allied with the world-historical events of the American Revolution, the expansion of British power in India, and the peak decades of the transatlantic slave trade. The four sisters and seven brothers whose stories are told here criss-crossed the British, Spanish, French, and Mughal empires (physically or virtually), but they also lived close to the heart of the Scottish Enlightenment, as friends of Adam Smith, David Hume, and Adam Ferguson. Their story is painstakingly recovered from archives, parliamentary reports, newspapers, and letters: like the family itself, the information network of the eighteenth century had a global reach. Although imperial employment was primarily about making money, only two of the eleven siblings were successful in this respect, and Rothschild points out that all "had an unusual capacity in their political ventures for being on the wrong side of history, or the losing side" (p. 4). Their often conflicted values reflected those of a revolutionary age. They had no consistent view of the new doctrine of free trade, for instance, nor of slavery: if John and James supported the abolitionist cause, George and William upheld the rights of the slave owners, or actively promoted the nefarious transatlantic trade.

Running like a leitmotif through the book is the disturbing story of two of the family's slaves or servants. The first is that of the almost completely obscure "Bell or Belinda," a young Bengali servant accused in 1771 of murdering her new-born child at John Johnstone's house at Balgonie in Fife, and transported to Virginia to spend the rest of her life in slavery; the second that of (the now-celebrated) Joseph Knight, who in a landmark case of 1778 was granted legal emancipation from his master, John Wedderburn (Margaret Johnstone's son-in-law) by the High Court in Edinburgh. Although in historical terms the Johnstones were an unremarkable Scottish family of a certain class, the book's 150 pages of tightly printed notes present a fascinating reminder that the eighteenth century anticipated the twenty-first in its obsession with archives. All the more remarkable therefore is the effective disappearance of "Bell or Belinda" from the historical record, as well as the unaccountable fact that neither she, nor the more high-profile case of Joseph Knight, are ever mentioned in the family's surviving correspondence.

Rothschild stumbled on the Johnstone trail by accident when she discovered that "nabob" John (one of the two brothers who made a lot of money, in Bengal—the other being William, who married an English heiress and changed his surname to Pulteney) had stood in a contested parliamentary election in Adam Smith's home town of Kirkcaldy in 1774. The book has disappointingly little to say about the Johnstones' Scottish matrix, or indeed the local (as opposed to the metropolitan) political stage on which they performed. Robert Burns composed a string of election ballads for Sir James Johnstone of Westerhall (praised in "The Five Carlins" as "a belted Knight, Bred of a Border-band") at the time of his unsuccessful candidacy in the Dumfries Burghs election of 1790, but no mention is made of an episode that constitutes Johnstone's principle claim to literary celebrity, nor of the family's conflicted Scottish identity in the century following Union of 1707. There are, however, hints of a fascinating overlap between the mania for agricultural improvement in Scotland and in the colonies: James (hero of Burns's ballad) sent out a Dumfriesshire ploughman to "Westerhall," his slave plantation in Grenada, with a view to alleviating the harsh laboring conditions of the Africans by instructing them to plough. This humanitarian project was promptly abandoned by the unpleasant plutocrat William Pulteney, when he inherited the estate upon James's death in 1794. A closer reading of the book reveals that the real object of Rothschild's curiosity is the intellectual, sentimental, even existential, aspect of the Johnstones' imperial agency. Hence the book's title: the "inner life" of empires. If the outer dimension adds up to "a microhistory, or a prosopography, a history of persons" (p. 6), their inner lives

reflect the family's attempts to make sense of the world-historical events that swept them along in their wake, and even more so perhaps "the large and abstract ideas" of Enlightenment (p. 4). With a nod to her magisterial study of Smith and Condorcet, Rothschild describes her new book as "a history of moral sentiments" (p. 300), a "description of the process by which moral values came into existence, in an endless exchange of observations or views between the interior and exterior life" (p. 301). In this respect, however, the Johnstones disappoint, because they "were not the sort of people who discoursed at any length about their inner selves" (p. 270). Their correspondence is more concerned with carrots, teacups and oriental fabrics than with reflections on the human tragedy of "Bell or Belinda" or the Joseph Knight case.

The book's first three chapters "read like a novel" rather than a more formal "epic or epopeia" to the extent that they relate "miscellaneous adventures," but we are presciently reminded that this is in fact a history, albeit one that conveys "in a very exigent respect the limits of historical inquiry" (p. 8). Rothschild's reflection on the difference between microhistory and the historical novel is one of the book's most rewarding features, and she resists the temptation to "novelise" the deafening historical silence around the fate of "Bell or Belinda" in order to underline that difference, with striking success. The chapters in the second half of the book revisit the familiar stories (at the risk of some repetition) from a thematic perspective, exploring issues concerned with economics, enlightenment ideas and sentiments, and the relationship between private and public life. The result is a brilliant, highly original book that cuts across conventional scholarly divisions and enriches our understanding of the eighteenth-century world in its most global dimensions.

Nigel Leask, University of Glasgow

Carl Wennerlind, ***Casualties of Credit: The English Financial Revolution, 1620–1720***. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011. Pp. x + 348.

Daniel Carey and Christopher J. Finlay, eds., ***The Empire of Credit: The Financial Revolution in Britain, Ireland and America, 1688–1815***. Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011. Pp. xviii + 302.

As Daniel Carey notes in the preface to *The Empire of Credit*, the Financial Revolution has usually been described as an English affair, as the means by which a London-based British state was unified (or, in Linda Colley's phrase, *forged*), and as the means by which Britain successfully countered French power and gained itself an empire. Carl Wennerlind does not contest this approach to the Financial Revolution in *Casualties of Credit*. What he does instead is bring to light what he terms the "intellectual underpinnings" of the Financial Revolution, which he takes to have been seventeenth-century innovations in political economy, and in particular "new ways of understanding money and credit." Thus his Revolution begins about seventy years earlier than usual, in 1620. Wennerlind presents carefully researched and fascinatingly contextualised accounts of three episodes in the development of English thinking about money and credit. The first, and perhaps the most significant, is the development by the circle around Samuel Hartlib of ideas about money that broke radically with neo-Aristotelianism of Malynes, Misselden and Mun. For the Hartlibians money was not a means of restoring proper equilibrium in the polity, but rather a way of unlocking potential for growth and social transformation. They therefore sought ways of dramatically increasing the money supply, first through alchemical experiment, and later, crucially, through a new currency of credit. Credit itself was of course well established. The innovation lay in the idea of using bills, bonds, and pledges as themselves a form of circulating money. This, the Hartlibians argued, was how England's permanent money shortage could be solved. The Hartlib circle broke up in the late 1650s, but many of its members joined the Royal Society, and Hartlibian thinking about money and credit then played a role in the second episode analysed by Wennerlind, the debate in the 1690s, involving prominent proponents of the new natural philosophy such as Locke and Newton, about how to encourage public trust in both coin and paper currency.

The English debate about how circulating instruments of credit could best be shown to be trustworthy was intensely political. Sudden losses of confidence in the creditworthiness of banks, trading companies, and other key economic institutions were used to further partisan ends. Today we tend to view the "New" or "Court" Whigs of the first decades of the eighteenth century as having been enthusiastic proponents of financial innovation, and the Tories and "Old" Whigs as having been much more sceptical, because committed to the traditional idea that the only stable basis for the economy is land. The truth, as Wennerlind makes clear in the third of his case studies, was more complicated, and more opportunistic. In an absorbing account of the history of the South Sea Company, Wennerlind points out that the idea of exchanging unsecured government bonds for Company stocks was a Tory one, a key element in fact of the policy programme of the Harley administration of 1711–14. Wennerlind argues that it is a mistake to see the Company as having been a fraudulent scheme from the beginning, for "when studied within the context of the financial crisis of 1710, the company appears as an ingenious innovation built around what contemporaries considered sound financial principles" (p. 199). In the beginning the Company succeeded in

restoring Britain's public credit. When it collapsed Robert Walpole was able to exploit the fact that he had been absent from the (Whig) government between 1717 and 1720, and to identify himself, for a time at least, with a conservative sound money programme. Wennerlind accepts recent research showing that the bursting of the Bubble was not the complete catastrophe it was taken to be at the time. Even so, he claims, the Bubble "led to a significant transformation in the discourse on money and credit for the rest of the century, if not longer" (p. 238). In an epilogue, he identifies three different kinds of response in monetary theory: Berkeley's belief that credit money was in principle sound and that crises like the Bubble could be avoided by better management; Isaac Gervaise's call for a return to a metal-based currency; and a middle course between these extremes charted by Hume and Smith.

The essays collected in *The Empire of Credit* constitute an important move to widen the focus of study of the Financial Revolution, and shift attention to how the English debate about money and credit played out in Scotland, Ireland, and America. (Mention should be made, however, of Daniel Carey's subtle and historically sensitive response to common criticisms of Locke's monetary thinking in the book's first chapter.) As befits a book published in Dublin by The Irish Academic Press, four of the eleven chapters of *The Empire of Credit* concern Irish writing on money and banking in the eighteenth century. These chapters all speak to what is the main theme of the book, the difficulties faced by those on the periphery of the British state as a result of the development in the English core of a new economy of complex and paper-based financial instruments. A chapter on Hume by Christopher Finlay argues, along lines familiar from earlier work by Wennerlind, that while Hume in principle accepted that there was no need for money to be, or to be secured by, metal, he held that the instability and fractiousness of international relations meant that a state was bound to need quantities of metal in its transactions and negotiations with foreign trading partners. One consequence to draw from Hume's analysis was that Scotland, if it was to be successful in the new world of international commerce, needed to be able to rely on the monetary muscle of the Bank of England. Paul Tonks describes the arguments of four important Scottish commentators of the late eighteenth century (Patrick Colquhoun, Sir John Sinclair, William Playfair, and George Chalmers) who believed, precisely, that Scotland's future depended upon the security provided by the Union. They associated monetary failure with revolution and the destruction of property and commerce. Interestingly, they also associated Hume with aggressive debt -reduction policies that, as they saw it, were bound to lead to such failure. Hume, they believed, had no reason to be as sceptical as he certainly was of the future of a credit-driven British state. Indeed, such scepticism played into the hands of Paine and Price. An international order managed by Great Britain would be much more stable than Hume feared.

Further away from Great British mainland, it was less easy to be confident in the capacity of British currency reserves to give credibility to credit. A chapter by Robin Hermann about difficulties faced by the Royal African Company makes this problem very vivid. Money always being chronically short, it was not easy to convince African vendors of slaves to believe in the trustworthiness of pledges given by British merchants supposedly guaranteeing payment once slave cargoes had been sold on the other side of the Atlantic. (Wennerlind's description of the role of general belief in the profitability of the slave trade in the escalation of the value of the South Sea Company is just one of many respects in which, despite its Anglocentric focus, the argument of *Casualties of Credit* interweaves with the concerns of *The Empire of Credit*.) There were problems in America as well, and not only for slave traders. There too there was never enough sterling. Trading links had been made with non-British export markets, openly and with British approval, and non-British currency was circulating widely. Herman Wellenreuther argues that this in effect helped to give the Americans a belief in the possibility of an economy without a British foundation. There was thus, he suggests, more to the economic dimension of the American Revolution than resentment at taxation without representation. But in the aftermath of the Revolution not all Americans were confident about the future of their new currency. Roger Fechner describes John Witherspoon's insistence, notably in his *Essay on Money* of 1786, of the importance of a hard money basis for the American economy. The issuing of too much paper, he thought, could only weaken America's credit and thereby its chances of survival. There was, inevitably, a Scottish dimension to this ex-Scot's monetary thinking. Fechner describes how he drew on Hutcheson and on James Anderson—and how he firmly rejected the views of Sir James Steuart.

James A. Harris, University of St. Andrews

R. A. Houston, ***Punishing the Dead? Suicide, Lordship, and Community in Britain, 1500–1830.*** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xv + 397.

Rab Houston's *Punishing the Dead* uses suicide as a way to access early modern ideas about law, property, religion, the body, and public opinion, as well as death. Moreover, Houston aims to write a truly British history that not only compares England and Scotland (as we might expect from one of the foremost historians of Scotland) but also looks at local and regional variations within these entities. On the whole he succeeds in all these aims. *Punishing the Dead* is densely packed with information from a variety of sources: law, medicine, philosophy,

folklore, religion, and social and political history all play roles.

The first part of the book concerns the various kinds of punishment meted out to suicides. Houston uses his unparalleled knowledge of early modern law and legal history —used to good effect in his *Madness and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (2000)— to deal with one kind of punishment for suicides, the forfeiture of their goods. Other kinds of punishment involved the disposition of the body, including where and how it was buried, and whether it was subjected to various kinds of post-mortem desecration. The second, much shorter, part of the book attempts to understand the cultural meaning of early modern suicide. Here Houston examines the role of religion, politics, and public opinion, with a particular focus on the supposed secularization of suicide over the course of the eighteenth century. He concludes with a reflection on the historical role that suicide plays in exploring local, regional, and national histories, not only in Britain but across Europe. His final word on the topic expresses his belief that suicide is still viewed by society as a pathology, whether medical or moral. Britain decriminalized suicide in 1961, but this did not "de-pathologize" it (p. 375).

Throughout *Punishing the Dead,* Houston engages, at times forcefully, with the last major study of early modern British suicide, Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy's *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (1990). Houston summarizes MacDonald and Murphy's work in his invaluable historiographical Preface, which both reviews the relevant literature and sets forth his own view. He sharply differentiates himself from MacDonald and Murphy's emphasis on the secularization of suicide in the eighteenth century, which, they claim, led to more tolerant and sympathetic views of it. Houston argues that this view is based on faulty and incomplete evidence, which fails to acknowledge the vast terrain of local and regional variations and the persistence of religion.

Focusing his main energies on forfeiture allows Houston to give a fine-grained account of lordship, family, and property relations. As a felony—in this case, a "felo de se," a felony against the self—the crime of suicide merited the punishment of a loss of assets, both property and money. In theory the crown assumed ownership. The practice was quite a bit more complex and varied. Suicide constituted a breach in the social fabric and in feudal terms (which persisted long after feudalism itself) a lack of fealty to the lord. But the law of forfeiture varied considerably from country to country and even region to region. The law in Geneva was seldom enforced, and the Holy Roman Empire of Charles V banned forfeiture unless the suicide was also a criminal. Houston argues that the Scottish practice of a "gift of escheat", that is a portion of the movable goods of the deceased granted to designated individuals, functioned to help repair the social damage of suicide. Houston employs numerous examples both to illustrate the differences in application of the law and to trace his own path of research through a thicket of legal, medical, and financial evidence. Those who benefited from this gift of escheat included kinfolk and employers or landlords, but also various neighbors, officers of the crown, and others.

In England and Wales, in contrast to Scotland, most of the evidence of forfeiture comes from coroners' inquests, which tell the cause of death and the value of the deceased's goods, but little about the actual outcome of the case. Houston is critical of MacDonald and Murphy for placing what he believes is too much weight on coroners' verdicts without looking at other evidence, which, as he showed in the case of Scotland, can be quite revealing. As in Scotland, local relationships between lord and tenant varied considerably.

Houston moves from forfeiture to burial practices, another topic where generalization fails to capture actual practice. Despite the existence of laws surrounding burial, and the widespread belief even today that suicides were commonly buried in unconsecrated ground with a stake through their hearts, here too Houston finds wide variations in practice. Burial with a stake never occurred in Scotland, but gibbeting did (reflecting continental influences), which was less common in England. Local clergy exercised considerable leeway in burial decisions, but Houston argues that the church played no role in the post-mortem punishment of the body. Gibbeting and dragging the suicide's body through the streets before burial were examples of this; another was dissection. Houston finds far more evidence of these shaming punishments in Scotland and the north of England than farther south.

Houston's final section, "Understanding the Dead," complicates the story of the secularization of suicide in the eighteenth century, arguing that *non compos mentis* was less a medical assessment than simply a comment on state of mind: whether a suicide was mad or sane at the time of death. This distinction gradually disappeared, but this was not in itself an act of secularization, and Houston finds that religion and the sense that suicide was sinful did not easily disappear. In his final chapter, Houston uses newspapers in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century to trace changing attitudes toward suicide, noting here a clear gender distinction between wronged women and other suicides in the granting of sympathy.

Punishing the Dead is an immensely rich and rewarding look at early modern suicide and its contexts. If at times the onslaught of examples, references, and inferences threaten to inundate the reader, the author's exemplary organization and signposting keep things on track. The production is excellent. This book will, and should, provoke much discussion.

Anita Guerrini, Oregon State University

Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning, eds., ***Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment***. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011. Pp. xv + 298.

At one point in his *London Journal* James Boswell boasted that he had "discovered that we may be in some degree whatever character we choose". In so doing he defied Theoprastes's time-honored taxonomy of character, with its stable categories of "the Boor," "the Loquacious Man," "the Social Parasite," "the Miser," etc. The thirteen essays in this lively and wide-ranging collection examine the role of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers in bringing about such a dynamic redefinition of "character," even if few would have approved the licentiousness of Boswellian self-fashioning. In a long Introduction, the editors make a case for linking the question of character to sociability and political economy, already well studied by previous scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment: accordingly, the contributors address a broad range of texts and genres in the century following the publication of Hume's *Treatise*.

Although the shadow of Charles Taylor's classic study *Sources of the Self: The Making of Modern Identity* (1989) still towers over much contemporary scholarship, the essays collected here tell a different story from Taylor's "thoroughly internalized" self. "In Scottish Enlightenment thought," the editors claim, "self was never a Descartian disengaged subject, still less a protoromantic sublime Ego; it was always understood in its social relations" (p. 8). If any single theme unites the diverse essays collected here, it is an emphasis on the social and rhetorical "dynamics of conscience" that differentiate the Scottish view of character from Shaftesburian sentimentalism, or the flight from sociability marking the theories of Malebranche, Diderot, and Rousseau. The particular social and intellectual climate of post-1707 Scotland favored a science of man in which the idea of "character" represented a tool for understanding the interaction of strangers in civil society, the most advanced form of human development, even if confidence in social progress was placed under increasing strain in an age of revolutions and Romantic solipsism.

The essays can be divided into those addressing character in a philosophical and theological understanding, and those that explore its wider ramifications in life-writing, epistolary and historical fiction, dream-theory, medical therapeutics, portraiture, and trans-national intellectual exchange. James Harris opens the first grouping with a study of Reid's voluntaristic critique of Hume's account of the role of custom and "temper" in character-formation. (Jerrold Seigel picks up this debate in his epilogue, showing why the Victorian mind had little time for Hume's "commonsensical and relaxed" view of character: after all, in the wake of Kant, moral philosophy erected its standard on an elevated notion of "Duty," in which sociability was often equated with false consciousness). Stephen J. McKenna's essay follows Harris with an illuminating comparison of Smith's and Shaftesbury's different notions of "self-division." In a nuanced study of the theological underpinnings of Hugh Blair's *Sermons*, Thomas Ahnert finds an accommodation between Hume's theory of character and Reid's assertion of "active powers" in a gradualist ethic based on an incessant labor of self-improvement inspired by Christian doctrine.

In the second grouping, Anthony LaVopa explores the complex question of Boswellian self-fashioning. For all his posturing in the *London Journal*, the work-ethic promoted by authority figures as diverse as Boswell senior and Dr Johnson provided James with a "moral compass" in staving off depression and dissolution, even if he "repeatedly fell off course" (p. 94). Ironically, Boswell's periodical essays *The Hypochondriack* dutifully fulfilled "the obligation of a monthly task" as they meandered from subject to subject according to "the social aesthetic of polite conversation" (p. 99). Turning to the epistolary novel, Eve Tavor Bannet illustrates the working of Smith's "impartial spectator" in the sentimental exchange of Elizabeth Griffith's *Series of Genuine Letters between Henry and Frances* (1757). Essays by Phyllis Mack and Neil Vickers turn to psychology and medicine, the first discussing William Smellie's idiosyncratic theory of dream-therapeutics, the second the materialistic leanings of William Cullen's "sentient principle," as interpreted by his rebellious disciple John Brown. The enduring significance of their analysis of nervous disorder as "excitability" was to sunder medical discourse from the "ontological discussion of the immaterial soul" (p. 159): more immediately its druggy therapeutics created the Romantic type of the Coleridgean or De Quinceyan opium-eater.

In a penetrating study of Allan Ramsay's portraits of Hume and Rousseau, Viccy Coltman argues that the aesthetics of Scottish Enlightenment portraiture should be viewed less as the visual implementation of a philosophical theory of perception, and more as governed by social convention and visual polemic (although one is left wondering whether this has to be an "either/or"). Turning the discussion of character toward the national and trans-national arena, Silvia Sebastiani analyses the *cordon sanitaire* dividing advanced societies whose citizens are individuated by the division of labor, and savages who live in an emotional monoculture: she ends with Adam Fergusson's fear that global modernity will impose a new kind of savagery. In a deft comparison of Hume and Franklin's cosmopolitanism, Hannah Spahn discovers a Scottish-American affinity in the move from character defined by traditional kinship ties to a modern world of strangers, in Julia Kristeva's sense.

The concluding essays look forward to the crisis of character attendant upon an age of revolutions, the

"twilight of enlightenment" as it were. Susan Manning borrows Pierre Nora's idea of *lieux des memoires* to examine "supplemental" genres of biography and historical fiction (both defined by sympathy in the Smithian sense), cutting across universalist stories about human agency as consolidated in eighteenth-century historiography. Walter Scott's novels seek a dialectical reconciliation of personal and historical agency, yet in the end only underline a conflict between character and context in the post-revolutionary moment. Jerrold Seigel's epilogue brings the collection to an appropriate terminus by considering character in the writings of T. R. Malthus, Robert Owen, J. S. Mill, and George Eliot. The Scottish Enlightenment inheritance of these thinkers provides a different account of the relationship of freedom and determinism from that of the "Germano-Coleridgean school," which sheds a new and interesting light on George Eliot's fiction.

Intriguingly, this clears the path for that "great explorer of character" who would emerge at the end of the nineteenth century, Sigmund Freud. As with the other essays in this timely and stimulating collection, a new perspective is opened up on the "Science of Man" in its widest ramifications.

Nigel Leask, University of Glasgow

Katharine Glover, ***Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland***. Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2011. Pp. ix + 217.

The image of a male philosopher conversing with his contemporaries and debating politics or philosophy within the confines of the Select Society or the Poker Club is a familiar one. Attention to Scottish club culture has helped illuminate the social practices that informed Adam Smith's and David Hume's theories of sympathy, fellow feeling, as well as social improvement. Katharine Glover in her recent book *Elite Women and Polite Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* reminds us that although the fairer sex may not have belonged to these clubs women were often a topic of conversation at meetings of the Select Society; in fact, women factored largely in the development of Scottish stadial history. Scottish literati understood women's contributions to the improvement of the manners and sensibilities of their male counterparts as an important marker of progress. In addition to demonstrating how women factored into Scottish theories of social improvement, Glover's study does much to enrich our understanding of sociability by uncovering the participation of elite women in the public culture of Enlightenment Scotland. Building on the work of historians and literary scholars, such as Jane Rendall, Mary Catherine Moran, E. J. Clery, and Harriet Guest, Glover argues that women were not only key to Scottish theories of sociability but also active participants in a heterosocial public culture that flourished during the later half of the eighteenth century. Glover's use of an impressive array of personal papers that document the experience of elite Scottish women distinguishes her readable and interesting study.

Glover emphasizes the ways in which women were able to access the social spaces that defined the Scottish Enlightenment. Instead of focusing on the restrictions placed on women by male conduct writers such as Dr. John Gregory, Glover emphasizes that educated and polite women were required to write well and read history and philosophy (sometimes even in Latin or Greek) in order to comport themselves appropriately in conversations with their male contemporaries. In addition to these academic accomplishments, elite women were expected to spend time in either Edinburgh or London improving their manners, refining their tastes, and learning to switch between vernacular Scots and standard English. In these metropolitan places, women attended assemblies, concerts, and plays such as John Home's patriotic tragedy *Douglas*, which became "a cause associated in particular with fashionable ladies of the elite " (p. 100). In London, women also spent time at the theater and in assemblies, and Glover argues that "the London experience of Scottish elite women" might be productively compared to the Grand Tour undertaken by elite men (p. 44). Glover also reminds readers that the spas elite women visited in Scotland as well as England featured lectures, providing women with an opportunity to interact with scientists and philosophers as well as to participate in intellectual debates outside the realm of the university.

Glover also reconsiders women's relationship to other Enlightenment phenomena, such as the growth of print culture and the changing political landscape. Women figure largely as readers in Glover's analysis of print culture, and the elite women she discusses read much fewer novels than historical and religious texts. Glover's archival research provides further evidence for the recent attention scholars have paid to women's interest in history, and her attention to their immersion in religious texts bolsters the view that participation in conversations about religion and morality sanctioned women's public comments on issues of political interest. In the political realm, women contributed mainly as patrons. Through social and familial channels, women influenced friends and relatives to make political appointments and grant favors in post-Union Scotland. Glover contrasts this approved form of political participation with the actions of female Jacobites who were often described as "unwomanly, hence unnatural and disturbing" (p. 128).

One of the great pleasures of Glover's study can be found in her descriptions of fascinating women, who are less familiar to eighteenth-century scholars. For instance, after the death of her husband, Lady Margaret Mac-

donald, the near relation of Flora Macdonald, attempted to use her status as her son's guardian to cultivate the Jacobite loyalties of her tenants on the Isle of Skye. Her actions led to the insistence of Scots politicians and military officials that her son be educated in England with Hanoverian principles. Glover's analysis of the correspondence of Margaret Hepburn and William Robertson provides insight into women's reception of major Scottish Enlightenment texts. The serious consideration Robertson gave her comments on his *History of Scotland* also suggests that male philosophers designed their texts with a female as well as male readership in mind.

As intriguing as these portraits of elite women might be, Glover's book invites speculation about non-elite women and their relationship to the Scottish Enlightenment. It would be helpful to know if the sociable practices theorized by Scots literati extended beyond polite society. Despite the value Scots literati placed on manners and refinement, they continually speculated about a social whole that contained not just the wealthy but also the poor. Admittedly, Glover draws on the archives left by wealthy families but it's interesting to speculate about alternative sources that might broaden our perspective on non-elite female participation in the social world Scottish men and women so valued.

JoEllen DeLucia, Central Michigan University

Jonathan M. Yeager, ***Enlightened Evangelicalism: The Life and Thought of John Erskine***. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xii + 321.

It has been nearly two hundred years since someone published a biography of the now little-known Scottish pastor and theologian, John Erskine. Overshadowed by some of the monumental figures of eighteenth-century evangelicalism, including George Whitefield, John Wesley, and Jonathan Edwards, Erskine has gone underappreciated. But now, Jonathan Yeager in a well-researched "life and thought" shows why Erskine should be regarded as one of eighteenth-century Scotland's most important intellectual forces. Yeager places Erskine at the center of the transatlantic evangelical movement, showing him to be not only a capable thinker in his own right but, more importantly, a "disseminator of enlightened evangelicalism" (p. 24). In particular, Erskine emerges as a figure who combined fervent commitments to Calvinist orthodoxy, evangelicalism, and Lockean epistemology into a coherent theological system.

Yeager modifies the assumptions of some scholars about evangelicalism being "anti-intellectual" and antithetical to Enlightenment thought. By contrast, Erskine's belief in the "reasonableness of evangelical Calvinism" was clearly displayed in his preaching and theological works (p. 90). Both progressive and conservative in his preaching style, Erskine revised classical modes of rhetoric by using modern elements of pulpit oratory that appealed to the senses and reason. His use of polite discourse, however, did not displace Erskine's steadfast commitment to the reformed theology of his Puritan heritage. Yet Erskine's preaching and theological works did to some degree reformulate the traditional doctrines of Calvinism to accommodate both Lockean empiricism and the new evangelical emphases. Yeager's contention that Erskine was an innovative thinker and a "forward-looking evangelical" is compelling (p. 75). Erskine not only distanced himself from previous generations in his rejection of double-predestination but also distinguished himself from many of his British and American contemporaries in his approach to contemporary challenges. Most interestingly, Erskine's *Theological Dissertations* (1765) included an essay that challenged the common notion that God made covenants with nations—a bold and controversial position that received harsh criticism from some of his fellow ministers. Erskine even believed that the defense of Calvinism by colonial America's two best theologians, Jonathan Edwards and Jonathan Dickinson, was insufficient; instead of their focus on the affections, he deemphasized human volition and painted faith as "rational and empirically based" (p. 98).

Still, no matter how forward-looking, Erskine was not a believer in universal toleration. Although generally regarded as an affable and warm personality, he could easily take on the role of controversialist when orthodox Calvinism was at stake. Wesleyan Methodism and Roman Catholicism appeared as the largest threats to Protestant evangelicalism. As Yeager points out, Erskine's campaign against Wesley devastated the revivalist's reputation and stunted Methodist influence in Scotland for more than two decades (p. 123). Popular party ministers—including Erskine—also contributed to the crisis mentality in Scotland by promoting false reports that Catholics were rapidly gaining ground in the Highlands and throughout Britain. An all-consuming fear of popery produced violent riots that raged in Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1778 and 1779. Despite his "normally placid and charitable" demeanor, Erskine could not transcend the prejudices of his age.

Erskine was no doubt a polymath, but Yeager argues that the pastor's primary contribution to eighteenth-century intellectual history was his role as a disseminator of religious information and a promoter of transatlantic correspondence. Yeager calculates that, on average, Erskine included four to eight books with each letter he dispatched to America. This figure becomes even more astounding when one examines his lengthy list of American correspondents, including prominent evangelicals such as Jonathan Edwards, Thomas Foxcroft, Thomas Prince,

Benjamin Rush, and even non-evangelicals like Charles Chauncy and Jonathan Mayhew. Erskine's location in Edinburgh—a "publishing epicenter"—uniquely positioned him to propagate the most current religious literature. His role as mediator proved to be of great value to Americans such as Edwards, whose library consisted largely of books sent by his Scottish friend (p. 147). Erskine not only disseminated literature but also had a hand in publishing, even learning Dutch and German at age sixty in order to stay up-to-date on the state of religion in Europe and to "strengthen evangelicalism" worldwide (p. 197).

Yeager's study is lucid, engaging, and valuable for the light it sheds on Erskine's contributions to the emerging evangelical world of his day. Furthermore, *Enlightened Evangelicalism* demonstrates forcefully the ways that eighteenth-century evangelicals accommodated themselves to ideas from the Moderate Enlightenment. If the book can be criticized, it is because Yeager is more skillful at depicting Erskine as a thinker than at contextualizing his thought within his life and ministry. Although Yeager notes that Erskine was reticent about his personal affairs, one wonders if more of the minister's life could have been reconstructed from broader attention to other contemporary sources.

William R. Smith, University of Notre Dame

Mark R. M. Towsey, ***Reading the Scottish Enlightenment: Books and Their Readers in Provincial Scotland, 1750–1820***. Leiden: Brill, 2010. Pp. xi + 361.

Reading the Scottish Enlightenment addresses the history of readership by looking at provincial libraries and the reading patterns of individual note-takers. I will treat these two themes in turn. The first half of the book addresses the kinds of books that were held by provincial Scottish libraries and which ones were checked out most often. Each chapter focuses accordingly on a specific kind of library: private (or privy), subscription, circulating, religious, and endowed. Using manuscript borrowers' lists and over four hundred printed library catalogues that were published between the 1750s and 1820s, Mark Towsey paints a rich picture of the hitherto murky world of provincial libraries. We learn, for example, who established them, who served as their patrons, and who actually used them.

This is an impressive achievement, and this aspect of the book is a significant addition to the history of readership. Indeed, historians of this field often do a lot of hand-waving about the places and practices of reading but, in the end, most studies tend to see a world in the grain of sand by focusing on one reader and, sometimes, one manuscript document. The reason for such narrowly focused works stems from the fact that constructing reading communities, as noted by Roger Chartier, requires the painstaking task of finding adequate primary sources and then analyzing their sometimes chaotic contents. Towsey largely succeeds in mapping the reading trends in provincial libraries and, among numerous valuable insights, two interesting points emerge. The first is that middle class women used provincial libraries frequently. In making this argument, Towsey offers significant proof for the recent thesis that late Enlightenment libraries served as a neutral space outside the family environment, where women could interact in public with other women as well as with men. Towsey also shows that women checked out books that have traditionally been treated as material that was read primarily by men.

A second notable point that emerges in the first half of the book is that the aims and objectives of provincial library custodians were not uniform, and this affected which kinds of books were stocked and what kinds of people graced their doors. Towsey skillfully explains that, whereas private and subscription libraries were usually run by enlightened townspeople of a middling nature, circulating libraries were usually run for profit by book dealers. Thus, the stock of the former tended to be books that addressed sociability and improvement. When it came to ordering books, novels were resisted as fanciful and books on law, medicine, and divinity were avoided because there was a fear that the surreptitious interests of local professionals might slowly erode the public nature of the library. However, when it came to circulating libraries, the stocking patterns were a bit different. Since these were run for profit, their stock was based more on trendy demands and less on lofty enlightened ideals. It is in these libraries, therefore, where novels and medical self-help books were more readily available.

The second half of the book focuses on reader responses to enlightened texts. The primary material discussed in these chapters is nothing short of exceptional. In fact, it would not be an exaggeration to say that this is easily the largest number of late Scottish Enlightenment commonplace books (which were notebooks of copied excerpts), diaries, and journals discussed in one place that I have ever encountered. Towsey's chapters approach these sources respectively through the lenses of self-fashioning, national identity, and common sense. Whereas the first half of the book concentrates on quantitative figures like register tallies and membership numbers, this half is pretty much a qualitative affair. It lacks, moreover, the authoritative voice of the previous chapters and uses more tentative language about the conclusions offered. Focusing on personal notes written by men and women, each chapter explores one of the foregoing themes by highlighting the kinds of passages that note-takers copied or summarized from titles housed by the libraries discussed in the first part of the book. One of the strengths of this ap-

proach is the way in which Towsey uses notes to judge how readers responded to books that were regularly checked out of libraries. The fact that he was able to locate so many manuscript sources on this topic is impressive. Indeed, it was a welcome surprise to learn about how everyday people, especially women like Stephana Malcom of Burnfoot, Marjory Fleming, and Elizabeth Rose, reacted to the books that they were reading.

Towsey's analysis tends to focus on the content of the notes. We learn which books attracted the attention of note-takers and which passages were excerpted. On a number of occasions I wondered why Towsey did not name his book *Reading and Writing the Scottish Enlightenment*. Upon reflection, however, the reason why the book does not bear this title is because Towsey uses the act of writing to explore the act of reading. In other words, he usually treats writing as a frozen medium that houses content relevant to his study. This occurs often in his analysis of manuscript excerpts copied by note-takers into their commonplace books or journals. Such an approach has many advantages. As intimated above, it allows him to paint a rich picture of reading practices that existed in Enlightenment Scotland, and it allows him to judge how readers reacted to the kinds of books held in provincial libraries.

Yet on occasion one gets the sense that Towsey might have overlooked a unique opportunity provided by the primary sources he has worked so hard to locate. He usually sidesteps the act of inscription as a significant cognitive activity, and in doing so he treats many of his female writers as imitators whose excerpting had little value because it only produced a mere copy of the original text that they were reading. For instance, when writing about the excerpts that Stephana Malcolm copied from Thomas Reid's *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man*, he writes that "such notes say little" about her "engagement with Reid." Yet if viewed as an act of inscription, such notes say a great deal about her intellectual formation. For instance, as noted by most writing manuals of the day, the very act of selection was framed by the mental faculty of judgment, which provided a superior ability to assess the argument of a text. Within the humanist tradition that influenced early modern Scotland, the selection of apposite texts was considered an impressive skill—a skill that is underplayed in the reading-as-content model. The inscriptions of women like Malcolm gain even more meaning when they are considered in light of the power attributed to writing by the associationist model of the mind that dominated how most Scots were taught to think about the act of inscription. As shown in Allen Richardson's work on Romanticism, inscription was a deeply valued act because it allowed the writer to constantly order the shifting content of the mind. Thus, the very act of inscribing a text was closely linked to its being impressed into the memory of the writer. Rather than saying little about Malcolm's engagement with Reid, the fact that she excerpted him shows that she held his ideas in high enough esteem to literally write them into her own memory. I should add that I am not criticizing Towsey for not employing this approach, but I would encourage him to think about the possibilities it presents to the many, many manuscripts that he has already collected.

Aside from my quibble about the act of writing, Towsey's fine book will serve as a reference point for my own work for years to come. The bibliography of notebooks alone significantly raises the standard for any future works seeking to identify trends in early modern Scottish commonplacing and journal writing. The same can be said for the bibliography of library catalogues. In short, Towsey deserves to be congratulated for producing such an informative and well-researched book. It teaches us the value of paying attention to the ephemera of bookishness and the fact that, as noted by an anonymous note-taker cited by Towsey, Enlightenment thinkers took great pains to heed the following injunction of the Edinburgh orator Hugh Blair: "Study to acquire the habit of attention to thought—let your thoughts be made the subject of thought, & review."

Matthew Daniel Eddy, Durham University

Adam Budd, ***John Armstrong's* The Art of Preserving Health*: Eighteenth-Century Sensibility in Practice***. Farnham, UK and Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011. Pp. xvii + 302.

In introducing this new, very welcome edition of *The Art of Preserving Health*, by the Scottish-born and Scottish-educated physician John Armstrong (1709–79), Adam Budd presents an informed and convincing case for taking a fresh look at this neglected didactic poem, as "a key document in the cultural, social, and medical history of the Enlightenment" (p. ix). First published in 1744, Armstrong's imitation Georgic was one of the most popular publications of the era. Widely read and often cited in both literary and medical contexts, *The Art of Preserving Health* continued to be reprinted—often in its 1,700-line entirety—into the nineteenth century, as part of a then cohering "British" poetic canon. For years it was the only medico–literary text sold by Benjamin Franklin.

Ironically, the poem's very success as a self-help guide to health may have ultimately undermined Armstrong's own, rather insecure medical practice. In 1732 he was the first student to graduate *insignitus* ("with distinction") from Edinburgh's recently founded medical school. Encouraged by friends, including James Thomson, he was one of a long line of Scottish medical graduates who went south, hoping to make his fortune in London, only to find that his Edinburgh degree was not recognized by London's Royal College of Physician, which con-

ferred licenses to practice in the capital. Like others, including his associate Tobias Smollett, Armstrong turned to literary production as a way of advertising his professional talents and attracting potential patronage.

The *Art of Preserving Health* is a four-part poem, composed in Miltonic blank verse and structured around four of Galen's so-called non-naturals; Air, Diet, Exercise, and The Passions. It has often been swiftly passed-over as merely a quirky poetic re-packaging of the ancient Hippocratic rules regarding regimen (what Foucault terms "the management of the self"), or as a blatant bid to muscle in on his countryman George Cheyne's fashionable success as a purveyor of medical advice literature. Publishing *The Art of Preserving Health* was undoubtedly a savvy professional and poetic move but, as Budd argues, the poem offers far more. For while it certainly caught a literary wave for Georgic imitations, it was also informed by an emergent, distinctly Scottish, physiologically oriented concern with sensation and moral empathy, which had characterized the poet's medical education. Armstrong was able to proffer a "sensitive description of emotional and physical feelings" in an innovative "attempt to cultivate his readers' physical sensibility by teaching them to identify the anatomical meaning of particular sensations—that is to cultivate a reflective corporeal sensibility" (pp. x–xi).

In a substantial, scholarly Introduction, Budd presents an engaging and convincing case for reconsidering Armstrong's poem within the context of Scottish Enlightenment studies and, more broadly, as a manifestly popular and hence genuinely influential work. Budd has done an excellent job here; where there are probably insufficient materials for a full-length biography, his introduction will no doubt stand as a definitive account of Armstrong's medico–literary career, even if his precise motives in publishing his earlier, potentially risqué poem, *The Oeconomy of Love*, remain somewhat obscure (a simple misjudgment of his readership?). Budd's extended introductory essay is substantial, informative and written with a welcome brio.

The poem itself is well-supported with detailed footnotes, which provide the non-specialist modern reader with some useful guidance when navigating what Budd himself terms its "arcane classicism and lexical peculiarities" (p. xi). The main text is also supplemented by a series of "Contextual Documents," divided into "Poetry," "Theory of the Georgic," and "Medical Documents." These carefully selected extracts from contemporary sources both help to frame the poem within a range of discursive contexts and have inherent interest for anyone concerned with eighteenth-century medico-literary production.

For what is essentially a critical edition of a long poem, this book is more than the sum of its parts. It not only stands as an exemplary model of how to present a now neglected, yet once canonical eighteenth-century literary text for a twenty-first century readership, but it also provides significant new insights into how the distinctive nature of Scottish Enlightenment medical practice and theory came to inform the wider literary culture of Georgian Britain. The book includes a chronological table of events and a full bibliography. It is visually enhanced by images of original title-pages and of a portrait of Armstrong by Sir Joshua Reynolds, now owned by the Art Gallery of Australia. It was an enlightened idea to present Armstrong's poem as an enhanced edition and, at a time of commercial cutbacks, it was enlightened of Ashgate to take it on. Although a relatively expensive hardback like this one does not lend itself to ready use in the seminar room, this is a valuable scholarly edition which every college library should certainly have on its shelves.

David E. Shuttleton, University of Glasgow

Murray Pittock, ed., ***Robert Burns in Global Culture***. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2011. Pp. 269.

David Sergeant and Fiona Stafford, eds., ***Burns and Other Poets***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. Pp. ix + 230.

The year 2009 saw the publication of several critical assessments of Robert Burns, as well as a new biography. The immediate reason for the spate of new material was the 250th anniversary of the poet's death, an event endorsed by the Scottish government and described as the Year of the Homecoming. As Murray Pittock notes in his Introduction to *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, "the 250th anniversary of Robert Burns's birth was a key literary moment, not unlike the anniversaries of Shakespeare in 1964 or Scott in 1871" (p. 13). In the years following this epochal event for Burns studies, critical interest in the poet remains high and discussion lively, with much attention paid to Burns's relationships with the pastoral, Ireland, and Romanticism, his complex reception history in the academy and popular culture, and his formal influence upon later poets. *Robert Burns in Global Culture* and *Burns and Other Poets* continue the important work begun in these critical areas, as well as explore new ground. Of particular significance is the analysis of Burns as a figure of global dimensions, reaching audiences far beyond Scotland. Reflecting on the international celebration of the poet in 2009, Pittock remarks that "Burns was well on his way back to being a global hero rather than the local icon into which he had begun to decay" (p. 13). Indeed, Pittock rightly claims that "the study of Burns and his poetry is entering a new era" (p. 23).

Pittock's collection furthers the research initiated by other recent Scottish Studies volumes like *Fickle*

Man: Robert Burns in the 21st Century, edited by Johnny Rodger and Gerard Carruthers (2009); *Revising Robert Burns and Ulster: Literature, Religion, and Politics, c. 1770–1920*, edited by Frank Ferguson and Andrew R. Holmes (2009); and *Scotland and the Borders of Romanticism*, edited by Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, and Janet Sorensen (2011). *Robert Burns in Global Culture* adds to the growing body of research on Burns by focusing on the international appeal of the poet to multiple, multifarious audiences. The collection is a product of the Global Burns Network, a research-based initiative funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Council; it also grew out of two major conferences in 2009 sponsored by the Royal Society of Edinburgh and Charles University. In particular, the volume addresses the following issues related to Burns studies: possible reasons for the poet's decline in Anglo-American criticism; elements in his reception history and his influence on images of Scotland abroad; and "the continuing role and celebration of Burns in culture" (p. 15). In this regard, the collection succeeds admirably, providing thorough and frequently fascinating analysis of a diverse array of topics related to these issues. Suggesting that "the poet's power of evoking universal emotions and beliefs … has long lain at the root of his global reach" (p. 21), Pittock's Introduction and essay offer a compelling discussion of Burns's reputation, assessing possible reasons for his critical decline in the midst of continuing international celebrity. In the essays by Robert Crawford and Silvia Mergenthal, Burns's relationship with Europe and European identities is explored in depth; in particular, Crawford enters the debate about "The Tree of Liberty" (recently addressed in *Fickle Man*) and follows Robert Chambers's attribution of the poem to Burns. In so doing, Crawford claims that Burns "articulates European democracy before any other major European poet" (p. 60).

Frauke Reitemeier, Alan Rawes, and Dominique Delmaire discuss Burns's reception in Germany, Italy, and France, respectively. Their essays provide valuable testimony of Burns's literary influence upon writers beyond Scotland, England, and Ireland. Pauline Anne Mackay and Andrew Monnickendam examine the topic of sexuality in Burns, with attention to his French contemporaries and the troubadour tradition. Reflecting upon Burns's awareness of the courtly love tradition, Monnickendam argues that "Burns reinvents the love lyric by transforming its traditional forms and conventions, both folkloric and courtly" (p. 153). R.D.S. Jack offers a much-needed discussion of Burns in translation, with a call for continued funding for the Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT) database. Nigel Leask explores issues addressed in his recent book *Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (2011). His powerfully instructive essay on Burns and the Scottish colonial experience finds that "[Burns's] colonial connections and imperial dissemination represent the most fundamental and earliest appearance of a 'global Burns'" (p. 174). Clark McGinn and Christopher A. Whatley explore the nineteenth-century celebrations of Burns, evaluating the influence of Burns Clubs and Suppers upon his popular reception. McGinn's essay in particular offers much intriguing research on the global practice of the Burns Supper from the nineteenth century to the present, observing that "the 250th anniversary of Burns's birth saw over nine million people joining in Burns Suppers internationally during January 2009" (p. 189). Leith Davis's essay on the life of Burns "on page and stage" concludes the volume, exploring the representations of Burns's biography in popular literature and drama from the nineteenth century onwards. Finding that "Burns's life became … a recognizable type of creative fiction in the nineteenth century" (p. 234), Davis provides valuable, detailed scrutiny of literary representations of the poet's life, seeking to account for its continuing significance in popular reception. As a whole, *Robert Burns in Global Culture* offers much fresh, compelling exploration of Burns's global popularity, meeting the collection's stated objectives and expanding into new directions that should prove very fruitful for Burns studies.

Burns and Other Poets, edited by David Sergeant and Fiona Stafford, also enters into original territory while building on recent work concerning Burns's literary influences upon his successors in Scotland, England, and Ireland. The collection follows the lead of previous critical works like Robert Crawford's *Devolving English Literature* (1992), Christopher Ricks's *Allusions to the Poets* (2002), and Stafford's own *Starting Lines in Scottish, English, and Irish Poetry: From Burns to Heaney* (2001) and *Local Attachments: The Province of Poetry* (2010). Like these volumes, *Burns and Other Poets* stresses Burns's engagement with the mainstream literary discourse of his day, particularly his use and understanding of poetic forms and modes. Though most of the volume is devoted to examining Burns's influence upon Romantic poets, eighteenth- and twentieth-century writers are also addressed; in addition, two original poems were written expressly for the collection. Andrew McNeillie's "The Devil's Elbow" opens the volume by asking of Burns, "What shade was there but yours, / what story but your own enacted there? / Unspoken because no need to say / when raising an elbow what was afoot / in that world still in living memory" (p. ix). David Sergeant's Introduction presents a masterly reading of "To a Mouse" in order to demonstrate the importance of the performative element of poetry; he argues that we need to develop "an appreciation of the poetic skill which underpins Burns's achievement, and a sense of how this feeds into and out of the creative endeavour of other poets through the centuries, across borders both local and national" (p. 3). Douglas Dunn assesses the role of loyalty (to both class and nation) in Burns's work, noting that in addition to being a "poet of the

Scottish people," he was "one of the great virtuosi of verse" (p. 19). Rhona Brown and Gerard Carruthers examine Burns's relationships to his Scots poetic predecessors and contemporaries, offering new perspectives on his contribution (in Brown's words) to "a cultural and literary dialogue which was immensely influential" (p. 36). Freya Johnston and Mina Gorji offer thorough discussions of "To a Mouse" and the critically-neglected "To a Mountain Daisy," focusing on issues of power, equality, and sentiment. Claire Lamont discusses representations of the house and home in Burns's poetry, looking not only at the influence upon Burns of Robert Fergusson but also that of Virgil and Lucretius. Following the vital work begun in his *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (2008), Murray Pittock deconstructs Wordsworth's theory of the "real language of man" and appraises his formal indebtedness to Burns. He also issues a call to action, arguing that we need to "change the way we read Burns" (p. 104). He states that "we have read Burns too much through glossaries, and not enough through dictionaries, thesauruses and histories" (p. 104). Pittock's analysis of "To a Louse" in this essay is a remarkable *tour de force*. The influence of Burns upon Irish writers is explored in considerable depth in the essays by Patrick Crotty (on Brian Merriman), Michael Griffin (on Thomas Dermody), and Bernard O'Donoghue (on Burns as "Ireland's National Bard"; he also contributed an original poem to the collection). Stephen Gill analyzes the complex connections between Wordsworth and Burns, while Brean Hammond makes a strong case for reading Burns and Byron "ethically." Robert Crawford's discussion of Hugh MacDiarmid's ambivalent response to Burns and Burns clubs offers fresh insight into the knotty issue of the poet's legacy for twentieth-century Scots poets. Fiona Stafford's essay on Seamus Heaney's responses to Burns in the 1990s concludes the collection, with expert contextualization and analysis of the ways in which Burns's influence is still felt by practicing world poets. In particular, she seeks to answer the questions, "how and why are poets remembered? And what is their true legacy, private or public?" (p. 213).

As with *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, *Burns and Other Poets* provides much valuable discussion of important topics in the field, demonstrating the continuing relevance of Burns and the need for further study. As Robert Crawford avers in his essay, "there is no better time than now for Burns to be set again in one of the places he most belongs—among the poets" (p. 193). In sum, *Burns in Global Culture* and *Burns and Other Poets* are salutary, much-needed collections, revealing provocative and timely new directions in Burns studies.

Corey E. Andrews, Youngstown State University

Nigel Leask, ***Robert Burns and Pastoral: Poetry and Improvement in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. xiv + 347.

The dust-jacket shows Burns as a well-to-do farmer; behind him is the Bridge of Doon, a tiny structure that the cover art somehow enlarges. Adapted from a portrait by Alexander Nasmyth painted thirty-two years after Burns's death, the image reveals not a countenance in close-up (such as Nasmyth's famous 1787 portrait taken from life) but a full-length view that adds extensive topographical detail. Nasmyth's 1828 retrospective view of Burns perfectly accords with Nigel Leask's complex and nuanced study, for Leask likewise takes a step back, considering the poet in broad Scottish and historical perspective. *Robert Burns and Pastoral* includes chapters on farming and land improvement; on the implicit Scottish Enlightenment politics of the Kilmarnock edition (1786); on the Excise; on Burns's representation of animals; on the literary genres of georgic and pastoral as practiced in the eighteenth century, including by Burns; and on the influence of James Currie's *The Works of Robert Burns; with an Account of his Life, and a Criticism on His Writings* (1800) on William Wordsworth, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and the critics of *The Edinburgh Review*.

Using recent critical reevaluations that build on the work of William Empson in *Some Versions of Pastoral* (1935), Leask highlights, as Empson did, the genre's potential for social commentary, offering close readings of such now unpopular Burns poems as "The Cotter's Saturday Night," whose final stanzas Leask defends against David Daiches' charges of "bombast": "a reading alert to the political language of the 1780s reveals [that] Burns's conclusion breathes radical energy into the quiescent genre of cottage pastoral" (p. 231). The book's project is "re-engaging pastoral with some of its more strenuous eighteenth-century meanings" (p. 7), and Leask is most successful in his deft *connection* of Burns to other writers and issues of the poet's day. A fine tracing of subtle connections is also striking in this book's wealth of scholarly citation. Leask includes not only critics in Scottish studies but such non-Burnsians as Annabel Patterson, David Perkins, Ralph Cohen, Margaret Doody, Clifford Siskin, David Higgins, Michael McKeon, and Raymond Williams. The Scottish poet is thereby implicitly linked to wider strands in today's critical conversations. *Burns and Pastoral* clears a path for renewed academic interest in Burns, both in and out of the specialization of Scottish studies.

The work considers local contexts as well, notably the "seismic shifts in Lowland rural society" reflected in Burns's poems (p. 222). There is a section on Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1793–99), discussing the associates and neighbors of Burns who contributed to this quintessential project of the Scottish Enlightenment. In connecting Burns's writings with Scottish farming, Leask returns to such neglected poems as "The

Death and Dying Words of Poor Mailie" and "The Author's Earnest Cry and Prayer," providing energetic readings and clarification of the pivotal role played in eighteenth-century Scottish culture by agricultural "improvers." His informative and fresh look at Burns and farming is a highlight of this work. The poet failed to arrange for any liming of his new farm at Ellisland in 1788, Leask notes, not out of improvidence and carelessness, as Burns's biographer Richard Hindle Fowler charged, but because he had himself located and tested deposits on the property and planned to excavate the lime himself (p. 34). The reference to "fairlie" sheep in "Poor Mailie" is to a new breed named for its originator, Alexander Fairlie of Fairlie (p. 149). Burns not only introduced Ayrshire cattle to Nithsdale but experimented with a new method of de-horning young cattle. The excellent commentary on farming might have been further enriched by citation of John C. Weston's passionate catalogue of the difficulties faced by Burns's family at Mount Oliphant and Lochlie farms as they attempted to survive without capital—indeed, without any wheeled vehicle on the premises ("Robert Burns's Satire," in *Critical Essays on Robert Burns*, ed. Carol McGuirk [1998], pp. 117–33, esp. 121).

Any fault lines are related to the major strengths of the work: its interweaving of diverse topics and emphasis on secondary scholarship and existing critical discussions. Currie's *Works of Burns*, for instance, could not have been closely examined, for it was not "anonymously published" (p. 276). Currie's name does not appear on the title page, but the dedication letter is signed "J. Currie. Liverpool 1st May 1800" (p. xxiii). Leask's reliance on biographer James Mackay, who follows Robert Thornton in defending Currie's well-intentioned but disastrous biography, supports a pro-Currie bias in Leask's discussion. Preferring the approach through genres (especially pastoral and georgic) to the slippery idea of Burns as a bard, Leask at once discards the problematic term (p. 7), but thereby contradicts Burns's own identification of himself as a bard or "bardie" in many a letter and poem. I found myself resisting the premise that "poetry was never Burns's profession" (p. 7). Though this is a frequent problem with books in our day, a further fault line is the large number of typographical errors and copyediting lapses, surprising in a work coming from Oxford University Press.

Highlighting the Kilmarnock *Poems* (1786) and their Enlightenment and pastoral politics, Leask largely turns away from Burns's songs, although some are briefly mentioned. Leask speaks of "the great body" of Burns's work as "written before 1789" (p. 117) and the poet's career as essentially finished by 1792, although some of the songs that preoccupied Burns later in his career are pertinent. The discussion of Thomas Paine's probable influence on Burns, for instance, omits any analysis of "Is There for Honest Poverty," a 1795 song that paraphrases Paine.

Leask's friendly treatment of the Enlightenment, with its interest in hierarchically stacked literary genres and its embrace of standard English and the Union, in some ways overly assimilates Burns. Probably the poet is—to use Kenneth Simpson's term—more "protean" than this work suggests (*The Protean Scot* [1988]). Burns indeed can sound like a child of the Scottish Enlightenment, especially when making his desperate bid for fame in the 1786 *Poems*, where he paraphrases Adam Smith in "To a Mouse" and unleashes "the faulcons of Ridicule" and "the bloodhounds of Satire" in defense of New Light ministers in "The Holy Fair" (*The Letters of Robert Burns*, 2nd ed., ed. G. Ross Roy and J. De Lancey Ferguson [1985], 1:175). Yet there is another side of Burns's writings that Edwin Morgan characterized as "strange, more mysterious, more secret, often associated with images of twilight or darkness" ("A Poet Looks at Burns," in *Burns Now*, ed. Kenneth Simpson [1994], pp. 1–12). Morgan calls such images signs of the "the unexplained powers of poetry," powers that doubtless refuse full illumination from any one critical approach or thesis.

Burns and Pastoral does shed light on matters central to Burns's achievement. If Leask's Farmer Burns at times seems, like Nasmyth's image on the cover, a shade too well-turned-out and prosperous—and at some points somewhat upstaged by the background—there is no question that references to land improvement and the Scottish Enlightenment recur in Burns's writings. Burns did have his sunny, sane, prosperous side, and it has never been as well explored as it is here. Leask offers insightful commentary and consistently stimulating readings, and his book extends to all readers, both those new to Burns and those well-versed in Scottish studies, a genial, cosmopolitan invitation to further study and discussion.

Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

Tobias Smollett, ***The Adventures of Roderick Random***. Edited by O M Brack, Jr.; Introduction and Notes by James G. Basker, Paul-Gabriel Boucé, and Nicole A. Seary. Athens, GA and London: University of Georgia Press, 2012. Pp. lix + 620.

The uphill battle that Tobias Smollett has always faced with regard to his literary reputation—especially when the posthumous debate moves beyond his incontestable classic, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*— can be glimpsed in Walter Scott's introduction to Smollett's oeuvre for the canon-forming *Ballantyne's Novelists Library* series of 1821–24. Unable to resist comparing Smollett to his closest (and also most despised) eighteenth-century literary rival, Henry Fielding, Scott writes that "the art and felicity with which the story of *Tom Jones* evolves it-

self, is nowhere found in Smollett's novels, where the heroes pass from one situation in life, and from one stage of society, to another totally unconnected"; more damning still, Scott continues, "Neither are the characters which Smollett designed . . . half so amiable as his readers could desire." The Author of Waverley's prime evidence for this last claim, not surprisingly, is the protagonist of Smollett's first novel, which the University of Georgia Press has just reissued in its *Works of Tobias Smollett* series: "The low-minded Roderick Random, who borrows Strap's money, wears his clothes, and, rescued from starving by the attachment of that simple and kind-hearted adherent, rewards him by squandering his substance, receiving his attendance as a servant, and beating him when the dice ran against him, is not to be named in one day with the open-hearted, good-humoured, and noble-minded Tom Jones." Scott goes on to praise Smollett's compensatory powers of invention and scope, but the damage has been done. Fielding is established as the high-minded literary writer, Smollett the low-minded hack.

There is clearly room for debate here, especially considering that Scott admits to reaching this conclusion only by ignoring Tom Jones' egregious libertinism. But even were we to confirm Scott's opinion – as, indeed, most literary historians have done, at least through Ian Watt's *Rise of the Novel* and frequently beyond – would that make *Roderick Random* any less enjoyable? And given the current Hollywood vogue for comedies featuring men behaving badly, who's to say that Smollett's first novel isn't just as timely as it was upon its first publication in 1748? It might never overtake *Humphry Clinker* for literary repute— to say nothing of *Tom Jones* or *Clarissa*—but perhaps *Roderick Random* looks inferior mostly because we keep trying to fit it into a line of development (the realistic novel) to which it simply doesn't belong. Instead, as Smollett himself observes in his original introduction to the novel, it really belongs to a different tradition altogether: that of the riotous picaresque, going back to *Don Quixote* and *Gil Blas* (both of which Smollett translated, to great acclaim and significant profit) and forward, arguably, to modern classics like *On the Road* and *Y Tu Mama Tambien*.

Of course, to observe that *Roderick Random* doesn't fail at being a realistic novel because it's not trying to be one is not to deny the moments of realism peppered among its many delightful episodes of exaggerated buffoonery. Indeed, like all great satire, it deals with essentially serious subjects. This is less surprising, however, when we remember that although Smollett was supportive of the Anglo-Scottish Union, he published a sentimental poem memorializing the Jacobite defeat at Culloden, *The Tears of Scotland*, just two years before *Roderick Random*. Accordingly, Smollett's novel of a young Scotsman's journey from humble origins to fame and fortune is a coming-of-age story on the national as well as the individual level, as Roderick matures from a young Scottish lout into a cosmopolitan British gentleman: one who chooses, however, to return to Scotland at the novel's conclusion.

Speaking of realism, moreover, one cannot say enough about Smollett's unflinching depictions of Roderick's experiences at the ill-fated siege of Cartagena—depictions clearly drawn from Smollett's own experiences as a ship's surgeon. Elsewhere, Smollett's willingness to acknowledge and interrogate the stereotypes surrounding precisely the kind of figure he himself strove to cut in London society—the novel's cast of hundreds (more or less) contains its fair share of quack surgeons and fortune-hunting Scotsmen—puts the lie to Sterne's later slander of Smollett as the irritable, self-obsessed "Smelfungus" (or at least suggests that this persona was a product of older age and ill health).

Beyond giving renewed access to the beauties and pleasures of *Roderick Random* itself, this latest edition is like the best kind of "Special Edition" DVD: it's packed with extra features that actually enhance, rather than diminish, one's appreciation of the main show. James Basker's wide-ranging, highly readable introduction is worth the price of admission alone. More, the editorial team's one hundred-plus pages of notes on O M Brack's immaculately edited text provide invaluable commentary, explanation, and background on everything from Tom Bowling's sailor's cant, to the history of British involvement in Jamaica, to the probable real-life models of many of the characters. The volume is also handsomely illustrated with nearly 30 woodcuts, drawn from various editions and by a variety of well-known artists, including Thomas Rowlandson and George Cruikshank. And as if all this was not enough, this edition also includes the first modern republication of a text, "An Account of the Expedition Against Carthagene," that appeared in the 1756 *Compendium of Authentic and Entertaining Voyages*, compiled and edited by Smollett himself. (Basker, who transcribed this text himself, covers its publication history and attribution to Smollett extensively in his introduction.)

Will *The Adventures of Roderick Random* ever displace *Robinson Crusoe*, *Joseph Andrews* or (to move into a different register of novel) *Pamela* on undergraduate reading lists? I doubt it. But no matter! The Georgia Edition of Smollett's works has done us all a very great service in making sure that his fictions, plays, poems, and translations remain available to students and scholars for years to come. And when the next road trip/ buddy flick/ gross-out comedy arrives at a multiplex near you, you can settle into an easy chair with a volume of Smollett in good conscience, knowing that you are unlikely to be missing anything on the big screen not already contained – or at least anticipated – in the pages before you.

Evan Gottlieb, Oregon State University

Blind Ossian's Fingal: Fragments and Controversy. Compiled and translated by James Macpherson. Edited and introduced by Allan Burnett and Linda Andersson Burnett. Edinburgh: Luath Press, 2011. Pp. 223.

James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* was first published in 1760, and the first edition of *Fingal: An Ancient Epic Poem in Six Books* appeared two years later in 1761–62, followed by *Temora: an Ancient Epic Poem in Eight Books* in 1763 and a new edition of *The Works of Ossian, The Son of Fingal* in 1765.

The controversy about Macpherson's "translations" and subsequent editions of the Ossian books has had extensive scholarly coverage. In recent years, Fiona Stafford's *The Sublime Savage: James Macpherson and the Poems of Ossian* (1988) was followed in 1990 by Howard Gaskill's "What Did James Macpherson Really Leave on Display at His Publisher's Shop in 1762?" (*Scottish Gaelic Studies* 16: 67–89) and then his *Ossian Revisited* essay collection (1991). These publications and Stafford and Gaskill's subsequent edition of *The Poems of Ossian and Related Works* (1996) have provided sufficient commentary for the average scholarly reader requiring an introduction to the Ossian phenomenon. One might then ask whether there was actually any need for the Burnetts' new book, *Blind Ossian's Fingal*.

In fact, however, this latest publication serves a slightly different purpose, and as such, its publication can indeed be justified. Whereas Stafford and Gaskill produced a scholarly edition of Macpherson's Ossianic output, Burnett and Andersson Burnett have compiled what is essentially an "edited highlights," together with a timeline, appropriate commentary, and excerpts from related sources, showing contemporary reaction to Macpherson's publications. Thus, we are not presented with the poems in their entirety but rather with selections from the *Fragments* and from the 1762 edition of *Fingal*, together with the prefaces to each, and Macpherson's "A Dissertation concerning the Antiquity, &c. of the Poems of Ossian the Son of Fingal." The poems are first set in context with an Ossianic chronology, followed by collaboratively authored essays on the poetry itself, the controversy surrounding the work, and the life of Macpherson.

Following the poetry itself, we find a thumbnail sketch of Hugh Blair and excerpts from his *Critical Dissertation on the Poems of Ossian, the Son of Fingal*, from the second London edition of 1765. This is followed by similar thumbnail sketches for Samuel Johnson and James Boswell, preceding extracts from Boswell's *The Life of Samuel Johnson* (1791) and *The Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, with Samuel Johnson* (1785), and from Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* (1775). Next, there is a thumbnail sketch of Malcolm Laing, and extracts from the Preface to his 1805 edition of the Ossianic poems, before the final excerpt from the Highland Society of Scotland and Henry Mackenzie's *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, Appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian* (1805).

A bibliography of primary and secondary sources concludes the volume. It comes as no surprise to find Stafford's writings, and Gaskill's *Ossian Revisited* among the works listed. It is more surprising that Gaskill's "What Did James Macpherson Really Leave on Display at His Publisher's Shop in 1762?" and Derick S. Thomson's *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's "Ossian"* (1952) are omitted.

Both Allan Burnett and Linda Andersson Burnett have research backgrounds and have written extensively on Scottish history and heritage, in Allan's case largely as a journalist and author for the popular market. Meanwhile, Linda Andersson Burnett is currently a doctoral candidate at the University of Edinburgh. It will thus be evident that such a compilation particularly plays to Allan Burnett's strengths in making a complex historical phenomenon accessible to the intelligent layperson. A research scholar would undoubtedly turn to Stafford and Gaskill's far bulkier complete edition of Macpherson's 1765 *The Works of Ossian*, with its detailed and heavily annotated text, (and, moreover, the inclusion of *Temora*, which the Burnett compilation does not embrace). But the work under review gives a fair and accurate overview for the lay reader or undergraduate scholar. Macpherson's footnotes are included, although editorial footnotes are not; and there is an adequate, if not comprehensive, bibliography for further reading. The introductory essays are straightforward and showcase the significant details and context, while not offering any sharp new insights. However, rather than criticize this edition for its lighter scholarship, it should instead be lauded for filling a gap in a different market, and for bringing Macpherson's Ossian poems to a contemporary readership which might otherwise not encounter them.

Karen E. McAulay, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Silke Stroh, ***Uneasy Subjects: Postcolonialism and Scottish Gaelic Poetry***. New York: Rodopi Press, 2011. Pp. 378 pages.

This ambitious book seeks to use Gaelic-language sources to extend postcolonial studies to marginalized white ethnicities within Europe. Silke Stroh, who studied at the University of Aberdeen and currently teaches at the University of Münster, asserts that Scottish Gaelic poetry offers a window onto how Gaels understood and challenged the dominant colonial narratives of the state and Anglo-British society. In analyzing the *Gàidhealtachd's* double marginality within both Scotland and Britain, Stroh develops an extraordinarily nuanced reading of the

Gaels' uneasy place as both potentially colonized subjects of the British state as well as colonizers in their own right in the extra-European world. She follows current postcolonial theory in deconstructing simplistic binaries of colonizer and colonized to expose how Gaels negotiated these complexities in poetic discourses. The author is careful, however, not to be trapped by the inner logic of her methodology, recognizing that Scotland never had inscribed colonial status, nor it is today, devolution and the upcoming referendum on independence notwithstanding, an entirely postcolonial nation.

The book is arranged chronologically with the over- and inter-locking themes of the research described in the Introduction. The book covers a large chronology, from the Middle Ages to the present. Readers will be most interested in chapters 3 to 5, detailing the emergence of Scottish, and later British, national discourses which framed the Gael as an ignoble savage. Much of this territory will be familiar to scholars, but it is the exploration of Gaelic responses to these discourses which does so much to commend the book. Indeed, the most appealing aspect of this work is Stroh's reading of pro-imperial discourses within the literature of the *Gàidhealtachd*, something which can be increasingly seen in the excellent work of Michael Newton, as well as research currently being undertaken by Wilson McLeod and Ruairidh MacIver. In so doing, Stroh helps deconstruct the imagined conceit that Anglo-Britons had a monopoly over concepts of refinement, progress, and enlightenment. Ironically, however, the author's attempt to make accessible these sources to non-Gaelic speakers has led her to focus largely, though not exclusively, on sources with available translations. While there are advantages to this approach, it is, on balance, an error because it limits discussion to well-known authors and sources, some of which already have a rich commentary from Gaelic scholars.

Criticism of this work obviously centers on the application of a postcolonial framework to a region whose historical development was not subject to many of the strictures produced by traditionally conceived British colonialism. The region was not subject to foreign annexation or subjected to a policy of unequal economic dependence. We might also question the extent to which it is fair to subsume the broad narrative of Scottish history within a postcolonial framework. These are all issues that the author herself acknowledges and frames appropriately in an excellent Introduction. More troubling, at least from the perspective of a historian, is that the book does not seek to analyze historical developments which may or may not have led to colonial status; nor does it analyze the political or material patterns which underpinned Gaelic discourses. This is a literary analysis with an emphasis on discursive and interpretive negotiations. More specifically, there are also moments when the author's unfamiliarity with the latest historical research leads her to re-produce some of the Anglo-colonial narratives she is attempting to destabilize. This reviewer was also troubled by the tendency to frame Highland discourses as responses to metropolitan views, thereby implicitly exaggerating the hegemony (and uniformity) of the English narrative; this is a problem which frequently befalls postcolonialism.

Nevertheless, as an analysis of Gaelic discursive prose, the book is a tremendous addition to the existing English-language literature. The author deserves high commendation for the centrality of Gaelic in the text. The book also serves to remind us that in a truly international market of scholarship, we in the academy should be paying increasing attention to research generated outside of Britain and the United States. If we are sometimes (inaccurately) tempted to declaim the stagnation of Scottish history, works such as this, or Clotilde Prunier's *Anti-Catholic Strategies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (2004), remind us of the unquestionable benefits of heterogeneous discourse. Stroh's *Uneasy Subjects* seeks to generate debate on the merits of conceiving of Scotland as an internal colony or a postcolonial nation, something even the most vitriolic nationalists have been reluctant to consider. With the constitutional place of Scotland likely to undergo some sort of change in the course of the next few years, few literary studies can be as welcome or as timely.

Matthew Dziennik, The New School University

Jennifer Orr, ed., ***The Correspondence of Samuel Thomson (1766-1816)***. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2012. Pp. viii + 256.

The publication of Samuel Thomson's correspondence and miscellany marks another significant recovery of the work of Ireland's "rhyming weaver" poets. In the past, the majority of these poets have been either quietly applauded as part of a northern Irish-Scottish folk tradition of minor versifiers or, at worst, been lambasted as Robert Burns imitators. It is welcome therefore that the academic interest in the literary relationships between Scotland and Ireland of the last few decades has challenged such narrow preconceptions. Orr's edition of these materials, in their first full scholarly version, has unearthed a particularly rich vein of correspondence of Scottish-Irish transnational and cultural interaction, illuminating a circle of writers with much to say on literature, religion, and politics. And in Orr, Thompson's archive has found an editor able enough to do justice to the complexity and significance of the poet and the coterie in which he operated.

In the past a somewhat stultifying view of a closed hierarchy of literary circles has existed in the discus-

sion of northern Irish cultural groups of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was abetted by the Ulster poet and critic John Hewitt, who saw such associations motivated by vernacular, colonial, and national motivational forces, often kept apart by confessional, geographical and political sensibilities. One of Orr's major strength's is the quashing of such simple compartmentalizations. Thomson may have been a relatively inconspicuous country school master operating out of his cottage, the self-deprecatingly obscure "Crambo Cave," a Burnsian, and perhaps Shenstonian amalgamation of the rhyming game of "Crambo" with the poet in retirement's abode, in Carngranny, near Templepatrick in County Antrim. But as these letters attest, his reputation put him in contact with local grandees, publishers, radical and not so radical ministers, Ulster bluestockings, United Irish intelligentsia, friends (possible lovers), and most important of all, serious poets. Indeed the most exciting point that Orr raises is that Thomson was not only at the center of artisan-class Presbyterian, United Irish, and Masonic circles but also working within the creative thoughtworld of early Romanticism. This bold statement is timely, as other monographs and collections have recently posited how Scottish and Irish Romanticisms may be understood, recovered, and theorized. Often these texts have left out the northern province of Ireland in what might be seen as a glaring, paradoxical omission and a very sad loss to Romantic studies, given the longstanding connections between the two land masses in which the political, cultural, and theological conditions offer particularly vivid, idiosyncratic, and unique expressions of Romantic thought and literature. Orr rectifies recent scholarly oversight by tracing how this romantic space might be understood from Thomson's point of view, albeit refracted in his circle's letters to him and in what effectively constitutes his poetic notebook.

The shift from Augustan to Romantic sensibility can be discovered in the letters from Luke Mullan, close friend and United Irishman. The discussion between the two often centers not on political agitation but on "inner feelings and literary pursuits." In this exchange we gauge their enthrallment at the phenomenon of Burns, whom both had met and corresponded with, but we can also see that the relationship was no empty idolizing but rather a long, carefully marshaled transnational dialogue that acts as merely one nodal point of reference in Thomson's connection with Scottish and English literary culture. The letters demonstrate not only Thomson's intensive reading of Burns but also his extensive print hunger for other writers, ancient and modern: his avid desire for text after text. Such attention to new and older works of English and Scottish literature also underscores the fact that Thomson and his milieu were not trapped in reverent homage to the specter of Burns, Fergusson, or Ramsay. Letters from booksellers such as William Mitchell and William Magee attest to a healthy literary marketplace around Belfast and to the developing capacity of its print industry to satisfy the demands of the book-buying public.

This collection provides a very welcome supplement to Thomson's own poetry, a remarkable range of thought and feeling, which despite many handicaps was published in three collections in his lifetime. A selection published in a popular edition in the 1990s is out of print; surely now Thomson's work has found its scholarly editor. If many of his poems, like his relatively well known "To a Hedgehog," betray a defensive cunning at offering too much of oneself to public scrutiny, his many correspondents depict a man of sensitivity and warmth who took careful interest in various friends.

The one negative point that might be made about this collection is the absence of Thomson's own letters. Despite some examples of his own letter writing, this does leave many questions unanswered about his thoughts on several matters. This was necessitated perhaps by Thomson's possible use of political rhetoric that would have imperiled his memory or the lives of others, had his executors not expunged these from the archives. Therefore we do not get as profound a grasp of his life as of his contemporary, the Belfast poet Dr. William Drennan, whose voluminous letters were republished in the late 1990s. Despite this, we gain a number of insights into a clever and creative individual whose writing and that of his ablest correspondents suggest that an Ulster-Scots Romanticism was no crambo.

Frank Ferguson, University of Ulster, Coleraine

Francis Jeffrey's American Journal: New York to Washington 1813. Edited by Andrew Hook and Clare Elliott. Glasgow: Humming Earth Press, 2011. Pp. xvii + 113.

Francis Jeffrey was an ambassador of the Scottish Enlightenment to the nineteenth century. His mouthpiece was the great *Edinburgh Review*, which, edited for more than a quarter of a century by this pupil of Dugald Stewart, remained attached to progressive Enlightenment principles during a period when Tory politics dominated Britain in the anti-Jacobin aftermath of the French Revolution. Jeffrey's was the talented generation commemorated in Henry Cockburn's *Memorial of His Times*, whose student years were radically affected by the Revolution; liberal in their political sympathies, most never achieved public office. Trained like many of them as a lawyer, Jeffrey struggled to succeed in a politically hostile environment; he and his friends turned their talents to the public sphere of journalism.

In 1813, with Britain and America once again at war, Jeffrey, by then sole editor of the celebrated journal,

made a personal visit to the United States in pursuit of Charlotte Wilkes, the young niece of John Wilkes whom he had met in Edinburgh the previous year. Myths have arisen about this *voyage d'amour* undertaken in hostile conditions by a man who hated and feared the sea—among them the idea that Jeffrey wrote the anonymous *Waverley* (1814) to alleviate the boredom of his transatlantic passage on the good ship "Robert Burns." His homeward passage on the "Fair American" does indeed seem to offer this transatlantic journey as an irresistibly emblematic passage. At a more sober level, Jeffrey's American visit was undoubtedly embroiled with the Anglo-American war of 1812–14. Diplomatic complications associated with the state of affairs threatened to derail both his marital ambitions and the future of the *Review*, whose international celebrity as a liberal ally of America was known and respected. Jeffrey's correspondence with his brother John, who settled in America, shows him to have been in close touch with American Federalist interests (in many respects aligned with the Whiggish point of view espoused by the *Edinburgh Review*) and an outspoken opponent of the war. He had met Washington Irving's close friend Henry Brevoort during Brevoort's tour of Britain; the news that the editor of Scotland's powerful journal was crossing the Atlantic appeared in *The Analectic Magazine*. Jeffrey found himself something of a celebrity in America, where the *Review* was reprinted and its views on the recent republic held considerable authority.

Writing an "authorized' biography of his friend after Jeffrey's death, Cockburn comments tersely that the journal kept by Jeffrey of his visit to America, "though minute, records nothing...that would now interest others." In fact, Cockburn made some use of the journal so readily dismissed, but the remainder of the work has until now remained unpublished. At one point believed lost, a large portion of the journal has lain in the archives of the National Library of Scotland. In the 1960s Denis Brogan transcribed the account in Jeffrey's notoriously difficult handwriting; this is the basis for the text now edited by Andrew Hook and Clare Elliott. The account begins after Jeffrey's marriage to Charlotte, accomplished in New York within a month of his arrival. (The current editors have chosen not to reprint an earlier, now lost, section quoted by Cockburn, in which Jeffrey described his transatlantic passage.)

The newlyweds' subsequent American tour took in scenery, social visits, and politics. Jeffrey responded enthusiastically to American scenery, was impressed by the prospects of Washington, D.C. (still under construction), and was generally less inclined than many British visitors to carp at the perceived immaturity of American society. He described in detail meetings with the family of Benjamin Rush and with both Secretary of State James Monroe and President James Madison, whom Jeffrey, feeling obliged to represent the British point of view in a conflict about which his own sympathies were complex, engaged in audacious and adversarial debate. The long account of their exchange makes clear that both he and his interlocutors found the conflict "unfortunate" and believed—as indeed proved to be the case—that neither side would gain by it. Jeffrey was nonetheless gratified to find a complete set of *The Edinburgh Review* in the otherwise "paltry" Library of Congress (soon in any case to be sacked by the British).

In making available this attractive edition of Jeffrey's transatlantic journal, the editors have made a significant contribution to our understanding of a little-known episode in Anglo–American relations in the post-Enlightenment period. The text benefits from their excellent notes, which are full and informative without being obtrusive; there are two useful appendices containing Jeffrey's itinerary with maps, and the previously unpublished Introduction prepared by Brogan for his transcription. Here is a further example of the fine work being produced by this small press.

Susan Manning, University of Edinburgh

Olivier Bruneau. ***Colin Maclaurin: L'Obstination mathématicienne d'un Newtonien***. Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 2011. Pp. 326.

The life and works of the Scottish mathematician Colin Maclaurin have been studied sporadically, but this is the first book to cover all his principal mathematical publications. In particular, whereas Maclaurin's *Treatise of Fluxions* and *Account of Sir Isaac Newton's Philosophical Discoveries* have awakened considerable scholarly interest, Olivier Bruneau is the first to venture deeply into Maclaurin's geometrical studies.

Bruneau's intellectual biography is organized chronologically. The longest chapters are devoted to specific mathematical titles by Maclaurin and ordered by the date of composition rather than publication, since some titles were posthumous. Interspersed among chapters on mathematical titles are chapters on other aspects of his life, notably his travels, marriage, quarrels over plagiarism and priority, and involvement with the Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. Overall, Bruneau sees Maclaurin's intellectual life as evolving in three stages, centered successively on geometry, algebra, and calculus.

Many of the chapters are technical. Bruneau translates eighteenth-century notations and approaches to problems into modern terms when necessary, and his reconstructions of Maclaurin's mathematical arguments are reasonably patient. Still, much of the book will be beyond the capabilities of anyone without a thorough grounding

in calculus and advanced mathematics. Fortunately for others, Bruneau summarizes conclusions from his analyses of Maclaurin's mathematics in language understandable to a broad public.

In Bruneau's eyes, Maclaurin was mathematically "obstinate" in his commitment to a mathematical approach to knowledge, even in traditionally unmathematized domains like morality. Obstinate as he may have been, Maclaurin was hardly fixated on mathematics, as Bruneau reveals. His lobbying for the defense of Edinburgh against the Jacobites in the rebellion of 1745–46, for example, suggests a man of multiple dimensions. In keeping with a promise in the preface (p. 7), Bruneau points to a certain amount of coherence in Maclaurin's intellectual, social, and political activities, though much of Maclaurin's mathematical work appears to reside in a world of its own.

The other key word in Bruneau's subtitle is *Newtonian*. Maclaurin was a Newtonian in the strongest sense. First, his mathematical career was favored by Newton's friendship and patronage. Second, he became a spokesman for Newtonian positions and was entrusted by Newton's heirs with the composition of a popular account of Newtonianism. Third, Maclaurin tended to work on the same problems as Newton had. Nevertheless, as Bruneau shows, Maclaurin diverged from Newton in some ways. He went beyond Newton at times, not only providing proofs for vague suggestions by Newton but also developing new notions and arguments. Most importantly, Bruneau argues, Maclaurin's research was marked by a determination to give mathematics a secure foundation, a concern largely alien to Newton and eighteenth-century mathematics in general (p. 304).

Maclaurin's stress on foundations was probably related to his teaching at the University of Edinburgh: the *Treatise of Algebra* in particular developed as a set of lectures meant to give students a solid grounding in the subject. At the same time, Maclaurin's foundationalism represented a reaction to George Berkeley's critique of calculus: he resolved to demonstrate the theorems of calculus with the rigor of ancient geometry. Indeed, in his *Treatise of Fluxions*, Maclaurin justified calculus through two independent systems of axioms, one geometrical, the other algebraic. Significantly, in his second systematization of calculus, Maclaurin moved away from the kinetic conception of Newton and others—based on moving geometrical objects—and toward a modern conception involving limits as quantities that can be indefinitely approached.

What, in conclusion, does this biography offer readers with a specialty in eighteenth-century Scotland? On the one hand, Maclaurin often comes across as transcending a Scottish context: he emerges as a thoroughgoing Newtonian who quickly integrated himself not only into the Royal Society of London but also into a larger European network of scientists. On the other hand, this is the most complete intellectual biography to date of a man who has long been granted an important role in the development of the Scottish Enlightenment, and it does place Maclaurin squarely in certain Scottish contexts. In particular, Bruneau deals with Maclaurin as a promising researcher brought to Edinburgh to enhance the reputation of the university, as an overworked teacher at the University of Edinburgh, as an influential citizen of Edinburgh, and as the prime mover of the early Philosophical Society of Edinburgh. In all these roles, not to mention as an internationally acclaimed mathematician bringing renown to Scotland, Bruneau's Maclaurin will be of interest to many studying eighteenth-century Scotland.

Jeff Loveland, University of Cincinnati

Marc André Bernier and Deidre Dawson, eds., **Les Lettres sur la sympathie *(1798) de Sophie de Grouchy: philosophie morale et réforme sociale***. *SVEC*, 2010:08. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2010. Pp. vii + 238.

In 1798 Sophie de Grouchy published a new translation of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* along with an epistolary commentary on Smith's work. The present volume follows suit in a sense, bringing us a new edition of the *Lettres sur la sympathie*, accompanied by six studies exploring various aspects of the *Lettres*. Readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* interested in the genealogy of Smith's thought will find a clear explanation of how major parts of a theory elaborated by a brilliant male Scottish philosopher in a time of peace and progress were questioned by a brilliant female French intellectual in a time of revolution and uncertainty. While none of the articles in this collection concentrates solely on the relation to Smith, he is present in most of them, and Bernier's introduction includes a section (pp. 5–12) on the notions in the theory that are most relevant in a reading of the *Lettres*. Numerous critical notes to the latter elucidate such connections, helpfully so since Grouchy mentions Smith by name infrequently. The index, which includes topics, can also guide the reader to passages where Grouchy is directly responding to Smith, both by name and silently.

For Smith, humans are endowed with a moral sense that inspires generous feelings toward our fellow creatures; a more general faculty that explains the functioning of this sense is sympathy, which operates through the imagination by letting us represent mentally the joys and sufferings of others. For Grouchy, a materialist who was also strongly influenced by the Idealogues (Jean Pierre Georges Cabanis was her brother-in-law), it is not an imagined representation of the other's situation that inspires sympathy, but rather purely physical sensations which immediately give rise to emotions and ideas. Anterior to any imaginative function, there is a quasi-chemical bond-

ing or affinity between the two humans; Grouchy insists on this sensationalist first cause. In his essay, Daniel Dumouchel traces the nuanced path of Grouchy's thought from this primary sensation to a kind of moral sympathy. Reflection must intervene, to lead us from individual sympathies caused by feelings of love and friendship to a general moral sympathy that registers not just good and evil but justice and injustice, and which can be developed through education. She saw her explanation of the moral sense as superior to Smith's, in that her system derives from human sensibility, not from an internal sense whose origins are obscure. Michel Malherbe follows up with an analysis of Grouchy's ideas on justice and rights as they flow from her theories. She concludes in favor of political equality and also of the right to property even if it produces social inequality. Grouchy also holds that laws develop deeper links, including those of obligation, among members of a society; Smith saw laws as capable of developing mainly economic bonds.

Marc André Bernier and Deidre Dawson, in their respective contributions, explore two other topics that are somewhat less prominent in the *Lettres* but no less important as components of Grouchy's philosophy. Bernier demonstrates that Grouchy was among the minority who did not call for a wholesale rejection of traditional rhetorical language; a passionate style arising from deep emotions is consonant with her theory of sympathy, in that it creates physical sensations, which then become capable of persuading the listener to certain thoughts and actions. Such a style clearly serves the republican virtues Grouchy espoused. Dawson draws on two additional women writers, Mary Wollstonecraft and Germaine de Staël, in a discussion of the rights of women, especially their right to pursue happiness, in the light of Smith's views. The latter include Smith's relegation of humane feelings, the kind usually associated with women, to second rank, and his notion of the passion of love as potentially dangerous.

The woman behind the *Lettres* is presented in Elisabeth Badinter's biographical sketch. A famed beauty of prodigious intelligence and a marked artistic talent, who was also blessed with an excellent education, Grouchy married the celebrated mathematician and political thinker Nicolas de Condorcet at twenty-two. She ran a salon and shared his work—the translation of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* was undertaken in tandem with her husband's research project on the *Wealth of Nations*. The couple were enthusiastically republican, but Condorcet clashed with the Convention and was proscribed, and he died in prison in 1794. In the following difficult and dangerous years, Grouchy eked out a living for herself and her daughter as an artist and translator. She would have two major liaisons, with Maillia Garat for about five years and with Claude Charles Fauriel for the last two decades of her life, but Grouchy retained the name of Mme de Condorcet until the end. Badinter provides illuminating historical and psychological context for the choices Grouchy made in her life.

Rounding out the collection is Catriona Seth's essay on the translations of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Grouchy's translation was the third in French but far from redundant, considering that it was based on Smith's seventh and revised edition and that it not only avoided the amazingly obtuse mistranslations of earlier versions by Marc-Antoine Eidous and Jean-Louis Blavet, but also presented Smith in an elegant, readable style.

A comprehensive bibliography compiled by Sébastien Drouin with the assistance of Isabelle Lachance includes the usual lists plus ancillary sections on moral philosophy and sympathy in the eighteenth century, women and the French Revolution, women and salons, and women and translation.

An expertly annotated edition of the *Lettres sur la sympathie* accompanied by six varied articles that are without exception illuminating, plus a useful bibliography, make this volume a noteworthy contribution to the scholarship on both Grouchy and Smith.

Kathleen Hardesty Doig, Georgia State University

History of European Ideas, Special Issue: Dugald Stewart: His Development in British and European Context. Volume 38, Number 1. March 2012. Pp. 178.

This issue of the *History of European Ideas* is devoted to Dugald Stewart, a thinker who, according to the editors Paul Wood and Knud Haakonssen, "has commonly been seen as a marginal or transitional figure" (p. 1), more likely to be referenced by the achievements of his students, like Francis Jeffrey and Henry Brougham, founders of the *Edinburgh Review*, or as the memorialist of his great predecessors, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, and William Robertson, than as an important contributor to the development of Scottish thought in the period when it achieved widespread international recognition. And yet when Scottish migrant Rev. John Clark Murray drew up the philosophy curriculum at McGill University, to which he had been appointed in 1872, his three key textbooks were Sir William Hamilton's *Notes on Reid*, Dugald Stewart's *Philosophy of the Active Powers*, and Murray's own *Outline of Sir William Hamilton's Philosophy*: Stewart was central to a conception of "the Scottish philosophy" that was rooted in Scottish religious experience and defined by its opposition to David Hume, a conception of Scottish philosophy that had not yet been displaced by the much more secular notion of a "Scottish Enlightenment" to which Hume is central. The opposition between these two conceptions of the Scottish past is now embodied in the Edinburgh landscape, where modern statues of Hume and Smith are jostled by tourists in the Old Town's

Royal Mile, while the nineteenth-century monument to Dugald Stewart on the eminence of Calton Hill looks out across the city that was redesigned during his lifetime as the Athens of the North.

Making a start on the recovery of the Stewart who so dominated the Edinburgh of the early nineteenth century, and whose influence stretched across the whole of the British Empire throughout that century, is the central task of this issue. At its core are two sets of archival materials which help, at least to some extent, to compensate for the destruction of most of Stewart's papers by his mentally unstable son, Colonel Matthew Stewart. The first are a series of previously unpublished letters between Stewart and Pierre Prevost (1751–1839), whom Stewart apparently only met once in 1792, but who promoted Stewart's work through his translation of sections of them in the *Bibliothèque britannique*, a compendium of writings in English in which Stewart appeared more times than any other author except Maria Edgeworth. The letters reveal the extent to which Stewart's friends and students could depend on him for introductions in Geneva, and are indicative, therefore, of the scale of the intellectual interchange with the Continent in which Scots were involved even during the Napoleonic Wars. It was Prevost's translations of Stewart's works and his promotion of Stewart's ideas that, according the editors of this section of the issue, laid the groundwork for the prominence of Scottish philosophy in the francophone world from the 1820s. The second document is the complete text of Stewart's letter to Sir William Forbes, who had invited Stewart to provide an account of his views on James Beattie's *Essay on Truth* to be reproduced as an appendix to Forbes's biography of Beattie. Richard B. Sher and Paul Wood argue that the tangled history of Stewart's exchanges with Forbes, and of Forbes's efforts to edit and amend Stewart's account (in part with the help of Stewart's friend from his student days, Archibald Alison), reveal the extent to which Stewart was seeking to distance himself not only from the more popular accounts of "common sense" philosophy but also from Reid's own formulations, and that his criticisms of Beattie were unacceptable to a biographer who wanted only to present a positive account of his subject. More importantly, however, the letter reveals an important stage in Stewart's efforts to redefine "common sense" in ways which will neutralize the criticism that it simply promotes the prejudices of the majority at the expense of the serious reflections of the few. "It may be," Sher and Wood conclude, "that the difficulty he faced in trying to resolve this problem was one of the intellectual reasons why he was forced to put off the completion of the second edition of his *Elements* for just over two decades" (p. 101).

Recovering the development of Stewart's thought between his early publications in the 1790s and those of the "long twilight of his career" (p. 102) in the 1810s and 20s is also the aim of the three substantial essays which make up the rest of the volume: Emanuele Levi Mortera on "Stewart, Kant and the Reworking of Common Sense," Jane Rendall on "History, Gender, and Political Economy," and Cristina Paoletti on Dugald Stewart's responses to the criticisms of his former student Francis Jeffrey in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*. Each of these essays emphasizes the evolution of Stewart's thought. Mortera demonstrates much greater engagement with Kant than has generally been acknowledged, suggesting how Kant helped Stewart redefine what he understood by "common sense." Rendall treats the ways in which Stewart's account of gender roles changed in response to Godwin's *Memoirs* of Mary Wollstonecraft, and how his conception of the role of women was closely tied to his views on education as the means of transforming society. Paoletti discusses a changing conception of the scope and purpose of the philosophy of mind provoked by Jeffrey's criticisms. Each shows how, in key aspects of his thought, Stewart redefined his earlier positions, distancing himself from the Reidian inheritance which he had done so much to defend.

Stewart has often been presented as a potentially radical thinker who was terrorized into quietude by the repression of the 1790s, the outcome of which is a philosophy designed to frighten no one. As James McCosh put it in *The Scottish Philosophy* (1875), Stewart "looks on a high abstraction with as great terror as some men do on ghosts. He studiously avoids close discussion, and flinches from controversy; he seems afraid of fighting with an opponent, lest it should exhibit him in no seemly attitudes. Seldom does he venture on a bold assertion" (p. 260). The Stewart who emerges from this issue, however, is one who, through the long years of war, is keeping open the channels to continental ideas; he is also radically revising the work of his Scottish predecessors; thereby laying the ideological foundations for a more liberal society. The editors suggest that this issue of the *History of European Ideas* is a step toward a new edition of Stewart's writings that would include, for the first time, not only his works as originally published but the student notes of his lectures and his surviving correspondence, and that only with such an edition would a proper evaluation of Stewart's achievement be possible. As such a first step, this issue is an important intervention, though principally by showing us just how far we have yet to go to come to terms with Stewart and his legacy. We are not yet in position to engage with the other Stewart whom James McCosh also identified: "I have noticed," McCosh wrote, "that in many cases Stewart hides his originality as carefully as others boast of theirs. Often have I found, after going the round of philosophers in seeking light on some abstruse subject, that, on turning to Stewart, his doctrine is, after all, the most profound, as it is the most judicious" (p. 260).

Cairns Craig, University of Aberdeen

RECENT ARTICLES BY ECSSS MEMBERS

Thomas AHNERT, "The Moral Education of Mankind: Character and Religious Moderatism in the Sermons of Hugh Blair," in *CSSSE*, pp. 67–83.

Thomas AHNERT and Susan MANNING, "Introduction: Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *CSSSE*, pp. 1–30.

Corey E. ANDREWS, "Men of Feeling: Harley, Sindall, Zeluco, and Robert Burns," *The Eighteenth-Century Novel* 8 (2011): 187–226.

Alex BENCHIMOL, "Periodicals and Public Culture," in *ECSR*, pp. 84–99.

Alexander BROADIE, "The Place of Religion in Civil Society: Thomas Reid, Philosophical Rhetoric, and the Role of the Preacher," in *A World for All?*, ed. W. F. Storrar, P. J. Casarella and P. L. Metzger (Grand Rapids, MI: Erdmans, 2011), pp. 75–89.

Toni CAREY, "The Sub-Rational in Scottish Moral Science," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 9 (2011): 225–38.

Rosalind CARR, "Masculinity and Space in Enlightenment Scotland," *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 25 (Spring 2011): 7–10.

James CAUDLE, "'Fact' or 'Invention'?: James Boswell and the Legend of a Boswell–Sterne Meeting," *The Shandean* 22 (2011): http://shandean.org/reception.html

James J. CAUDLE, "James Boswell (1740–1795) and his Design for A Dictionary of the Scot[t]ish Language, 1764–1825," *Dictionaries*, 32 (2011): 1–32.

Cairns CRAIG, "Empire of Intellect: The Scottish Enlightenment and Scotland's Intellectual Migrants," in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 84–117.

Leith DAVIS, "Imagining the Miscellaneous Nation: James Watson's *Choice Collection of Comic and Serious Scots Poems*," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 35 (2011): 60–80.

Leith DAVIS, "'Nation, Language and Nation Language': Robert Burns and Kamau Brathwaite," in *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature*, ed. Michael Gardiner, Graeme MacDonald, and Niall O'Gallagher (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp. 15–29.

Leith DAVIS, "'Rules of Art': The Life of Burns on Page and Stage, 1786–1954," in *RBGC*, pp. 229–246.

Bill DAWSON, brief articles on Robert Burns (including "Some DeLancey Ferguson Papers") in *Burns Chronicle* (summer 2010, winter 2010, spring 2011, winter 2011, summer 2011, and winter 2011).

T. M. Devine and Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600–1800," in *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 30–53.

William DONALDSON, "Re-thinking Popular Antiquities," *Review of Scottish Culture* 21 (2009): 124–31.

William DONALDSON, "Folk and Classic Intertwined" (review essay), *Eighteenth-Century Life* 34 (2010): 99–104.

Glen DORIS, "An Abolitionist Too Late? James Beattie and the Scottish Enlightenment's Lost Chance to Influence the Slave Trade Debate," *Journal of Scottish Thought* (2010).

Ian DUNCAN, "Urban Space and Enlightened Romanticism," in *ECSR*, pp. 72–83.

Ian DUNCAN, Introduction to Walter Scott, *Waverley*, ed. P. D. Garside (Penguin Classics, 2011), pp. xi–xxx.

Ian DUNCAN, "The Trouble with Man: Scott, Romance, and World History in the Age of Lamarck," in *Romantic Frictions*, ed. Theresa Kelley. *Romantic Circles: Praxis Series* (Sept. 2011) http://romantic.arhu.umd.edu/praxis/frictions/HTML/praxis.2011.duncan.html.

Ian DUNCAN, "The Lost Continent of British Romanticism: The Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels" (review essay), *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 25 (Spring 2011): 13–16.

Roger FECHNER, "'The Sacredness of Public Credit': The American Revolution, Paper Currency and John Witherspoon's 'Essay on Money' (1786)," in *The Empire of Credit: The Financial Revolution in the British Atlantic World, 1688-1815*, ed. Christopher Finlay and Daniel Carey (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 2011), 141–67.

John FINLAY, "Scots Lawyers and House of Lords Appeals in Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Journal of Legal History* 32 (2011): 249–77.

John FINLAY, "Abritration in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Juridical Review* (2011): 277–91.

John FINLAY, "Lawyers in the British Isles," in *Anwälte und ihre Geschichte*, ed. B. Dölemeyer et al. (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck Verlag, 2011), pp. 1097–1226.

Iris FLEßENKÄMPER, "Die *Select Society of Edinburgh* (1754–1764). Soziale Logik und kommunikative Etikette," in *Kulturen des Wissens im 18. Jahrhundert*, ed. Ulrich Johannes Schneider (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 263–72.

Iris FLEßENKÄMPER, "'Exciting a Spirit of Emulation': Selbstverständnis und Aktionsfeld der *Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures, and Agriculture in Scotland* (1755–1764)," in *Landschaften agrarisch-ökonomischen Wissens. Strategien innovativer Ressourcennutzung in Zeitschriften und Sozietäten des 18. Jahrhunderts*, ed. Marcus Popplow. Cottbuser Studien zur Geschichte von Technik, Arbeit und Umwelt, Bd. 30 (Münster/New York: Waxmann Verlag, 2010), pp. 277–95.

Iris FLEßENKÄMPER, "*Judas Maccabaeus*—ein Held in der Krise. Zur gesellschaftspolitischen (In-)Stabilität Großbritanniens im 18. Jahrhundert," in *Gewalt, Bedrohung, Krieg: Georg Friedrich Händels Judas Maccabaeus*, ed. Dominik Höink and Jürgen Heidrich (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2010), pp. 29–54.

Derek JANES, "The Smuggler and His Palace: John Nisbet of Gunsgreen House," *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, no. 25 (Spring 2011): 10–12.

Sandro JUNG, "Print Culture and Visual Interpretation in Eigheenth-Century German Editions of Thomson's *The Seasons*," *Comparative Critical Studies* 9 (2012): 37–59.

Sandro JUNG, "Print Culture, High-Cultural Consumption, and Thomson's *The Seasons*, 1780–1797," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 44 (2011): 495–514.

Sandro JUNG, "Thomson's *The Seasons* and the Tragic-Sentimental Verse Tale," *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 47 (2011): 3–15.

Sandro JUNG, "Painterly 'Readings' of *The Seasons*, 1766–1829," *Word & Image* 26 (2010): 68–82.

Sandro JUNG, "Visual Readings, Print, and Illustrations of Thomson's *The Seasons*, 1730–1797," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 34 (2010): 23–64.

Ned C. LANDSMAN, "The Episcopate, the British Union, and the Failure of Religious Settlement in Colonial British America," in *The First Prejudice: Religious Tolerance and Religious Intolerance in the Making of America*, ed. Christopher Beneke and Christopher Grenda (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), pp. 75–97.

Nigel LEASK, "'Their Groves o' Sweet Myrtles': Robert Burns and the Scottish Colonial Experience," in *RBGC*, pp. 172–88.

Nigel LEASK, "Robert Burns and Romanticism in Britain and Ireland," in *ECSR*, pp. 127–38.

Caroline MCCRACKEN-FLESHER, "Walter Scott's Romanticism: A Theory of Performance," in *ECSR*, pp. 139–49.

Kirsteen MCCUE, "Scottish Song, Lyric Poetry and the Romantic Composer," in *ECSR*, pp. 39–48.

Emanuele LEVI MORTERA, "Continuità e trasformazioni dell'innatismo. Dugald Stewart e la scuola scozzese del *common sense*," in *Immagini filosofiche e interpretazioni storiografiche del cartesianismo*, ed. C. Borghero and A. Del Prete (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2011), pp. 195–218.

Emanuele LEVI MORTERA, "Mente e coscienza fra Descartes e Reid," in *Eredità cartesiane nella cultura britannica*, ed. P. Dessì and B. Lotti (Firenze: Le Lettere, 2011), pp. 188–208.

Susan MANNING, "Historical Characters: Biography, the Science of Man, and Romantic Fiction," in *CSSSE*, pp. 225–48.

Barbara C. MURISON, "Becoming British? Completing the Union of 1707," *International Review of Scottish Studies* 36 (2011): 33–65.

Steve NEWMAN, "Ballad Collection and Lyric Collectives," in *A Companion to Romanticism*, ed. Charles Mahoney (Chicester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), pp. 78–94.

Steve NEWMAN, "Ballads and Chapbooks," in *ECSR*, pp. 13–26.

Ruth PERRY, "Brother Trouble: Murder and Incest in Scottish Ballads," in *Sibling Relations and the Transformation of European Kinship 1300–1900*, ed. Christopher H. Johnson and David Warren Sabean (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011), pp. 167–87.

Ruth PERRY, "Anna Gordon Brown and the Ballad Tradition in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *Britain and Italy in the Long Eighteenth Century: Literary and Art Theories*, ed. Rosamaria Loretelli and Frank O'Gorman (Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010), pp. 88–105.

Ruth PERRY, "War and the Media in Border Minstrelsy," in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500–1800*, ed. Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini, with the assistance of Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 251–70.

Murray PITTOCK, "Introduction: Global Burns," and "'A Long Farewell to All My Greatness': The History of the Reputation of Robert Burns," in *RBGC*, pp. 13–24, 25–46.

Murray PITTOCK, "Introduction: What is Scottish Romanticism?," in *ECSR*, pp. 1–9.

Murray PITTOCK, "Treacherous Objects: Towards a Theory of Jacobite Material Culture," *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34 (2011): 39–63.

Murray PITTOCK, "Byron, Burns, Objects and Memories" (co-author), *The Byron Journal* 39 (2011): 149–62.

Murray PITTOCK, "Scotland," in *Samuel Johnson in Context*, ed. Jack Lynch (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 329–36.

Murray PITTOCK, "Taxonomy: Robert Burns Beyond Text," at www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/burns/burnsianaprivatedomesticburns-relatedobjects/introductiontothetaxonomy/, live 7 March 2011

Murray PITTOCK, "The MacBean Collection, the Pitsligo Papers and Other Jacobite Holdings," in *The Library and Archive Collections at the University of Aberdeen*, ed. Iain Beavan, Peter Davidson and Jane Stevenson, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 224–26.

Alasdair RAFFE, "1707, 2007 and the Unionist Turn in Scottish History," *Historical Journal* 53 (2010): 1071–83.

Alasdair RAFFE, "Presbyterians and Episcopalians: The Formation of Confessional Cultures in Scotland, 1660–1715," *English Historical Review* 125 (2010): 570–98.

Alasdair RAFFE, "Presbyterianism, Secularization, and Scottish Politics after the Revolution of 1688–1690," *Historical Journal* 53 (2010): 317–37.

Susan RENNIE, "Boswell's Scottish Dictionary Rediscovered," *Dictionaries* 32 (2011): 94–110.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "The 1738–41 Harvest Crisis in Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review* 90 (2011): 27–63.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "Mechanisms of British Imperial Control as Seen from Scotland and the Atlantic Economy after 1707," *Jahrbuch für Europäische Überseegeschichte* 11 (2011): 27–54.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "Structural Change in European Economy and Commerce, 1660–1800. Lessons from Scotland's and Hamburg's Overseas Trades," *Bulletin of the Institute for World Affairs, Kyoto Sangyo University* 27 (2011): 25-62.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "New Avenues of Trade: Structural Change in the European Economy and Foreign Com-

merce as Reflected in the Changing Structure of Scotland's Commerce, 1660–1760," *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 31 (2011): 1–25.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "A Shift From the Baltic to the Atlantic in Early Modern European Commerce and Economic Activity: Evidence from the Sound Toll Registers and Scotland, c. 1660–1760," in *The Rise of the Atlantic Economy and the North Sea/Baltic Trade, 1500–1800* (*Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte, Vol. 117*), ed. Leos Müller, Philipp Robinson Rössner, and Toshiaki Tamaki (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 33–58.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "Interloping, Economic Underdevelopment and the State in Eighteenth-century Northern Europe: How Scotland became a Tobacco Entrepôt," in *Small is Beautiful: Interlopers and Smaller Trading Nations in the Pre-industrial Period* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte Vol. 213), ed. M. A. Denzel, Jan de Vries, and Philipp Robinson Rössner (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 103–30.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER, "Small is Beautiful? Dutch Economic Prominence and Scottish Economic Development in the 'Long Seventeenth Century', 1600–1750: Fisheries and the Foreign Trades," in *Small is Beautiful – Interlopers and Smaller Trading Nations in the Pre-industrial Period* (Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte Vol. 213), ed. M. A. Denzel, Jan de Vries, and Philipp Robinson Rössner (Stuttgart, 2011), pp. 131–53.

Philipp Robinson RÖSSNER: see also Devine and RÖSSNER

Silvia SEBASTIANI, "National Characters and Race: A Scottish Enlightenment Debate," in *CSSSE*, pp. 187–205.

Silvia SEBASTIANI , "Las escrituras de la historia del Nuevo Mundo: Clavijero y Robertson en el contexto de la Ilustración europea," *Historia y Grafia* 37 (2011): 203–236 ("History writings about the New World: Clavijero and Robertson in the Context of European Enlightenment").

Silvia SEBASTIANI, "Lumières/Superstition," in *Dictionnaire des faits religieux*, ed. Regina Azria and Danièle Hervieu-Léger (Paris, PUF, 2011), pp.670–77 (largely on the Scottish Enlightenment).

Richard B. SHER, "Of Libraries and Commonplace Books: Reading the Enlightenment in Britain" (review article), *Reviews in History*, London: Institute of Historical Research (2011), www.history.ac.uk/reviews/review/1143.

Fiona STAFFORD, "Romantic Macpherson," in *ECSR*, pp. 27–38.

Fiona STAFFORD, "The Landscape of Ossian," in *The Obsidian Isle*, ed. Gayle Chong Kwan (Graphical House, 2011), pp. 52–56.

Mark TOWSEY, "'Observe her Heedfully': Elizabeth Rose on Women Writers," *Women Writers* 8 (2011): 15–33.

Norbert WASZEK, "*An Essay on the History of Civil Society*, d'Adam Ferguson: contextes et lignes de force," *Études Anglaises* 64 (2011): 259–72.

Christopher A. WHATLEY, "Robert Burns, Memorialization, and the 'Heart-beatings' of Victorian Scotland," in *RBGC*, pp. 204–28.

CSSSE = *Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment*, ed. Thomas Ahnert and Susan Manning (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

ECSR = *The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism*, ed. Murray Pittock (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011).

RBGC = *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, ed. Murray Pittock (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2011).

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2011–31 Dec. 2011

Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2011: £25,625.89 (corrected)

Income: +£520.12 (dues and book orders: £517.92; interest [after taxes]: £2.20)

Expenses: –£498.85 (advertisement in *History Scotland*: £100.00; Aberdeen conference travel grants: £398.85)

Balance 31 Dec. 2011: £25,647.16

Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2011: $9,969.89

Income: +$2,864 (dues and book orders)

Expenses: –$4,666.29 (newsletter printing & prep: $1,597.46; supplies: $413.32; Aberdeen conference: $1,014.07 [conference dinner: $450.92; student travel grant: $300; gifts: $114; plaque: $75; materials mailed from NJ: $74.15]; ECSSS publications for resale: $347.99; website support: $159.45; payments to NJIT History Dept. for newsletter mailing, 2010 & 2011: $1109; NJ state non-profit society filing for 2012: $25)

Balance 31 Dec. 2011: $8,167.60

PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2011: $357.43

Income: +1,254.44 (dues and book orders: $1,253.97; interest: $.47)

Expenses: -$55.22 (PayPal fees: $39.22; dispute activity: $16.00)

Balance 31 Dec. 2011: $1,556.65

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2011 [vs. 31 Dec. 2010]: £25,647.16 [£25,625.89] + $9,724.25 [$9,969.89]

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; sher@njit.edu.

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. 2012 rates:

Individuals: $30 or £18
Graduate Students, Retired, or Unwaged: $15 or £9
Institutions: $40 or £25
Supporting: $60 or £36
Five-Year: $125 or £75

Please note that the rate of supporting membership has been increased in order to raise money for a proposed fellowship in eighteenth-century Scottish studies. We are encouraging members to shift their memberships to the supporting category for this purpose.

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

Make Payments with PayPal.com
(send appropriate amount to ecssspp@gmail.com, **adding $1 per subscription year** for administrative fees)

Visit Us on the Web at **www.ecsss.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