EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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SORBONNE CONFERENCE APPROACHES

The joint conference of ECSSS and the International Adam Smith Society at the Sorbonne, "Scotland, Europe and Empire in the Age of Adam Smith and Beyond," is almost upon us. This one is going to be very special. It will open on 3 July with special tours of the Sorbonne, going where the ordinary public cannot. Emma Rothschild of Harvard University will deliver the opening plenary that evening on France and Scotland "Overseas at Home," followed by a reception and buffet dinner. The fourth of July will be a full day of conferencing, with four sessions, each with three concurrent panels. In the evening the Sorbonne Scholars, a Renaissance vocal group, will present a concert. The following day will begin with concurrent panels, and then the second conference plenary lecture, by Michael Biziou of the University of Nice on Kant and Smith as critics of Hume on justice. An excursion after lunch will take conference-goers to the Musée Carnavalet and the Musée Cognacq-Jay, and then a buffet dinner at the Maison d'Aoste. The final day of the conference, on 6 July, will feature three sessions of concurrent panels and the concluding plenary lecture: Amartya Sen on Smith and Hume's critiques of imperialism. The conference dinner on the evening of 6 July will be at Paris's oldest restaurant, Le Procope.

The conference program can be viewed at http://centrerolandmousnier.fr/actualites.html. At press time in May, the conference registration was nearing its limit, but those wishing to attend should contact Richard Sher (rbsher6@gmail.com) for the latest information. We are grateful to the conference organizer, Jean-François Dunyach, for putting everything together, and to the Sorbonne and the Earhart Foundation for generous funding support.

MONTREAL IN 2014

In keeping with its tradition of meeting in Europe and North America in alternate years, ECSSS will hold its annual conference next year at the Delta Hotel in Montreal, from 15 to 18 October 2014. We will be meeting jointly with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (CSECS), of which ECSSS is an affiliate society. This will be our first conference in Canada since our last joint meeting with CESECS, at the University of Toronto in 2000. Next year's theme will be "Revolutions in Eighteenth-Century Sociability." The plenary speakers will be Marc-André Bernier of the University of Québec à Trois Rivières and ECSSS past-president Jim Moore. The conference organizer is Pascal Bastien of the University of Québec at Montreal. Proposals for panels or 20-minute papers should be sent to him, along with a one-page cv, by 1 April 2014 (csecs2014@uqam.ca). A Call for Papers is included in this mailing.

Also keep in mind: in July 2015 ECSSS will meet with the Fourteenth Annual Enlightenment Congress in Rotterdam, as we have done at three earlier Enlightenment Congresses. In 2016 we hope to meet with the Keough–Naughton Institute of Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

MANNING MOURNED & CELEBRATED

The sudden death of ECSSS past-president and Executive Board member Susan Manning from a stroke in January was a shock to all of us (see Andrew Hook's "In Memoriam" on pages 9–10 in this issue). At press time, plans were in place for hundreds of friends, family members, and admirers to gather at Greyfriars Church in Edinburgh for a memorial service on 24 May, followed by a reception at the Playfair Library in Old College, University of Edinburgh. There ECSSS executive secretary Richard Sher and president Deidre Dawson, along with many other ECSSS members and several past-presidents, were to present Howard Manning with a posthumous Lifetime Achievement Award for our beloved Susan.

We are also encouraging proposals on Susan's work for a special panel (or panels) at our Montreal conference in October 2014.

DAICHES–MANNING FELLOWSHIP

David Daiches (1912–2005) was the first recipient of ECSSS's Lifetime Achievement Award in Scottish studies, back in 1987. Susan Manning (1959–2013) is now the most recent recipient. David was one of the first directors of the Institute for Advanced Studies (IASH) at the University of Edinburgh, as Susan was the most recent. As IASH directors, David put the study of the Scottish Enlightenment on the map with the Institute Project Scottish Enlightenment in 1986, while Susan did more than any IASH director to make IASH an international center of eighteenth-century Scottish studies (among many other things). Both of these literary scholars were remarkable for their broad range of interests, including many other areas of British and American culture and thought.

What better way to honor these two outstanding individuals than to establish an IASH fellowship in their honor for the study of eighteenth-century Scotland? Thanks to the generosity of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, this has now come to pass, and the first recipient of the Daiches–Manning Memorial Fellowship in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies will spend a period of two months (or more) at IASH in 2014. The fellowship will provide a bursary of US$3000 per year—half funded by ASECS and half by ECSSS—as well as a private office, membership in a community of scholars, and other perks available to all IASH fellows. ECSSS is grateful to ASECS Affiliate Society Coordinator Cathy Parisian and ASECS Executive Director Byron Wells, as well as IASH Acting Director Jolyon Mitchell, for their support of this undertaking.

Those wishing to be the first recipient of this fellowship in 2014 should follow the application instructions on the IASH website (www.iash.ed.ac.uk) as soon as the fellowship is listed there.

In order to raise the funds for its share of this annual fellowship, ECSSS is setting up an endowment at the University of Edinburgh. Thanks to the generosity of an anonymous member of the society, we already have up to £11,000 pledged for this purpose—provided that we can match that amount. We are therefore calling upon members of the society, as well as all those who knew and loved David and Susan, and those who wish to support eighteenth-century Scottish studies, to contribute as generously as they can. Donations (tax deductible in the USA, and perhaps elsewhere) may be made in US dollars or GB pounds, payable to ECSSS. Please send donations to the executive secretary at NJIT or use PayPal (ecssspp@gmail.com). Thanks!

ECSSS AT ASECS

ECSSS had a strong presence at this year's meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Cleveland, Ohio, 4–7 March 2013. As is now customary, the Friday of each ASECS meeting is Scottish (and Irish) studies day. This year's Friday action began with a panel on "Scotland and Ireland in the Eighteenth Century," sponsored by our friends at the Keough–Naughton Institute for Irish Studies at the University of Notre Dame, with whom we hope to have a joint conference in 2016, and chaired by its director, Christopher Fox. This was followed by the first ECSSS panel chaired by our vice-president, Mark Towsey, "Scottishness, Britishness, and the Union–I," featuring papers by Siobhan Talbott, "Anticipating Union? British Commercial Networks in the Atlantic World before 1707," Keith Brown, "Anglo–Scottish Migration and the Making of Great Britain, 1603–1762," and James Patrick Ambuske, "'The Spirit of Emigration': Scottish Emigration and the Fate of Empire in British North America, 1763–1775." After a luncheon co-sponsored by ECSSS and the Irish Studies Caucus, Mark Towsey hosted "Scottishness, Britishness, and the Union–II," with papers by Justin Gage, "The Protestant Ethic, British Identity and Military Discipline in Defoe," Jenna Sutton, "'A right Scotchman has always two strings to his bow, and is *in utrumque paratus*': Tobias Smollett, Roderick Random, and the Angry Scot," Howard Weinbrot, "United by Anti-Catholicism? One Nation, Two National Churches," and Rebekah Mitsein, "'Come and Triumph with your Don Quixote': or, How James Bruce Traveled to Discover the Source of the Nile but Found Scotland Instead." Both ECSSS panels were very well attended. ECSSS president Deidre Dawson was also on hand to represent the society at the annual affiliate societies' breakfast and to co-host the luncheon. We are grateful to Deidre and Mark for all their effort.

Next year's ASECS meeting will be held 20–23 March 2014 in Williamsburg, Virginia, where ECSSS was founded more than a quarter of a century ago. ECSSS will once again sponsor two panels and co-sponsor a luncheon with the Irish Studies Caucus. One panel, organized by Deidre Dawson (boudicca@msu.edu), will be on "The Reception and Influence of Scottish Arts and Letters in Europe and America." The other panel, organized by Jan Swearingen (cjan@tamu.edu), will be on "Scotland in Virginia: Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy and Religion." Those interested in participating should contact the panel organizers directly or apply on the ASECS website when the panel topics are posted in the summer.

YOUNG BOSWELL IN LONDON

James Caudle of the Yale Boswell Papers has organized a fascinating new exhibition of treasures from the Lewis Walpole and Beinecke Libraries and the Yale

Center for British Art. The exhibition evokes young James Boswell's experience "in the midst of the jovial crowd" during his adventures in London in 1762–63—the escapade known to readers of *Boswell's London Journal*. A selection of prints by William Hogarth, Thomas Rowlandson, and others, as well as rare books, ballads, and manuscripts, capture a sense of the current events, everyday social life, and personalities celebrated in the journal. A special section on "Aftermaths" deals with the twentieth-century refractions of Boswell's journal in cartoons, magazines, phonograph records, and pulp paperbacks.

Of special interest to ECSSS members will be the exhibition's material on the Scots diaspora in London and its cultural impact. Among the treasures from the Lewis Walpole Library are two engravings from the famous Samuel Collings and Thomas Rowlandson series of cartoon satires of Boswell's tour to the Hebrides: *The Journalist* and *Imitations at Drury-Lane Theatre*. Less-well-known works of importance from the time of the London Journal include two rare anti-Scots prints by George Townshend, *Sawney Discover'd, or, The Scotch Intruders* and *We are all a Comeing, or, Scotch Coal for ever* (1760–61). These images show the English suspicion of the Scottish diaspora and its impact on London politics. Other caricatures show the rise and fall of the prime minister, the Scottish Earl of Bute: *Scotch Paradice: a View of the Bute[eye]full Garden of Edenburg* sees him at the height of power, and *A Prophecy: The Coach Overturn'd, or, the Fall of Mortimer* shows his ouster from office. John Kay's image of Andrew Erskine and an engraving based on Tassie's George Dempster show two of Boswell's closest friends from the 1760s. Displayed books from this period which were by or about Scots include *Critical Strictures on the New Tragedy of Elvira, Written by Mr. David Malloch*, the Erskine–Boswell *Letters*, David Hume's *History of England*, and James Macpherson's *Fingal*. Rarely displayed manuscript materials from the Beinecke—such as the London Journal 1762–1763 and Boswell's London memoranda and budget for that stay—are exhibited. It is hoped that this exhibition will be a suitable celebration of the 250th anniversary of this Scottish author's most famous visit to London.

"In the Midst of the Jovial Crowd": Young James Boswell in London, 1762–1763 is on view on Wednesdays, 2:00–4:30 PM, and by appointment from April through mid-October 2013 at The Lewis Walpole Library (www.library.yale.edu/walpole), 154 Main Street, Farmington, Connecticut, USA.

HAAKONSSEN HONORED

On 12 October 2012 the University of Sussex Centre for Intellectual history honored longtime ECSSS member Knud Haakonssen with a conference titled "From Natural Law to Human Rights." Currently a fellow at the Max Weber Kolleg at the University of Erfurt, Knud is Emeritus Professor at Sussex, where he headed the intellectual program for several years.

The conference began with a panel on "Rights and Justice," with papers by Jim Moore, "Natural Law and Human Rights: A Contribution to a Dialogue with Knud Haakonssen" and Sandy Stewart, "Scottish Philosophy, Natural Rights, Self-Evident Truths, and the Declaration of Independence—A Cautionary Tale." Two panels on the nature of natural law included papers by Thomas Ahnert on German natural law theory and John Cairns on natural law in the Scottish Roman law tradition. David Lieberman, Colin Heydt, and John Robertson (who gave the concluding remarks) also participated.

SCOTTISH LIBRARY FOR SALE

Bob Maccubbin is selling, in whole or in part, his multidisciplinary Scottish studies library of more than 2000 volumes, mainly covering the long eighteenth century, with particular strengths in literature, history, and religion. Contact: rmaccubbin@verizon.net.

NEW RESOURCES FOR SCOTTISH STUDIES

The National Library of Scotland has opened a new, well-equipped reading room for special collections, on the top floor of the main building on George IV Bridge. Not to be outdone, the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh Sibbald Library has launched a new online archive catalogue, which can be searched at www.rcpe.ac.uk/library/find/index.php.

SSL NEWS

The revitalized journal *Studies in Scottish Literature* has resumed publication at the University of South Carolina with volume 38, and the editors have in the works a new volume (39) on Editing Scottish Literary Texts. Equally good news: digitized versions of older volumes of the journal are being made available to the public as a free, searchable database, which is accessible at http://scholarcommons.sc.edu/ssl.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS ONLINE

The two Statistical Accounts of Scotland, covering the 1790s and the 1830s, are among the best contemporary reports of life during the agricultural and industrial revolutions in Europe. Many of us have used these remarkable resources, but how many are aware that they are now available online through the Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online Service?

Access to the Statistical Accounts of Scotland service is by subscription, either as an individual, an institution, or an organization within the UK or

overseas. However, visitors to the service can browse, view, and print the scanned original pages from the two *Statistical Accounts* by clicking on the "browse scanned pages" link on the Statistical Accounts of Scotland login page. Go to http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot for more information about the service, or contact the EDINA helpdesk at edina@ed.ac.uk.

RECENT CONFERENCES OF NOTE

On the Edge: Transitions, Transgressions, and Transformations in Irish and Scottish Studies, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, B.C., 19–23 June 2013 (Leith Davis)—coming soon!

Scottish Enlightenment and Religion (annual East Mediterranean Seminar for the Study of the Scottish Enlightenment), Zakynthos, Greece, 15–17 June 2013 (Dionysios Drosos)

Music of the Scottish Enlightenment, University of Chicago, 29 May 2013 (pre-concert talk by Andy Greenwood)

William Cullen and the Medical Enlightenment: An International Symposium, Royal College of Physicians, 5–6 April 2013 (David Shuttleton)

The Wealth & Well-being of Nations, Center of Theological Inquiry, Princeton, NJ, 4–6 April 2013

Scottish Reactions to Mandeville, Centre for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, Princeton Theological Seminary, 8–10 March 2013 (Gordon Graham)

My Heart's in the Highlands: Songs and Poems of Robbie Burns, The Newberry Consort, Chicago, 25–27 January 2013

The Scottish Enlightenment in Scotland an Abroad, University of California at Davis, monthly lectures January–May 2013

Adam Smith in International Contexts, Taipei, Taiwan, 17–18 Dec. 2012 (Jeng-Guo Chen)

"Freedom, Come All Ye...," Société Française d'Études Écossaises and the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, Universidade da Coruña, Spain, 18–20 October 2012

Scottish Common Sense Philosophy & the Natural Law Tradition, Centre for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, Princeton Theological Seminary, 6–9 September 2012 (Gordon Graham)

Hume's French Conversation/Conversations avec "le bon David," Paris, 6–8 September 2012

The Scottish Highlands: An Historical Reassessment?, Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, Glasgow, 21–22 September 2012

Hume Society Conference, University of Calgary, 18–22 July 2012

The Corporeal and the Spiritual in the Works of Walter Scott, Sorbonne, Paris, 5–6 July 2012

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

David Armitage is now chair of the History Department at Harvard U.…Now that he is emeritus professor of political theory at the U. of Glasgow, **Chris Berry** continues to produce at a high rate, including a co-edited volume on Smith (**Craig Smith** is also among the editors) and a book on the idea of commercial society in the Scottish Enlightenment, both of which should be reviewed in our spring 2014 issue… **Alexander Broadie** has co-authored a new pamphlet on *Glasgow Moral Philosophy in the Enlightenment* (with an Introduction by **Murray Pittock**), focusing on Hutcheson, Smith, and Reid…**Leslie Ellen Brown** is finishing a book on the interplay of ethics and aesthetics in the Scottish Enlightenment…**Stephen Brown** spent Jan. 2013 as a Roy Fellow at the Hollings Library, U. of South Carolina; the volume in the Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland series that he co-edited with Warren McDougall (reviewed in this issue) has received a Besterman McColvin Reference Award from the Chartered Institute of Library and Information Professionals as one of the three best reference works published in English in 2012…**Adam Budd**, now the program director of the taught MSc in Eighteenth-Century Studies at the U. of Edinburgh, has been awarded a £200,000 AHRC Early Career Research Grant to complete an edition of the correspondence and financial records of the 18th-century Scottish bookseller and publisher Andrew Millar… ECSSS Board member and past president **John Cairns** has been appointed to the Chair of Civil Law at the U. of Edinburgh…**Kathy Callahan** spoke on the late seventeenth-century lives of the Duchess of Hamilton and the Duchess of Buccleuch at the North American Conference on British Studies meeting in Montreal, Nov. 2012…**Rosalind Carr** is now a lecturer in history at the U. of East London…**Gerard Carruthers** of Glasgow U. has been elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh...**Jeng-Guo Chen** has founded a new, bilingual journal called *Intellectual History* which will publish its first issue in May 2013 (for submission details, jgschen@asihp.net)… **Leith Davis** spent the year on sabbatical leave, working on English, Scottish, and Irish identities in the context of empire…ECSSS president **Deidre Dawson**, a founding faculty member of the Residential College in the Arts and Humanities at Michigan State U., delivered that college's commencement address in May…**John Dixon**'s second son, Ewan, was born in Nov. 2011…**Matthew Dziennik** was the Earhart Fellow at the William Clements Library, U. of Michigan, during the fall 2012 semester and then took up a two-year position as an Early Career Fellow at the U. of Edinburgh…**Clarisse Godard Desmarest** is now lecturer in British civilization at the U. of Picardie Jules

Verne in Amiens…on 7 Nov. 2012 **Ian Duncan** gave the Scottish Literature International Lecture at the Scottish Parliament in Edinburgh on "The Discovery of Scotland: Walter Scott and the Invention of World Literature"...**Howard Gaskill** is guest editing a special issue of *Translation and Literature* on "The Translator's Ossian"…**Evan Gottlieb** has two new works out in 2013: a co-edited volume, *Representing Place in British Literature and Culture, 1660–1830* and a book on *Walter Scott and Contemporary Theory*; he has also contracted to edit a new Norton Critical Edition of *Humphry Clinker*…**Gordon Graham** visited universities in Malawi on behalf of the Soko Fund for a week in Jan. 2013…ECSSS member-at-large **Andy Greenwood** received his Ph.D. in music from the U. of Chicago in Dec. 2012 with a dissertation on "Mediating Sociability: Musical Ideas of Sympathy, Sensibility, and Improvement in the Scottish Enlightenment" and has been appointed to a two-year visiting assistant professorship at Southern Methodist U.…**Simon Grote** has accepted a position as assistant professor of history at Wellesley College…besides a stint in residence at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, working on an intellectual biography of David Hume, **James Harris** was a keynote speaker at Princeton Theological Seminary in March and at the U. of Aberdeen in May…**Eugene Heath** is guest editor of a special issue of the *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* on Adam Ferguson…**Regina Hewitt** has edited *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society* (2012)...in July 2012 **Jack Hill** visited and photographed Scottish sights associated with the life of Adam Ferguson, in preparation for a book on the multicultural implications of Ferguson's moral philosophy; in Feb. 2013 he received word of his selection as a Fulbright-Scotland Professor for 2013–14, based at the U. of Aberdeen… **Sandro Jung** has been elected to a two-year term as a professorial fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies, U. of Strasbourg and awarded a summer fellowship at Dumbarton Oaks in Washington, D.C., for research on topographical designs for British illustrated pocket diaries…**Karen McAulay** will be spending 40% of her time over the next three years doing research for an AHRC-funded project on the bass lines in Scottish fiddle collections...**Minakshi Menon** received her Ph.D. from the U. of California at San Diego…past president **James Moore** has signed a contract with Oxford U. Press for a philosophical biography of Francis Hutcheson; during the past year Jim presented a paper on at Cambridge U. on contemporary critics of Hume and Smith and a plenary lecture on utility and moral sense in the Scottish Enlightenment at the Congress of the International Society of Utilitarian Studies at NYU…**Cristina Paoletti**, now a research fellow in the history of philosophy at the U. of Ferrara, published *The March of Mind: The Edinburgh Review and the Criticism to Common-Sense Philosophy* (2012)…**Nicholas Phillipson** and his book, *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life*, were featured at the Symposium on the Wealth & Well-being of Nations at the Center of Theological Inquiry in Princeton in early April; **Gordon Graham**, **Andrew Hook**, and **Richard Sher** also participated...the Moore Institute at the NUI Galway has appointed **Ida Pugliese** a post-doctoral fellow...**Susan Rennie** has received a Kelvin Smith Fellowship to pursue research on Boswell's Scots dictionary at Glasgow U.…**Kevin Ross** completed his Ph.D. at the U. of Edinburgh in 2011 with a thesis titled "James Hutton's Metaphysics, Theory of Language, and Science, in the Scottish Enlightenment"…early in 2013 Fudan U. Press in Shanghai published a Chinese translation of **Richard Sher**'s *The Enlightenment and the Book* in two volumes… **Clifford Siskin** spent the spring 2013 semester as the Leverhulme Visiting Professor at Cambridge U… ECSSS Board member **Craig Smith** has moved from the U. of St. Andrews to the U. of Glasgow, where he is a lecturer in the School of Social and Political Sciences, charged with promoting the legacy of Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment…**Hideo Tanaka** has retired as dean of the graduate school of economics at Kyoto U. and moved to Aichi Gakuin U. in Nagoya; his recent scholarship in Japanese includes (in addition to the volume reviewed in this issue) a book on the influence of the Scottish Enlightenment in America (2012), a book on the Cambridge School and the Scottish Enlightenment (2013), and a Japanese translation of Duncan Forbes's *Hume's Philosophical Politics* (2011)…**Paul Tonks** became the father of a baby boy in Aug. 2012 and also stepped into the position of associate dean for international affairs at Yonsei U. in Seoul; he is looking forward to a research sabbatical in Scotland in 2014 to continue his work on conceptions of East Asia in the Scottish Enlightenment…**Gordon Turnbull** is chairing the annual conference of the Northeast Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies at Yale in early Oct. 2013...**Mark Wallace** is organizing a multi-author volume on associationalism in Enlightenment Scotland…**Howard Weinbrot**, now emeritus after a distinguished career at the U. of Wisconsin, has published *Literature, Religion and the Evolution of Culture, 1660–1780* (2013) …**John Young** will visit the Smithsonian in Aug. 2013 for a symposium on Scots in the American West; he will also be helping to run the Fulbright Summer School in Scottish Studies Scotland...in Oct. 2012 **Bill Zachs** gave a talk to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society on "The Revd Hugh Blair: The J. K. Rowling of 18th-century Scotland."

Scotland in India:
Dr. William Roxburgh and the Making of the East India Company-State, c. 1790

By Minakshi Menon
University of California, San Diego

In a fascinating revisionist study of the East India Company (EIC) in seventeenth-century India, the historian Philip J. Stern has pointed out how the EIC was by its very organization a government in its own right, deserving analysis on its own terms. He calls it the *Company-State*, a formation that came into being as part of an early modern empire that was itself constituted through sets of overlapping and competing political forms, of which the EIC was one (Philip J. Stern, *The Company-State: Corporate Sovereignty and the Early Modern Foundation of the British Empire in India*, 2011). Stern lays bare the continuities between the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century company-states. Yet he does not tell us how the EIC's commercial practices affected its governance, or what aspects of its commercial being organized its stateliness.

This article examines one of the ways that the sovereign powers of the EIC converged with its commercial functions, in the company-state's institutions for making natural knowledge. It focuses on the Indian career of the famous eighteenth-century Scottish surgeon and botanist William Roxburgh (1751–1815) and his relationship with his chief patron in India, the Madras free merchant Andrew Ross. It utilizes two other conceptual formulations to explain the entanglement of EIC business with private interests that shaped Roxburgh's trajectory: first, the "familial state," as discussed by the sociologist Julia Adams, in which masculine creativity and power manifested themselves as a "general sense of political husbandry and direction" in state-society relations (Julia Adams, *The Familial State: Ruling Families and Merchant Capitalism in Early Modern Europe*, 2005, p. 31); secondly, "logistical" power, which the sociologist of science Chandra Mukerji has theorized as "the ability to mobilize the natural world for political effect" (Chandra Mukerji, "The Territorial State as a Figured World of Power: Strategics, Logistics and Impersonal Rule," *Sociological Theory* 28 [2010], p. 402). As a "new man," Roxburgh needed "paternal" guidance to make his way in the world, and he was able to use his logistical power to get it.

William Roxburgh, a member of an undistinguished Ayrshire family with connections to the Boswells, attended Edinburgh University in the late 1760s and early1770s, when its medical school was perhaps the best in Europe, and its naturalist savants were part of a "a public institutionalized alliance" (Steven Shapin, "The Audience for Science in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh," *History of Science* 12 [1974], p. 102) that brought together landowners and literati in the interests of Scottish improvement. In pedagogical terms, the alliance resulted in agronomy being treated as the "pattern science" (Simon Schaffer, "Enlightenment Brought Down to Earth," *History of Science* 41 [2003], p. 260) at Edinburgh, in which the developing disciplines of natural history and chemistry were embedded. Practically speaking, this meant that young men who received an Edinburgh medical education were exposed to forms of knowledge-making that exceeded the requirements of an average medical practitioner. They became carriers of the Scottish Enlightenment's improving practices wherever they went and were adepts at making "useful" natural knowledge. Because the Treaty of Union of 1707 had ensured that the Scottish patronage machine had free access to India posts, Scottish surgeons and physicians became an overwhelming presence in the EIC's medical service. Roxburgh, like many young Scottish surgeons, sought (and found) employment in the EIC's service.

After arriving in Madras Presidency in 1776, Roxburgh was first an assistant surgeon at the General Hospital at Fort St. George and then a surgeon at a small garrison town called Samulcottah (Samalkota in modern Andhra Pradesh). He was to remain there through the 1780s and 90s, moving to accept the important post of Superintendent of the Calcutta Botanic Garden in 1793. Roxburgh's time in Madras overlapped with the governorship of Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverneil (1786–89). Campbell had electoral ambitions at home that he nursed on the Madras frontier by increasing the number of Scots in the EIC's civil service, creating conditions that would prove propitious for men like Roxburgh to advance themselves in the 1790s. The large number of Scots at Madras meant that Scottish patronage politics could flourish in the Presidency at a time when its administrative culture was very fluid (Andrew Mackillop, "Fashioning a 'British Empire': Sir Archibald Campbell of Inverneil & Madras, 1785–9," in *Military Governors and Imperial Frontiers c. 1600–1800: A Study of Scotland and Empires*, ed. Andrew Mackillop and Steve Murdoch, 2003). Meanwhile, EIC governance in Madras (and elsewhere) manifested a serious tension.

Covenanted officers in EIC service received abysmally low salaries. A writer, the lowest rung in the company's civil service, received £5 a year; an assistant surgeon started out at around £27 a month. At a time when the span of an Indian career was expressed in the adage "two monsoons are the age of a man," young hopefuls did not

head east for what the EIC paid them. They were lured there instead by the prospect of riches acquired through private trade in India. Their right to trade privately was made explicit in the covenants they signed when taking up employment. The entrepreneurial avenues this opened up created the legendary fortunes of the eighteenth-century "nabobs." But they also created the possibility of conflict of interest. Company directors in London, with reason, frequently voiced their nervousness about their Indian functionaries prejudicing EIC interests by establishing a monopoly of local trade. In the 1730s, for example, the value of private British investments in the inland and seaborne trade of Bengal approximated that of the EIC itself. And yet the system worked, driven by the synergy between EIC business and private trade.

The EIC's government in Madras was carried out through what Thomas Ertman has called "shared rule," an analytic developed to explain how state policy in Britain was devised and implemented through relations of collaboration (rather than coercion) between monarch and parliament ("Explaining Variation in Early Modern State Structure," in *Rethinking Leviathan*, ed. John Brewer and Eckhart Hellmuth, 1999, p. 49). In practice this meant that administration could remain informal and susceptible to outside advice, keeping the boundary between state and society fluid. In early modern Madras, shared rule meant that all matters were decided through debate and consensus and recorded in "Consultation Books," which were *constitutive* of the decision-making process. It was only once a decision was written down (and read) that it became government fiat (Miles Ogborn, *Indian Ink: Script and Print in the Making of the English East India Company*, 2007). The books also signaled to EIC directors which of their employees enabled the smooth functioning of its commercial-ruling apparatus and deserved promotion within the company's hierarchy. An up-and-coming man would have wished to appear often in them, signaling his usefulness in EIC decision-making.

"Shared rule" in Madras Presidency had another dimension as well: it allowed free merchants such as Andrew Ross, who were not part of the EIC's bureaucracy, to play an important role in its decision-making. Ross was the most powerful of the Madras free merchants, and his reach was high. He was a sometime mayor of Madras and foreman of the Madras grand jury; he had easy access to members of the Madras Board of Revenue and was an intimate of its president, Governor Charles Oakeley, as well as of Governor-General Cornwallis at Calcutta. Tellingly, it was on his advice that Archibald Campbell had sent EIC troops to back up the expedition to establish settlements on Pulo Penang (Prince of Wales Island), so vital to the China trade (Alexander Dalrymple, *Oriental Repertory*, vol. 2, 1794). Ross's clientelist politics involved numerous Scots in Madras, especially the medical men whose contacts in British scientific circles were useful in keeping him abreast of developments in natural history that affected trade.

Roxburgh, in turn, appears to have swiftly realized the opportunities for self-promotion as a Company surgeon in the Carnatic (south India). The trick was to recognize that the nexus of natural knowledge-making with commercial imperialism produced a series of entanglements which could be manipulated to build social capital. His responsibilities included identifying natural resources for the EIC's trade, a fact that he parlayed to advantage by using his growing knowledge of the natural history of the area to curry favor with his London patron, Sir Joseph Banks. Banks was deluged with gifts of growing plants, seeds, and herbarium specimens in exchange for supporting Roxburgh's cause with the Court of Directors in London. This he generously did, organizing and directing the EIC's publication of the volumes of Roxburgh's *Plants of the Coast of Coromandel* (1795–1819).

Through the 1780s and early 1790s, Roxburgh also used his logistical power to acquire a more proximate patron in Andrew Ross. Ross's fortunes depended on staying one step ahead of emerging demand in European and Southeast Asian markets. This meant receiving information from both EIC personnel in London and merchants plying the shipping lanes of the Indian Ocean that he could translate into orders placed with his brokers. Among the items he invested in heavily were cloth, indigo, and pepper. As a coast-bound merchant, he was dependent on his informants in the interior of the country to apprize him of seasonal production in cotton and pepper, assess their quality, and provide news of political events that could disrupt the production or distribution of commodities. Roxburgh, operating from Samalkota, was one of the most reliable, and as a naturalist experimenting with dyestuffs and commercial plants in the EIC's botanic garden in the Circars, he was also able to proffer expert knowledge on the possibilities of growing newly valuable plants in the area.

Three letters from Ross to Roxburgh, written between June and December 1788, show the tangled nature of EIC business and private trade and the texture of their patron-client bond (Roxburgh Correspondence/Natural History Museum, London [RC/NHM]). In one, Ross is busy looking for botanical books to replace those lost by Roxburgh in the hurricane of the previous year. But he is also eager for news of the doctor's experiments with pepper, as it is likely to become an article of consequence, its value enhanced by the efforts of Tipu Sultan, ruler of Mysore, to keep it out of the EIC's reach: "[S]o you will give me the most particular report you can of your success & before Oct^{r}, (when a ship will probably depart for Europe) [.] I think it will not be amiss if you send me Musters to send home to my friend for the inspection of the Directors"; and "I wish you to inquire whether Cotton

of a good quality & in any quantity worth attention can be procured with [sic] Country about or Northward of you at such a price as would answer for China...You know what success the people at Bengal have had in this way lately – and to the more advantage than from Bombay—& why you (who are so indefatigable and prudent) should not try your industry in this way is not known to me." Ross commands, and his man must follow. The two were locked together in a trading partnership, so there was monetary benefit to Roxburgh in doing as he was bid. But Ross's patronage could do much more: he was willing to act as broker for Roxburgh by presenting his musters of pepper to the Court of Directors—bringing *recognition* to Roxburgh the naturalist from his EIC masters and from savants in Britain. Ross, indeed, corresponded with Banks and other men of science in the Royal Society, and had earlier used his good offices to get Roxburgh appointed (with Banks's blessing) to the post of Company Naturalist in the Carnatic. Roxburgh's upward mobility in British society was in the gift of his two patrons, and of them, Ross, would prove the more demanding of "filial" obedience.

The company, meanwhile, was desirous of stabilizing its position in the Carnatic at a time of intense social and political turbulence. The Northern Circars, where Roxburgh was posted, was a particularly volatile part of the region, dominated by "little kings" (Tamil *palaiyakkarar*), who presided over vertically integrated polities controlled through strong ties of kinship. *Palaiyakkarar* mobilized resources through plundering each other's territories, and ensured the loyalty of their retinues by redistributing the spoils through a system of gift giving (Nicholas B. Dirks, *The Hollow Crown*, 1987). Roxburgh was urged by his masters to enter the political economy of the region in order "to reform [native] manners" (*Revenue Department Proceedings*, vol. 2337,1793, Tamil Nadu Archives, Chennai). This he proceeded to do by "gifting" the people of the Pettypore and Peddypore *palaiyakkarar* the art of manufacturing sugar, and succoring the area's peasantry at a time of dearth by identifying famine foods for their consumption (Andrew Ross to the Madras Board of Revenue, 20 June 1793, RC/NHM). But Roxburgh also had his own expectations. Like many other Scotsmen of the period, he was driven by ideals of improvement and husbandry—of the state's resources and his own—and a desire for landed property to pass on to his heirs.

The two were combined in an application to the Board of Revenue to rent land in Corcondah (in the Northern Circars) to begin an experimental farm, which was to be a site for growing vegetables and grains to sustain the poor, and for producing commercially useful crops for the EIC. As Roxburgh noted rather bitterly in a letter to his Calcutta colleague, Robert Kyd, the EIC was no longer "a mere mercantile body" but also the steward of its Indian territories, with responsibility for caring for its subjects. Familial ideology also emerged in a passionate declaration to Andrew Ross, which Ross passed on in a letter supporting Roxburgh's application to the Board of Revenue: "Indeed he also says, that nothing will induce him to make a much longer stay in India, than being possessed of improveable Land Property, which cannot be taken from him, when it is improved; but that he may then reap the fruits of his Labour, and be certain that the benefit will devolve to his children, or to whoever else he may see it convenient to make it over." (Ross to the Board of Revenue, 20 June 1793, RC/NHM) In the event, Roxburgh's application got through the Board of Revenue with Ross's assistance. The members of the Board would have been only too aware of the impact on *their* private trade if Roxburgh quitted the Circars. But something big was expected of the doctor in return.

The Northern Circars were prone to drought, and from 1790 to 1792 the area was gripped by a terrible famine brought on by a failure of the monsoon rains. Ross floated a plan, which met with the approbation of EIC authorities including Oakeley and Cornwallis, to build a canal connecting the region's two main rivers to supply water to the Circars. Ross ordered Roxburgh to make a survey of the areas concerned, but interestingly also gave him the task of reporting back secretly on the functioning of Board of Revenue employees. In effect Roxburgh was to be Ross's spy, assessing the effectiveness of the Circars' nascent revenue collection machinery in return for the right to accumulate private property through trade. As collusion between EIC personnel and native revenue officials in the Northern Circars was a particular object of the Board's concern, Roxburgh was told to report back on the feasibility of dividing the Circars into "Collectorships," as had been done in Bengal. The object was to build the state's power in the locality by separating its commercial and revenue administrations. At the same time, Ross engineered an opportunity for Roxburgh to draw up a plan of the responsibilities of the post of Company Naturalist, to be submitted to the Court of Directors. At each juncture at which Ross made a demand of his client, he also ensured that his man achieved visibility within the EIC's (limited) public sphere. The Board of Revenue Consultations for Madras are replete with approving references to Roxburgh's abilities and zeal.

Roxburgh's successes with Ross's assistance were many. By the time he left India he had earned a substantial fortune of £50,000. Furthermore, his unassailable stature as a naturalist earned him entry into Britain's first scientific circles as well as two gold medals from the Society for the Arts for his "valuable Communications on East-India products." By the time he died in 1815, he had firmly set his son on a path into the gentry and secured his own claim to his posthumous title as "the Father of Indian Botany" (Tim Robinson, *William Roxburgh: The Founding Father of Indian Botany*, 2008).

This article has argued that the dynamism of the eighteenth-century company-state in India lay in the politics of the private trade carried out by its employees. I have tried to show how it strengthened lateral ties between EIC functionaries and between them and members of civil society, which were built on the absence of a clear separation between their private and official business. Such ties helped the colonial state cohere. Scots in Madras Presidency knew each other and built extended networks with other Scots in Calcutta and Bombay. The working of Scottish patronage politics ensured that the bonds forged remained tight. Ross, Roxburgh, and the members of the Board of Revenue at Madras went out of their way to help each other trade. The right to trade privately could push *arriviste* naturalists such as Roxburgh up the social and scientific hierarchy in imperial Britain. But it could do more; its dynamic could enable colonial-state institution building. Two EIC botanists before Roxburgh had occupied the office of Company Naturalist. But it was Ross, wishing to keep his client in full view of EIC *puissants*, who made it possible for Roxburgh to leave a lasting imprint on the fledgling institution. In similar fashion Roxburgh's farm at Corcondah, realized through Ross's patronage, also had an extended afterlife: it served as the template for the Calcutta Botanic Garden, the most important scientific institution in all of British Asia.

Minakshi Menon is a historian of science and of South Asia. This article is drawn from her 2013 Ph.D. dissertation from the University of California at San Diego, "Making Useful Knowledge: British Naturalists in Colonial India, 1784–1820," which she is now revising for publication. Comments and inquiries are welcome, sent to minakshimenon@hotmail.com.

IN MEMORIAM: SUSAN MANNING (1953–2013)

Many members of ECSSS knew that Susan Manning—president of our society from 1994 to 1996, and thereafter an active member of the Executive Board—faced chronic health problems, but her sudden and unexpected death on 15 January 2013 nonetheless came as a devastating blow with which it is still difficult to come to terms. Her funeral service took place ten days later on a cold and dismal Edinburgh day, and among the mourners were many society members, including several past presidents.

Susan graduated in English at Newnham College, Cambridge, in 1976. Awarded a Harkness Fellowship, she traveled to the University of Virginia to undertake postgraduate study under Professor David Levin. Back in Cambridge after two years in Charlottesville, she was granted a research fellowship by Newnham in 1981. A college lectureship followed in 1984. Her Cambridge Ph.D. was finally awarded in 1986: not, as she joked, after ten years, but after completing her family of three children with her physicist husband, Howard. It was at this point that I first met Susan. Having at an early stage taken the bold decision to work on Scottish and American literature, she was supervised at Cambridge by King's College's Tony Tanner, then the UK's most distinguished scholar and critic of American literature. In 1986 Tony invited me to act as the external examiner of Susan's doctoral dissertation. I agreed, and the thesis—which would become Susan's first book—passed with flying colors.

Through the rest of the 1980s and 1990s, Susan remained a highly regarded member of the Cambridge English Faculty. However, in 1999 she was appointed to Edinburgh University's Grierson Chair in English Literature (had she preferred, she could have accepted a professorship in the Glasgow English department—by then we were all well aware of the outstanding quality of her literary scholarship). From 2005 she combined her role in the English department with the directorship of Edinburgh's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities. Given the wide range of her scholarly interests in the literature, history, philosophy, and religion of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in both Scotland and America, she was ideally placed to develop and expand the interdisciplinary work encouraged by IASH. Under her guidance it has become a center for the transatlantic studies to which in recent years she became increasingly committed.

Susan published two major monographs: *The Puritan-Provincial Vision: Scottish and American Literature in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 1990) and *Fragments of Union: Making Connections in Scottish and American Writing* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2002). She edited numerous editions of works, mainly by Scottish and American authors, including Sir Walter Scott's *Quentin Durward* (1992), Washington Irving's *The Sketchbook of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent.* (1996), Hector St. John de Crèvecoeur's *Letters from an American Farmer* (1997), Henry Mackenzie's *Julia de Roubigné* (1999), and Nathaniel Hawthorne's *The Marble Faun* (2002). More recently Susan jointly edited and contributed to several essay collections: *Enlightenment and Emancipation* (2006); *The Atlantic Enlightenment* (2008); *Character, Self, and Sociability in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2011); and *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660–1830* (2012). She also acted as both an editor of, and a contributor to, the three-volume *Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature*, published by Edinburgh University Press in 2006.

It is not easy to summarize the nature of Susan's scholarship and criticism. A clue, however, is provided by her own description of her research interests: "Scottish and American Literary, Religious, and Philosophical Relations 1700–1900." The precise and detailed union of all of these elements—Scotland, America, literature, religion, philosophy—in a variety of associative modes does indeed provide the defining hallmark of all her work.

To my mind, Susan's scholarship is not heavily weighted with "theory" in any of its fashionable forms. But I know of no critic who has more subtly and successfully demonstrated how literary texts embody and reflect the historical, religious, and philosophical contexts in which they are produced. In *The Puritan-Provincial Vision,* Calvin's fundamentalism and Hume's skepticism, in agreement over human reason's inability to arrive at absolute truths, provide a way into a highly sophisticated analysis of the language, form, and meaning of a range of texts—some familiar, some less so—by Scottish and American authors: Hogg, Scott, Galt, Lockhart, Brockden Brown, Irving, Melville, Hawthorne, and Poe. In each case, Susan has something new, penetrating, and challenging to say.

Fragments of Union, in the author's own words, is "a book about political, psychological, and grammatical conjunctions, and the analogies that are developed between them in Scotland and America in the Enlightenment and Romantic periods." The book's central theme of the continuing tension between contradictory impulses toward unity on the one hand, fragmentation on the other, in both countries, is explored in the context of a range of Scottish Enlightenment writers and thinkers: Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, Thomas Reid, James Beattie, Dugald Stewart, George Campbell, Hugh Blair, James Boswell. But just as in *The Puritan-Provincial Vision*, the dominant figure is David Hume—clearly Susan's favorite among all the Scottish Enlightenment literati. In terms of skeptical analysis, Hume seems to belong to a fragmented world, but in the context of sociability, he is a union man. How far any of the literary figures or texts Susan examines in her provocative and exploratory book parallel Hume's achievement is moot indeed.

Susan's scholarship is demanding—but of the highest caliber. Readers are expected to keep up with her own quickness and subtlety of mind. But the reward for doing so is immense. Whatever the text, whatever the theme, she offers new perspectives and new understandings. Nothing can compensate for her tragically early death. But it is good news that a third monograph—*The Poetics of Character: A Transatlantic Literary History*—is forthcoming from Cambridge University Press.

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow

IN MEMORIAM: G. ROSS ROY (1924–2013)

Longtime ECSSS supporter Ross Roy, Burns scholar, founder and editor for nearly fifty years of *Studies in Scottish Literature*, Distinguished Professor of English and Comparative Literature, Emeritus, at the University of South Carolina, died in Columbia, South Carolina, on 19 February 2013, aged 88. His career coincided with (indeed in many ways made possible) the steady development of Scottish literary studies as a distinct aeademic field, not only in North America, and Europe generally, but also in Scotland. *SSL* was the first refereed journal in its field. As Kenneth Simpson remarked in the recent festschrift, "in the early 'sixties, it was all but impossible to find university teaching of Scottish literature even in Scotland....half a century later, all with an interest in Seottish literature are the beneficiaries of one man's vision and his determination to make it a reality."

Ross Roy was raised in Montreal, of Scots ancestry on both sides of the family. His college years were interrupted by World War II, when he flew as an RAF navigator from bases in Britain, Africa, and India. In addition to Canadian degrees, with a Ph.D. from the University of Montreal, he earned his maîtrise from the University of Strasbourg and in 1958 a D.U. from the Sorbonne. In 1965, after earlier posts in Franee, Canada, and the USA, he moved to the University of South Carolina as full professor. Later, he held visiting posts at Metz and Glasgow.

His early work was as a comparatist, but he had been introduced as a boy to the poetry of Robert Burns by his grandfather, and from the early 1960s he increasingly focused his scholarship (and book collecting) on Burns. Over the next fifty-plus years, he wrote hundreds of articles, reviews, and other items, notable both for learning and a zestful appreciation of Burns as man and writer. He was a pioneer of book history, especially with regard to Burns chapbooks. Twenty-five years of work in libraries on both sides of the Atlantic went into his scrupulous revision of J. de Lancey Ferguson's 1931 *The Letters of Robert Burns* (Clarendon Press, 1985). One of the great rarities from his own collection was facsimiled in his important edition of the 1799 *Merry Muses of Caledonia* (U. of South Carolina Press, 1999).

In 1988, he transferred his spectacular collection of Robert Burns (and other Scottish writers) to the University of South Carolina Library. The depth of holdings just for the eighteenth century was on display at the 2012 ECSSS conference in Columbia. Ross served as honorary curator, donating additional materials each year (including in 2008 a major collection of Burns manuscripts), collaborating on a series of international Scottish conferences at USC, and establishing, with his wife Lucie, the W. Ormiston Roy Memorial Visiting Fellowship to promote the collection's use.

Most of all Ross will be remembered as a friend and mentor. He and Lucie welcomed countless visitors to Columbia and to their home. He traveled frequently to Scotland and Europe, as recently as last year, ostensibly to research, lecture, and hunt out rare books, but more important to see old friends and meet new ones. There can be few scholars now active in the field who have not benefited from Ross's knowledge, friendliness, and legendary

hospitality.

Ross Roy's achievements and his part in establishing Scottish literature as an academic field were rightly noticed with honorary doctorates from the universities of Edinburgh (2004) and Glasgow (2009). Among many other recognitions, which included the establishment of the annual G. Ross Roy Medal and publication of the festschrift, *Robert Burns & Friends* (2012), he especially valued the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award, presented at the Charleston conference in 2003. On 25 April 2013 a memorial tribute was held at the Hollings Special Collections Library that houses Ross's collection. It was an opportunity for friends, scholars, and family members to come together for tributes to Ross and some Burns songs—with a bagpiper safely outside the building.

Patrick Scott, University of South Carolina

IN MEMORIAM: ISTVAN HONT (1947–2013)

Few scholars have shaped our understanding of Scottish Enlightenment thought as profoundly as Istvan Hont, who died from an acute blood condition on 29 March 2013, aged 65. Hungarian by birth, Istvan first studied engineering at the University of Budapest before changing to history and philosophy, in which he completed his M.A. and his doctorate in 1974. His thesis, supervised by Professor Eva Balázs, was on "David Hume and Scotland." In 1975, with the assistance of the Cambridge medieval economic historian M. M. Postan, Istvan and his wife Anna took the brave decision to leave Hungary, and to re-start his academic career in the United Kingdom. Istvan went first to Oxford, where he continued his study of the Scottish Enlightenment and Hume's political economy under Hugh Trevor-Roper. In 1978 he moved to King's College, Cambridge, to direct the newly established Research Centre project on "Political Economy and Society 1750–1850," along with Michael Ignatieff. During the six years of the project he organized a series of ground-breaking conferences, whose highlights included a rare (possibly unique) public exchange between Duncan Forbes and John Pocock, and the bringing together of the leading Cambridge exponents of the history of political thought with Reinhart Koselleck and other exponents of *Begriffsgeschichte*.

Between 1986 and 1989 Istvan was in the United States, as an assistant professor at Columbia University, after which he returned definitively to Cambridge and to King's, as university lecturer then reader in political thought in the Faculty of History. There he took a leading role in teaching the history of political thought, by strenuous undergraduate lecturing, by his purposeful direction of graduate classes, and by his inspiring, demanding supervision of doctoral students. As he made plain in his final, unforgettable seminar on "The Cultural History of the History of Political Thought" in 2011, he was at once a highly committed and a decidedly idiosyncratic exponent of the merits of the Cambridge approach to the subject. Beyond Cambridge, he held visiting appointments, at Princeton, Chicago, and Harvard, Göttingen, Budapest, Chiba University, Japan and, most recently, Jena.

The first of the King's College Research Centre conferences formed the basis of the volume *Wealth and Virtue: The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1983), to which Istvan contributed two influential papers, "The 'Rich Country–Poor Country' Debate in Scottish Classical Political Economy" and (with Michael Ignatieff) "Needs and Justice in the *Wealth of Nations*." Over the next three decades these were followed by major articles on natural law and the language of sociability, the "economic limits to national politics," Hume's treatment of public credit, and the nation-state and nationalism in eighteenth-century perspective. Each of these articles was actually a book in embryo, treating its subject with an originality which transformed understanding of its significance. The publication in 2005 of the prize-winning *Jealousy of Trade: International Competition and the Nation-State in Historical Perspective* performed the invaluable service of collecting most of these pieces; with its long introduction, however, it was also, in effect, a new book—an argument that it was eighteenth-century political economy (in particular that of Hume and Smith), rather than nineteenth-century economics and politics, which established the framework for modern thinking about international politics. After its publication there were further original studies of the eighteenth-century luxury debate and of the importance of Adam Smith's treatment of ancient republicanism, notably "The Early Enlightenment Debate on Commerce and Luxury," in *The Cambridge History of Eighteenth-Century Political Thought*, ed. Mark Goldie and Robert Wokler (2006); "The 'Rich Country-Poor Country' Debate Revisited: The Irish Origins and French Reception of the Hume Paradox," in *David Hume's Political Economy*, ed. Carl Wennerlind and Margaret Schabas (2008); and "Adam Smith's History of Law and Government as Political Theory," in *Political Judgement*, ed. Richard Burke and Raymond Geuss (2009).

A major preoccupation to the end was the post-Hobbesian theme of unsocial sociability in eighteenth-century thought. Recently this led to exploration of the extent of the common ground between Rousseau and Adam Smith—the subject of the Carlyle Lectures in Oxford in 2009 and the Benedict Lectures in Boston in 2010. A version of these lectures may yet be published.

John Robertson, Cambridge University

IN MEMORIAM: O M BRACK, JR (1938–2012)

O M "Skip" Brack passed away on 8 November 2012 after a long and illustrious career as a scholar of eighteenth-century British literature. Most of his career was spent at Arizona State University, where he was a member of the faculty from 1973 until his retirement in 2008. At ASU he received a number of awards for his teaching and mentoring of students, which extended far beyond the boundaries of his own university.

Skip received his Ph.D. from the University of Texas at Austin under the distinguished bibliographer William Todd, and bibliography and editing remained his specialties throughout his career. Among the major editorial projects that he contributed to were The Works of Tobias Smollett (which he served as textual editor), the Yale Edition of the Works of Samuel Johnson, The Piozzi Letters, and early biographies of Samuel Johnson. Less well known, but crucially important for this writer, was his pioneering 1975 article in the *Arizona Quarterly* on the important role played by the printer and publisher William Strahan in promoting the work of eighteenth-century Scottish authors.

Skip was among the small group of individuals who joined ECSSS in its first year of existence (1986–87), and he remained a member for the rest of his life.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT

IN MEMORIAM: DERICK S. THOMSON (1921–2012)

The Gaelic scholar, poet, and publisher Derick Thomson died on 21 March 2012 at the age of ninety. He was a prodigious force in all aspects of Gaelic studies, which he practiced and promoted with a fierce pride that merged easily into his Scottish Nationalist political outlook. Born and first educated in Stornoway, he studied at the universities of Aberdeen and Cambridge and University College of Wales at Bangor. His academic career started and finished at the University of Glasgow, where he ascended from Lecturer in Welsh in 1949 to Professor of Celtic from 1963 until his retirement in 1991, interrupted by a seven-year stint at the University of Aberdeen from 1956 to 1963.

Derick Thomson was far more than an eighteenth-century scholar, but his contributions to that field were immense. His first book, *The Gaelic Sources of Macpherson's 'Ossian'* (1951), constituted the first serious modern attempt by a Gaelic speaker and literary critic to reassess the origins of James Macpherson's Ossianic poetry, and demonstrated that Macpherson drew (albeit freely, and not exclusively) on a body of legitimate Gaelic materials. Thomson's 1963 article "'Ossian', Macpherson and the Gaelic World of the Eighteenth Century," published in *Aberdeen University Review*, was another milestone in modern Macpherson/Ossian studies. At the same time, his "Bogus Gaelic Literature c. 1750–c.1820," which appeared in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Glasgow* in 1958, showed a sensitivity to poetic deception. In 1983 he published *The Companion to Gaelic Scotland*, to which he contributed articles on Macpherson, the Gaelic poet Alasdair Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (Alexander MacDonald), and many other eighteenth-century individuals and topics. He continued his work on eighteenth-century Gaelic poetry and culture after his retirement, including *Gaelic Poetry in the Eighteenth Century* (1993) and a 1996 anthology of Mac Mhaighstir Alasdair's poetry.

Like Skip Brack, Derick Thomson joined ECSSS in its very first year (1986–87), and he remained a member for many years afterward. His accomplishments were commemorated with various honors, including the Ossian Prize awarded by the FVS Foundation of Hamburg in 1974, a festschrift published in Aberdeen in 1996, and an honorary D.Litt. from the University of Glasgow.

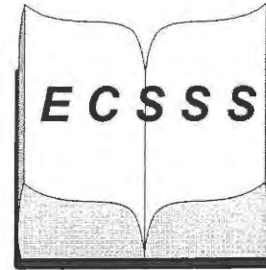
Richard B. Sher, NJIT

IN MEMORIAM: JOAN H. PITTOCK (1930–2012)

A notable eighteenth-century scholar, Joan Pittock Wesson (Mrs. MacCormack) died on 25 July 2012. Most of her career was spent in the English Department of the University of Aberdeen, but she was also an originator, and the leader, of the study of cultural history at Aberdeen, which offered the first British undergraduate degree in that subject. As a prominent member of the British Society for Eighteenth Century Studies, she was its president for 1980–82, and the founding editor of what is now the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* in 1978. She made a significant contribution to eighteenth-century Scottish studies, not least through the organization of several international conferences, of which "Aberdeen and the Enlightenment" was the first; its proceedings were published by Aberdeen University Press in 1987.

Jennifer Carter, Strathdon, Aberdeenshire

BOOKS in REVIEW



"And We Ashamed of Him"

A Review Essay by
Jack Lynch, Rutgers University–Newark

John B. Radner, ***Johnson and Boswell: A Biography of Friendship***. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012. Pp. xii + 415.

James Boswell's "Life of Johnson": An Edition of the Original Manuscript in Four Volumes. Volume 3: 1776–1780. Edited by Thomas F. Bonnell. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, and Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. Pp. xx + 434.

Poor Boswell. For much of the last century he was little more than a punching-bag for Johnsonians.

The story is familiar. Beginning with the publication of *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* in 1791, Boswell increasingly crowded out Johnson, who was transformed—demoted—from writer and thinker to quirky character. To know Johnson was to know Boswell's Johnson. This does not, however, mean Boswell was treated with respect. Macaulay's notorious review of 1831 is brutal: "Of the talents which ordinarily raise men to eminence as writers, Boswell had absolutely none." Boswell was instead a mere stenographer, a proficient note-taker who had the good fortune to find himself in the presence of a great talker. And yet his book somehow managed to be a masterpiece, and displaced most of Johnson's own writings.

The twentieth-century academic reaction was fierce: for Johnsonians who came of age after the Second World War, Boswell was a problem to be overcome. He was blamed for his inaccuracies and his attention to trivia; he was blamed for imposing his own simple-minded vision on a complex genius; he was blamed for his toadying and uncritical hero-worship. The goal of Johnsonian scholarship was to recover the *real* Johnson, much as critics strove to recover the historical Jesus from the Gospels, and it was to proceed by scrubbing every Boswellian trace from our accounts of Johnson.

The discovery of the Boswell Papers in the early twentieth century, far from improving Boswell's standing, only intensified the Johnsonian disdain: the journals were said to reveal an insecure and lecherous hanger-on. Yale's center of editorial operations, the home of some of the most meticulous and creative textual criticism and annotation of the last sixty years, was condescendingly nicknamed the "Boswell Factory," as if it produced widgets: such was the Johnsonian contempt for anything associated with Boswell. If dilettantes chose to read the *Life* and the *London Journal*, well, not much could be done to stop it—but real scholars paid Boswell as little attention as possible.

Inevitably, the pendulum swings back, and today Boswell has his own adherents. His papers continue to emerge not from a "factory" but from an international team of distinguished editors, and his reputation as a writer continues to recover. The charges of insecurity and lechery have not gone away, but insecurity and lechery are more interesting to modern scholars. The anti-Boswellian teeth-gnashing has come to an end. And yet, despite the cessation of open hostilities, Johnsonians and Boswellians have never managed more than an uneasy detente. They remain cordial but not much more. The apparent subordination built into the Johnson–Boswell relationship, with the Great Cham served by a subordinate chronicler, still makes their modern partisans uneasy.

John Radner's *Johnson and Boswell: A Biography of a Friendship* may mark a new era. Radner balances the two points of view more sympathetically than ever before by telling in unprecedented detail the story of the

decades-long relationship. His Boswell is no stenographer, no sycophant, not even a junior partner, but a serious writer in his own right, every bit as complicated and worthy of attention as Johnson. Radner's subtitle should be taken seriously: this is not a biography of Johnson or a biography of Boswell, nor even a joint biography of the two, but a biography of their friendship. It is, oddly enough, a book that has never been written before. Johnson and Boswell had what may be the most famous and best-documented friendship in British letters. And yet, while books on Johnson fill whole libraries, and books on Boswell fill at least a few bookcases, no one has ever chronicled their relationship before.

There is nothing complicated about Radner's method. He has lined up all the writings by and about Johnson and Boswell written between their meeting in 1763 and Boswell's death in 1795, arranged them chronologically (by date of writing and date of the events described), and read through them with minute attention to what the two men were doing, saying, and writing day by day, month by month, and year by year. There is no sophisticated theoretical framework, no new historicist contextualization, just patient explication of a friendship evolving over decades. To say Radner's task is not complicated, though, is not to say it is easy. The amount of primary material on Johnson and Boswell is vast. It includes all the letters written by the two men, as well as all those written to them by others; it includes Boswell's extensive diaries, as well as Johnson's autobiographical jottings. It includes Boswell's *Account of Corsica*, *Hypochondriack* essays, *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, and of course the *Life*; it includes Johnson's political tracts, *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, and *Lives of the Poets*. All these writings, public and private, stretch to many dozens of volumes—and many thousands of pages remain in manuscript. Radner has done his homework.

Most of the book traces the unfolding of a complex relationship: all the time they spent together, as well as the occasions when they were in touch from opposite ends of Great Britain. Their exploration of the Hebrides in 1773, the longest continuous period they spent in one another's company, is the subject of several chapters. Truth be told, there are times when the narrative pace flags, and the argument is buried under too many unprocessed facts. But Radner is especially good at reading silences. Over and over again, Boswell writes to Johnson; Johnson fails to write back; Boswell stews and frets for weeks, trying to glean the significance of the neglect and fearing the worst. More than most previous commentators, Radner highlights the tensions between the two men—the episodes of disapproval, the quarrels, the peevishness, the outbursts of ill temper, even the sexual tension, since Johnson knew at least something about Boswell's prodigious sexual appetites, and occasionally revealed something of his own. And the effort pays off. There are no shocking revelations here, but many new insights and new emphases. Radner perceptively notices, for instance, that some passages in Johnson's *Lives of the Poets* seem to respond to subjects that he and Boswell were discussing at the very time.

Radner ends with several chapters on Boswell's literary labors after Johnson's death, as he worked to transform his diary entries into coherent biography. Boswell had known he was going to write Johnson's biography throughout their twenty-one-year acquaintance, but it was still the work of years to metamorphose the journals into the *Life*. The most important work had to do with Boswell's characterization of both himself and Johnson, and there we see Boswell as a conscious literary craftsman, shaping his material for his desired ends.

Our own ability to understand Boswell's artistry is promoted by volume three of the manuscript of Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, the latest installment of the "Research Edition" of the Boswell Papers. This volume, the third of four, appears a full eighteen years after the first, edited by Marshall Waingrow, and fourteen years after the second, edited by Bruce Redford with Elizabeth Goldring. The long-expected volume, edited by Thomas Bonnell, meets the high standards set by its predecessors, and promises to encourage more attention to Johnson, to Boswell, and to all the complexities of their long relationship.

The four volumes of the manuscript edition correspond to the four volumes of the standard scholarly edition of the *Life*, edited by G. B. Hill and revised by L. F. Powell, and running heads key this edition to the Hill–Powell page numbers. In fact the manuscript edition more or less must be read with the more familiar *Life*, since the scholarship is so dense that it is nearly impossible to read through. It makes no pretense to offering a reading text: instead we get a genetic text, which reconstructs the history of the *Life*'s composition and revision.

Simply recovering the early drafts of the *Life* is a Herculean labor, not for lack of material but for its abundance. In one sense we are fortunate: very few works of such a high literary profile survive in multiple drafts, including several manuscript stages and printed revises. But all that material complicates the work of making sense of it, because Boswell's manuscript is a mess, with many crossings-out and scattered "papers apart" that need to be forced into a usable shape. As Waingrow noted in his introduction to the first volume, "whereas it is relatively easy to reconstruct the first version of any given segment of the basic narrative . . . any attempt to distinguish an overall first draft in Boswell's manuscript inevitably exposes an ambiguity in the very concept. . . . Strictly speaking, there is no 'first draft' distinguishable in the manuscript as a text separate and distinct from all other elements in the process of composition. There is instead a succession of first drafts of the basic narrative together with revisions

and additions, themselves composed in one or more drafts." (1:xxv) Waingrow preserved as much information from these drafts as possible, hoping "to show the temporal order in which the elements in a given segment of the manuscript were composed" (1:xxvi). The result is great complexity: with all these readings juxtaposed on the page, the explosion of unfamiliar sigla, insertions, deletions, variants, and footnotes can be overwhelming. Making sense of it is worth the effort, however, because it reveals how a major work of Scottish literature came into being.

An episode in the famous dinner with John Wilkes is typical of the sort of revision Boswell engaged in. "Mr. Arthur Lee mentioned some Scotch who had taken possession of a barren part of America, and wondered why they should chuse this"—Boswell originally wrote that in much the form it took in the published *Life*. But the next few sentences show some minor stylistic revisions. Johnson replies, "Why Sir All barreness is comparative," but Boswell hesitates in recording exactly what he says next. After writing "*They*," he cancels it and substitutes "The *Scotch*," to read, "The *Scotch* would not know it to be barren." Boswell then records his own response: "Come come. He is pleasing the english"—but, on further thought, replaces "pleasing" with "flattering" (3:63).

Wilkes and Johnson, once bitter enemies, gleefully unite in ridiculing the Scots for Boswell's benefit. "Here was a Bond of union between them," writes Boswell, "and I was conscious that as both had visited Caledonia, both were fully satisfied of the narrow ignorance of those who imagine that it is a land of famine." But Boswell once again hesitates, deleting "narrow" and replacing it with "strange": "the strange ignorance." Even that, though, is not quite right. Finally he settles on both adjectives: "the strange narrow ignorance of those who imagine that it is a land of famine."

He goes on—"When I bragged a Superiority in Scotland over England in one respect"—but then pauses again over the emotional force of "bragged"; out it goes, to be replaced by "claimed." That one respect in which Scotland was superior to England: "no man can be arrested there for a debt merely because another swears it against him; but there must first be the decree of a court of law ascertaining its justice." But then "decree" is excised in favor of "judgement"—a significant change in the hand of a practicing lawyer. Wilkes's response, as first drafted: "That may be sworn of all the scotch." But Boswell tries a few possibilities: he inserts "safely" before "sworn"; he then tosses out the beginning of the clause and substitutes "That I should think may be sworn," and then reinserts "safely" before "sworn" once again. He ends up by revising "the scotch" to "the scotch nation." Finally, after Johnson and Wilkes have made their parting shot—"*Johnson.* 'For you know he lives among savages at home, and among rakes in London.' *Wilkes.* 'Except when he is with grave sober decent people like you and me.' *Johnson.* 'And we ashamed of him'"—there appears a final line from Wilkes, "Boswell you have kept a great deal of bad company," that was omitted when the manuscript made its way into print.

All that (and more) in a paragraph. None of these changes requires a comprehensive reevaluation of the *Life*, or even of this scene. The revisions are, for the most part, small and strictly "verbal." But literature is, in the end, nothing but words. If we believe literature matters, then we have to pay attention to "merely verbal" variants. Sometimes they illuminate things that were mysterious before, revealing names and situations that Boswell ultimately decided to conceal. In the published *Life*, for instance, we hear Johnson speaking dismissively of "a friend of ours associating with persons of very discordant principles and characters," but get no hint about who this friend is or what questionable character he was associating with. The manuscript, though, reveals that the first draft read, "Sir Joshua [Reynolds] having [James] Macpherson with him" (3:276): the bad character was the Scottish epic-poet-cum-forger who came in for such a drubbing in Johnson's *Journey*. At other times the text reveals Boswell working hard to find just the right word to put into Johnson's mouth. When discussing Lord Mountstuart's 1775 bill for a Scottish militia, was Johnson "violent against it," as appeared in the published *Life*, or "keen against it," as Boswell originally wrote (3:1)? When Johnson insulted Whigs, did he call Thomas Pennant a "sad dog," as in the published *Life*, or a "scoundrel" or a "hateful dog," as in the drafts (3:195)?

Revisions like these, laid out on the page, prove what we have been told by those who know the Boswell papers intimately: that Boswell was no unthinking note-taker but a careful literary artist. Early in the *Life*, Boswell confessed that he "found it extremely difficult to recollect and record his conversation with its genuine vigour and vivacity." But after time spent in Johnson's company, his "mind was, as it were, *strongly impregnated with the Johnsonian æther*," and he was able not merely to *record* Johnson's *obiter dicta* but to *produce* them. This is the work not simply of memory but of a creative intelligence. With the evidence collected in the edition and the interpretations offered by Radner, we can see just how much of the English sage is really the product of a Scottish litterateur.

Thomas F. Bonnell, ***The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry 1765–1810***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008. Pp. xiv + 387.

Though it has very little to do with verse, this is one of the best and most original books about eighteenth-century poetry to appear in decades. Bonnell frames his argument about multi-volume poetical anthologies, as one

might expect, in terms of canon-formation, addressing the much-vexed issue of what constitutes a *modern* classic. About this matter Bonnell makes a modest contribution, partly by providing useful tabulations of who is in and who is out in fourteen collected editions of the British poets, partly by stressing the importance of paratext and book-formatting to the business of canon-making. But the chief value of this study is less the argument about canon-formation than the wealth of information about the book trade and the deft way that information is presented.

Bonnell's reach as an enumerative and analytical bibliographer is remarkable, extending even to collections published in America and on the European Continent. He has tracked variations within editions across multiple states, printings, and formats, providing not only a history of the genre but bibliographic histories of each individual anthology, several of which were undergoing significant transformations for more than a decade. The series began, after much pre-history, almost accidentally when the Foulis brothers began producing "Elzevir" editions of English poets. There followed the famous combat between John Bell and the consortium printing "Johnson's Poets" and less familiar developments as anthology-makers refined and innovated, specialized and diversified. Bonnell gives sustained attention to title-pages, illustrations, prefaces, advertising matter—to prices, paper, page-depth, binding options, even shelving arrangements.

The presentation of this complex mass of detail is beyond praise: tables parse the data in illuminating ways going well beyond the issue of which poets appear in which anthologies. From Bonnell's tables one can track, over an extended period, how within Bell's *Poets* the Dryden volume was doing in comparison with the Collins-Gray volume, which poets were deemed worthy of illustration, whose works were printed in full, and whose in part. Bonnell has distributed his discussions of bibliographic and commercial matters across the editions where they are most pertinent, enabling detailed analysis without repeating the same points for each. The tables supply a cross-edition, synoptic view while chapters devoted to the several editions differ in focus and are artfully arranged into a narrative and argumentative arc. Throughout it all the booksellers' patter, at once annoying and seductive, is heard continuously.

Bonnell touches on familiar topics—canon, copyright, the sociology of book formats, the Edinburgh-London axis—to which he makes small but substantive contributions. But perhaps the chief value of this study lies in its method, or rather the lack of it. Working with a large, comprehensive, complex, and detailed body of information, he strives to avoid the explanatory reductivism he objects to in the analysis of his *bête noir*, William St. Clair. Contingency plays a large role in Bonnell's account of canon-formation: booksellers had to contend with the vagaries of fashion, weather, legal chicanery, financial distress, and war—even as they strove with aesthetic, economic, social, and technological priorities that were often in conflict. There is no one overriding economic determinant.

The chief discovery, which perhaps Bonnell could stress more than he does, is the very depth of this contingency. There was no consensus about who should be included in the canon of classic poets, nor about what a canon ought to be. John Anderson and Alexander Chalmers were the unusual editors who gave serious thought to matters of canon-formation. If booksellers tended to be ignorant about literary history, they were often, surprisingly, not much better informed about contemporary taste. Writers were included or excluded for all sorts of reasons, among them the availability of a good life-story to tell or portrait to engrave. If the booksellers' selections satisfied nobody, everyone, it seems, desired a set of British poets—especially one with biographies by Samuel Johnson. Bonnell's research demonstrates what might otherwise not be apparent: why and how booksellers tried to manage contingency by issuing a few volumes at time and making adjustments in response to the market.

The anthology-producing impulse was based on the appeal of uniformity: regular standards applied to poetry and to print resulting in regular series of poets in regular series of volumes, larger or smaller. The bibliographer's impulse, by contrast, turns on discovering and documenting *irregularities*—Bonnell demonstrates how all these look-alike anthologies of British poets were in fact very different creatures, uncovering not a little drama in the hitherto untold story of their begetting. He has written an admirably researched and intellectually satisfying book which, by giving commerce and contingency their just due, turns over a new leaf in literary history.

David Hill Radcliffe, Virginia Tech

Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall, eds., ***The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion 1707–1800***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. Pp. xxii + 666.

Can there have been a more propitious time for any graduate student to be preparing an examination field or dissertation on the history of the book in Britain? The recent appearance of authoritative Actonian volumes of essays on this theme by diverse hands (or by single authors such as James Raven and Richard Sher) means that a student wishing to know what is going on in the field can confidently begin with works such as the one under review knowing that, as the bibliography shows, the authors of the chapters are each writing on his or her specialist

subject, and in many cases are providing useful epitomes of the theses of their longer monographic works.

The second volume of *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* covers the period from the Union of England and Scotland in 1707 until 1800. The book begins in the unpromising "Cinderella years" 1700–1720 (p. 132, cf. p. 8), when Scotland was not yet poised for economic and demographic takeoff, and carries the story up to the moment just before the Union with Ireland further unified the British book market. By 1800, the formerly obscure and poor Scotland of 1707 had emerged onto a global stage and—as a consequence and a cause of that emergence—the book trade was (despite some downturns in the final four decades [see the bar-chart on p. 15]) booming, with a favorable impression internationally of "Scotland as a 'brand' in publishing" (p. 12). By 1800, or even 1775, there was no plausible mockery of Scottish book culture's impact comparable to Sydney Smith's snide remark "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads an American book?." Indeed, a sign of Scotland's success in market penetration is that Smith's bit of English chauvinism from 1820 was published in the *Edinburgh Review*. The limitation of *EHBS2* to just over ninety years gives even more room for in-depth discussion than the analogous *Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Volume 5* (2009), covering the 135 years from 1695 to 1830, to which it will inevitably be compared. It can also allocate vastly more space for matters purely Scottish than Iain Beavan and Warren McDougall's chapter on the Scottish book trade in *CHBB5*.

EHBS2 is divided into six so-called chapters: "Emergence of the Modern Trade," "Marketplace for Books," "Intellectual Exchanges and Scottish Authors Abroad," "Popular Press and Public Reader," "Publishing the Enlightenment," and "Scottishness and the Book Trade." "Chapters" is somewhat of a misnomer, since the shortest is a nearly 70 pages, and the rest are supersized somewhere between 84 and 134 pages, with an average of nearly 100 pages each. Most users of the book will consider the smaller subsections, brief though some may be, as the real chapters, but the broader sections do suggest the general themes of the book. One presumes that most books of this sort will be read in segments rather than from beginning to end. And indeed, this book does not tell a coherent story in chronological order; one could shuffle the majority of the chapters without loss of lucidity.

Whereas the sections are too long to be read as chapters, many of the chapters, such as those on Volusenus, the *Merry Muses*, and the *Edinburgh Advertiser*, are mere notes (though authoritative ones), only two or three pages long. While brevity is generally a virtue in academic writing, some readers may find, as I did, that the minuteness of these chapters is somewhat jarring when read alongside the more conventionally sized essays. I often wished some of the briefer chapters might have been longer, though shorter-written is more likely read. If McDougall and Brown are pushing a thesis in this book, they do so with sufficient subtlety that their overarching argument is not obtrusive. There is not even a conclusion summing it all up; the book simply finishes with Ronald Black's essay on Gaelic publishing.

This work, by its nature, is forced to address the question, familiar to most readers of this newsletter: "what is distinctively Scottish about Scottish [insert your own noun here]?" It must also grapple from time to time with the essentially contested concepts of the Enlightenment(s), modernity, and national identity. But in general, the authors do not get bogged down in historiographical debates (even though all the essays seem conversant with current work on the subject) or High Cultural Theory. Nor do they descend into metahistorical arguments about essentially contested concepts. And that comes as a relief. I suppose one could say that there is a vaguely whiggish tale being told in this book, backed up by the data. Especially from 1750 onward, despite some setbacks and reversals, there were more printing sites, more booksellers, expanding ripples of Scottish authors and ideas around the globe, a bigger and more literate population, an expanding economy. In only a few fields, such as caricature or book illustration, did Georgian Scots seem to lag and never catch up. For the most part we have a story of progress, often quite rapid, told without any editorial overtones of boosterism or nationalist cheerleading.

Any book aspiring to tell such a vast story must balance the broader survey themes against the cases studies. Many of the more wide-ranging essays, including those on "Inside the Printing House" and "Map Engraving and Printing," serve as very good introductions to the topic for those new to the field, and clear (and assignable) reminders and clarifications of the basics for those who know it. A map (pp. 112–13) and chronology (pp. xvi–xxii) prove most useful for these synthetic purposes. For specialists in the history of the book, the freshest and most challenging material will be the many case studies. Some of these chapters treat the acknowledged luminaries of the era, but several deal with individuals whose obscurity, although undeserved, means they will not be well known even to ECSSS members. These include accounts of Smellie (printer); Cooper and Kay (illustrators); an anonymous bookseller of the 1710s; Bell and Bradfute (booksellers); Thomas Blacklock, Hugh Blair, and Adam Smith (authors); George Ridpath and Grisel Erskine (readers); and Lord Hailes (collector). Notable among these case studies are the biographies of books, including the Glasgow *Homer* published by the Foulis brothers, Hume's *Political Discourses*, *Ossian* in Europe, *De Animi Tranquillitate*, *Merry Muses*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and the *Edinburgh Advertiser* newspaper.

The book reflects many newer trends in the field of Scottish studies: the chapters on women's reading,

cookery books, children's books, agricultural books, music, and sermons all reflect changes in scholarship in the half-century 1962–2012 and suggest the myriad ways in which social history, gender history, and economic history have transformed a field that was once characterized largely by the study of great men and great books. Nor is the concern solely with books in English; we are given accounts of books published in Scotticism-inflected English, pure Scots, and Gaelic. The titans of the Scottish Enlightenment are present, and Hume, Blair, and Smith get their own chapters, but they share the stage with authors who might formerly have been seen as second-rank or even sneered at as hacks. The material nature of book manufacture, a more traditional book history topic, is covered in great detail. We get every step in the process from paper manufacture to bindings, engravings of maps, and the selling of books. "History of the Book" is defined quite broadly (a general trend in the field, at present); substantial focus is given to "Cheap Print," pamphlets, newspapers, chapbooks, and jobbing printing of programs and tickets (most of which are lost forever). This volume also reflects the historiographical trend toward international history of diasporas and ecumenes. The book does not define Scottish culture provincially, nor does it stop its analysis at the Scottish border. We see Scottish books influencing ideas in Europe from France to Italy to Russia, and in North America from Georgia to Canada, and Asia.

I have never been a fan of parenthetical referencing, but it is used here, as in *CHBB5*, *Oxford Handbook of the Sermon in Britain*, etc. One must therefore simply make one's peace with flipping back and forth to the bibliography (pp. 617–49) for all references to books published after 1820 (references to books before that date are offered in truncated form in the maintext). A consequence of this 1820 dividing-line is that bibliographical data are given more lavishly for secondary works than primary ones, despite the fact that many readers will want to know who published a book rather than merely the place and year of publication. Running heads, which demarcate the six large sections only, are not helpful in locating subsections. Subsections should have been numbered, although the lack of numbers (used sensibly for the figures and plates) looks more elegant in the table of contents and on the first pages.

In a work of this magnitude there will be a few trivial errors. The bibliography (p. 620) implies that Paola Bono was the author of Boswell's *Tour of the Hebrides* and *Life of Samuel Johnson*. My catalogue for the sale of the Colquhoun of Luss library suggests the auction was in 1984 rather than 1986 (p. 68). Although *EHBS2* is designed principally for use, it is attractive as well as functional. It contains 41 glossy color illustrations on 16 pages, 25 of which are bindings discussed by William Zachs; a further 35 are black-and-white images integrated into the main text. It is a pleasure to see so many of John Kay's Edinburgh portraits nestled in Iain Gordon Brown's account of them. The book is set in the Miller Text font, which alludes to the early nineteenth-century Edinburgh typefounder William Miller's Pica No. 2, and the 13-point main text (with 11 point notes) is a generous gesture to readers whose eyes may not be as capable of comfortably reading 10-point type as they once were.

This book is a major landmark in studies of Georgian print culture and justifiably takes the Scottish element of the history of the book in Britain out of the shadow of London and the English book market, globalizing this "provincial" (or national, albeit stateless?) trade. It will provide a superb point of departure for further debate and discussion in this field.

James J. Caudle, Yale University

K. A. Manley, ***Books, Borrowers, and Shareholders: Scottish Circulating and Subscription Libraries before 1825: A Survey and Listing.*** Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, in association with the National Library of Scotland, 2012. Pp. xii + 240.

Parts of the information presented in Keith Manley's long awaited new book were readily available to researchers for many years on the late Robin Alston's now defunct *Library History Database* website. As such, the author has already contributed very considerably to the expansion of research interest in eighteenth-century Scottish libraries, earning the heartfelt thanks of many scholars (not least, the present reviewer) along the way. In substantially amending, revising, and enhancing the material available previously, Manley's book will undoubtedly become the authoritative guide to the distribution and administration of book-lending institutions in Georgian Scotland.

The book is split into two main sections. The first surveys the development of two types of libraries in Scotland (the community-based subscription library and the commercial circulating library) from their hesitant origins in the early decades of the eighteenth century to their increasingly desperate struggle for survival in the nineteenth, eclipsed by the new breed of working-class libraries, mechanics institutes, and free public libraries. The second section presents information on every known circulating or subscription library founded in Scotland before 1825, providing comprehensive references to surviving primary source material that will help readers interested in pursuing further lines of inquiry. Manley also provides a useful range of appendices, including the printed rules of the Montrose Library that appeared in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1785, as well as a statistical breakdown of

selected libraries' holdings and total membership.

Library records of the period are notoriously dry, but Manley makes the most of the expressive moments when things started to go wrong—when books were damaged, annotated, or not returned, when members failed to pay their subscription fees, or when two members of the Banff Literary Society were reprimanded for plagiarizing books in the society's permanent library. Manley is able to enliven his account by looking beyond documents produced by the libraries themselves, turning instead to the two *Statistical Accounts*, trade directories, newspapers, book trade correspondence, travel guides, journals, autobiographies, and novels. This is where the author's indefatigable research, not to mention the book's 25-year gestation, really comes into its own, allowing Manley to present an astonishing range of detailed (and often entertaining) information about eighteenth-century library culture. We find out, for instance, that some of the men (and women) who tried their hand at commercial book-lending moonlighted as schoolmasters, drapers, shoemakers, poets, cow-feeders, and at least one brothel keeper. Newspapers advertised new institutions, new stock, and lost books, but libraries also on occasion made the news in their own right, as when the Macrae siblings were convicted of perpetuating a string of confidence tricks on unsuspecting Edinburgh libraries in the 1820s. Libraries also made a genuine contribution to the social philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, not least in the long-running (and anonymous) newspaper campaign of Professor John Millar of Glasgow University on the value of working-class libraries, outlined in unprecedented detail in this book.

Although the sheer amount of information presented here is deeply impressive, the author occasionally strays onto shaky interpretive ground. He contends, for instance, that the "sociable dimension of English book clubs was largely absent in Presbyterian-dominated Scotland" (p. 2). Manley is quite right that subscription libraries and book clubs sought to offer an alternative to the drinking culture of masculine "tippling clubs" (the term is John Millar's, p. 81), but the obsession with annual dinners, minute taking, and ballot voting points to sociability of an altogether more deliberate kind. Subscription library administration was in every way suited to allow provincial Scots to act out the polite associationalism prescribed by Addison's *Spectator*, and in so doing to imitate something of the celebrated clubbability of the Edinburgh Enlightenment. Surviving loan registers seem to suggest that provincial elites often had no interest in the books at their local subscription library, joining instead for the sociable opportunities on offer, and for the chance to exercise their cultural leadership of the local reading community. That Manley rarely alludes to borrowing records limits his survey in another way. He warns at one point against using catalogues as a guide to the "popularity" of specific books (p. 98) but later claims Henry Mackenzie to have been "probably the most popular author of the period as far as Scottish subscription libraries were concerned" (p. 120). Without engaging in more detail with the borrowing records that survive, he actually has little to say about relationships between books and readers, and therefore fails to develop a sense of the ways in which libraries changed readers' lives. This is where the index proves unhelpful, covering only a selection of libraries and library people, but failing to direct informed readers toward significant books offered by these libraries. Scholars interested in David Hume's reception in eighteenth-century libraries, for instance, will be directed to Hume's putative membership of an Edinburgh newspaper club (p. 121) but not to the intriguing contemporary reflection that "Hume's *England* had to be approached with great caution" by early members of the Dunfermline Tradesman's Library founded in 1808 (p. 78).

Nevertheless, Manley must be congratulated for opening up so meticulously the surviving records of Georgian Scotland's institutional book-lending culture. It must be added that, together with the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, he has produced an extremely attractive book, modeled on the marbled boards and trading card of an eighteenth-century circulating library.

Mark Towsey, University of Liverpool

Iseabail Macleod and J. Derrick McClure, eds., ***Scotland in Definition: A History of Scottish Dictionaries***. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012. Pp. xiv + 342.

Susan Rennie, ***Jamieson's Dictionary of Scots: The Story of the First Historical Dictionary of the Scots Language.*** Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xvi + 282.

The last decade has been quite remarkable for lexicography in Scotland, attested by (*inter alia*) the following: the completion of the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* (*DOST*), and the consequent institution of Scottish Language Dictionaries Ltd, in 2002, with significant funding from the Scottish government; the online *Dictionary of the Scots Language/Dictionar o the Scots Leid* (*DSL*), incorporating DOST and the *Scottish National Dictionary* (*SND*); the initiation of a research program leading to the first comprehensive historical dictionary of Scottish Gaelic, *Faclair na Gàidhlig* (*FnG*); and the completion of Glasgow's *Historical Thesaurus of the OED* (2009). Since academic research has—unlike plants—always thrived from periodic examination of its roots, it is unsurprising that two important works of stocktaking have just appeared: a major essay collection on the Scottish

lexicographical tradition, edited by two of the leading researchers on the languages of Scotland, and, by a younger scholar, the first ever comprehensive study of a pioneering lexicographer.

Iseabail Macleod's and Derrick McClure's splendid collection is ambitious in scope. The first seven chapters, forming Part I, survey the lexicography of Scots. Keith Williamson's fine opening essay on the Older Scots period opens up numerous lines for future inquiry; Williamson's work on the fourteenth-century Scone Glosses, for instance, has been referred to by other scholars but has been hitherto unpublished. All the remaining chapters in Part I are similarly stimulating, including McClure's own authoritative survey of eighteenth-century material, notably studies of "Scotticisms," Macleod's excellent discussion of specialized word lists, and Susan Rennie's study of John Jamieson, to which I shall return below. Macleod's and Marace Dareau's essays on the making of *SND* and *DOST* respectively offer fascinating over-the-shoulder examinations of lexicographical vicissitudes, rivaling Elisabeth Murray's study of her grandfather Sir James, the great (Scottish) editor of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*). The story of figures legendary in lexicography, such as Sir William Craigie, William Grant, David Murison, and Jack Aitken, has never been told better, but it is also a pleasure to see the story of the unsung heroes of the dictionary world—who were usually of course heroines. Macleod and Dareau are modest about their own input; it is perhaps appropriate in a review to note the consistent, grinding intellectual and indeed physical commitment that the "harmless drudgery" of lexicography demands. The lesson I take from their accounts is that, in big research projects, management matters as much as intellectual brilliance; it is sometimes too easy for academics to decry the former while acknowledging the latter. In reality, of course, both are needed.

The remaining sections of the book are shorter. Part II, by William Gillies and Lorna Pike, deals by contrast with something more culturally fragile: the lexicography of Scottish Gaelic. Although Gaelic has always (unlike Scots) been regarded as a language distinct from English, the progress of Gaelic lexicography has been markedly less advanced. The first real dictionary of Gaelic was published in 1741 by the Scottish Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge (*SSPCK*), but it was intended to offer children a glossary for transferring Gaelic into English: "Gaelic was to be used to help bring about its own extinction" (p. 204). Gaelic was thus always under threat, either because of active hostility on behalf of the educational authorities or through depopulation in the Gàidhealtachd; a nice irony of history is that the *SSPCK* rather failed in its aim through its appointment of the Gaelic poet Alasdair Mac Mhaighster Alasdair (Alexander Macdonald) as the compiler of its dictionary—who then made it his business to subvert the linguistic extirpation the Society sought to promote. Nevertheless, no comprehensive historical dictionary of Gaelic has yet been completed. *FnG*, which draws not only on a great Scottish lexicographical tradition (Pike was centrally involved in completing *DOST*) but also on new developments in electronic corpora-handling, is therefore urgently needed. What is especially pleasing about current developments is that *FnG*, which is clearly being robustly managed, has the best chance yet of achieving this hugely desirable goal. Part III consists of a single chapter on the Scottish contribution to English lexicography; Mary O'Neill shows, in fascinating detail, how Scots dominated (and indeed in some ways continue to dominate) lexicographical practice in the UK.

Scottish lexicographers have always been interested in the latest cultural and technological developments. Arguably the greatest lexicographer of Scots, A. J. (Jack) Aitken, not only developed the "encyclopedic" approach which is a hallmark of the tradition but also engaged with cutting-edge corpus linguistics and computer technology at a time when harnessing such methods was distinctly unusual. But Aitken, though a figure of huge authority as a lexicographer, was also a major figure in other fields, notably phonology (he is the one of that select band of philologists, like Jacob Grimm, to have a "sound-law" named after him) and medieval Scottish literary studies; he was also an inspiring teacher who has a claim to have founded single-handedly the teaching of Scots language in Scottish universities. His nearest rival was John Jamieson, the first great lexicographer of Scots and editor of Barbour's *Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace*, and another figure of awe-inspiring commitment and intellectual energy whose impact on Scottish culture was immense (notably on the great figures of the twentieth-century literary renaissance, such as Hugh MacDiarmid). Susan Rennie's splendid study of Jamieson, complemented by her essay in Macleod's and McClure's collection, shows how a figure steeped in Enlightenment and antiquarian values was hugely innovative in lexicography. Jamieson not only secured information from informants through questionnaires, in the manner of modern dialectological surveys, but was also the first dictionary-maker to study ephemeral material such as newspapers. Moreover, Jamieson was advanced in theoretical terms, being closely in touch with contemporary "new philologists" such as Grímur Thorkelin and the Grimm brothers.

There is much to commend about Rennie's book, notably her impressive engagement with primary material, e.g. Jamieson's manuscripts, and also with Jamieson's views on the "Gothic" (i.e. Norse) origins of Scots. But perhaps one notable feature will especially interest readers of this periodical: Rennie "places" Jamieson securely within the complex social networks of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and shows clearly the cultural significance not only of his knowledge of the great flowering of "poems chiefly in the Scottish dia-

lect" (not all by Robert Burns) during the period but also of his relationships with, for example, John Pinkerton and, especially, Sir Walter Scott. Scott's importance as a cultural conduit is widely acknowledged; Jamieson's role in Scott's literary development is less well-known, and Rennie thus opens a new chapter in Scott studies. Rennie's work amply deserves its shortlisting as the Saltire Prize "research book" for 2012.

A theme of both books under review is that dictionaries cannot be divorced from the cultural settings in which they are produced. It is probably no coincidence that the recent efflorescence of lexicographical activity has coincided with the establishment of a devolved Scottish parliament in 1999 and a consequent intensification of debate about issues to do with Scottish national identity. Since language is *par excellence* a shared social tool, it is not surprising that linguistic matters are at the heart of these debates.

Jeremy J. Smith, University of Glasgow

Rhona Brown, ***Robert Fergusson and the Scottish Periodical Press***. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012. Pp. vii + 280.

Although recent scholarship has hardly acknowledged it, there was a thriving Scottish periodical press before *Blackwood's* (1817) or even the second *Edinburgh Review* (1802). In fact, the aggressive rhetorical poise of the Scottish nineteenth-century brand had its origins in the country's vibrant eighteenth-century journalism. Many of those precedents were short-lived, but all shared the mission of their primary progenitors, the *Scots Magazine* (1739) and the first *Edinburgh Review* (1755–56), in resisting the progressive dominance of Englishness with its displacement of native culture. Or, as the *Scots Magazine* put it in the Preface to its first volume: "that the *Caledonian* Muse...not be restrain'd by want of a *publick Echo* to her song." Rhona Brown's book considers one of the defining examples of such patriotic journalism during the 1770s, perhaps the most stimulating and turbulent decade for Scottish magazines, when no fewer than twenty publications came and went: Walter Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine* and its use of Robert Fergusson's poetry to engage contemporary social and political issues.

Brown's approach is admirable for its clarity and straightforwardness. With the exception of an occasional recitation from the catechism of "public-sphere" scholarship and the now obligatory Habermas rosary, Brown avoids the clatter of theory and focuses on the language of Fergusson's poems within the context of contemporary Edinburgh politics. This vintage approach is a welcome reminder that earlier critical fashions have enduring virtues. Brown's Introduction succinctly establishes her thesis, that Fergusson's verse, whether his neoclassical English performances or his vernacular ones, is best appreciated when read as it was first printed, in the pages of a news magazine. To this end she chronologically explores Ruddiman's serial relationship with Fergusson. Her first two chapters follow the *Weekly Magazine* through 1771 and 1772 respectively, with chapters three, four, and five given over to the "fecundity and brilliance" (p. 109) of Fergusson's *annus mirabilis*, including a full chapter on his signature piece, *Auld Reikie*. The book concludes with an overview of Fergusson's immediate legacy, drawing in large part on obituaries, elegies, and imitations in response to his early, sordid death.

Brown identifies several critical misconstructions, including the tendency of Fergusson scholars to dismiss his neoclassical poetry, to over-simplify his politics, and to separate his work from its vital publication format. Indeed, Brown's assertion that Fergusson can only be understood properly when examined within the pages of the *Weekly Magazine* should alert us to the need to re-assess the periodical as a formative eighteenth-century Scottish literary genre. Brown's study explores Fergusson's poetry as a complex three-year conversation with the readers of Ruddiman's magazine.

The connections Brown makes between Fergusson's poetic tbemes and the articles and letters published in Ruddiman's periodical are astute and revealing, but one does begin to wonder about the wider local and national media. Brown only touches on Scotland's other newspapers and magazines when they relate directly to Fergusson, which somewhat diminishes her project. How was the rival *Scots Magazine* responding to these concerns? And what of the contentious, groundbreaking *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* (1773–76), edited and published by Ruddiman's principal competition? It is never mentioned in Brown's book despite its aggressive campaign against the very vernacular politics espoused by Fergusson. In many ways Brown, while repeating the "public-sphere" mantra in establishing the wider social significance of Fergusson's poetic voice, undermines her position by systematically limiting the periodical public sphere so severely. More risks need to be taken in this regard. Even in the apparently simple matter of the relationship between Fergusson's poems and the concerns expressed by the *Weekly Magazine*'s anonymous correspondents, one might ask: could any of those letters have been penned by Fergusson himself? We know that editors like Ruddiman were not averse to slipping their own opinions into their periodicals under the cover of pen names.

One of Brown's more sophisticated contributions to what is unfortunately a small body of Fergusson criticism is her assertion, often convincingly demonstrated, that the poet's neoclassical work needs to be treated on a level with his Scots verse, each one reciprocally raising the stature of the other. It is a good point, especially when

combined with Brown's attempt in the book's conclusion to make a case for Fergusson's having been accepted by the Edinburgh "literati." But she misses the mark in claiming James "Balloon" Tytler's reprinting of Ruddiman's obituary for Fergusson in William Auld's *Gentleman and Lady's Weekly* as evidence of this. Auld, as that magazine's publisher and Ruddiman's long-time partner in various periodicals, may well have made the decision to print the piece. And even if Tytler can be credited, he was no friend of the literati nor, as Brown claims, "the main mover behind the second edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*" (p. 242). Tytler wrote and compiled much of that edition, but the "main mover," and his employer, was Colin Macfarquhar. Tytler was well outside the elite set of the literati: an alcoholic and eccentric hack writer, however eclectically brilliant, he eventually fled to America by way of Ireland in 1793 after having been one of the first radicals to be charged with sedition—hardly someone whose "sympathetic treatment of Fergusson's death" could give a "final endorsement that the literati of Enlightened Edinburgh were not wholly indifferent to the poet's death" (p. 242). And would the literati have appreciated the publication format of Fergusson's best-remembered poem? *Auld Reikie* appeared as a chapbook printed on cheap paper. On the other hand, Fergusson's "Poem to John Cunningham" was issued that same year (1773, as Brown observes), but in quarto, on the best paper, and with the reputable Alexander Kincaid, "his Majesty's Printer," in its imprint. By contrast, although both sold at Osssian's Head, *Auld Reikie* was "printed for the Author." Format is at the core of Brown's thesis, but she crucially neglects it here.

Still, despite these various and sometimes isolated faults, Brown's book is a fundamentally innovative effort that demands a wider and more intellectually complex examination of the role of Scotland's eighteenth-century periodical press in shaping the literary and social nation.

Stephen W. Brown, Trent University

Sharon Alker, Leith Davis, and Holly Faith Nelson, eds., ***Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture.*** Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012. Pp. xvi + 302.

This elegant, albeit expensive, volume houses papers given at conferences at Simon Fraser University and the University of California, Berkeley. Contributors, from both sides of the Atlantic, include major players on the Burns stage and several welcome new voices. With topics ranging from slavery to digitization via politics, song-culture, the book trade, and memorialization, the book reflects some recent concerns of Burns scholarship. It also makes a significant contribution to burgeoning scholarship in cultural memory and transnational studies.

Multi-voiced as poet, and possessed of what Ramsay of Ochtertyre termed "abundantly motley principles," Burns has something for everyone. Just as individuals' (including scholars') responses to Burns have a self-revelatory dimension, so national refashionings of the Bard say something about that society's values.

The tension in Burns, and more widely in late eighteenth-century thought, between the competing claims of sympathy and individual responsibility warrants further investigation. The lead chapter sees Murray Pittock take debate about Burns and slavery into new territory by focusing on eighteenth-century attitudes to "the slave-like condition of Catholics [which] embedded the assumption that it was a voluntary condition" rather than victimization. Pittock notes that Burns's use of the term "slavery" fluctuates between the voluntarist and victim meanings, enabling him to explain the problematic reference in "Is there for Honest Poverty" to "the coward slave" in terms of ambivalence: "'the coward –slave'...must be liberated, as a victim rather than a voluntary slave. Yet he remains a 'coward': there is no suggestion in Burns's poem that this word is inappropriate." While Pittock remarks that the "buckskin kye" reference in "Epistle to John Rankine" "is not encouraging to those who wish to see [Burns] at the forefront of radical causes," Andrew Noble reads it as "a hellish image of what [the position of 'poor Negro driver'] would reduce him to and, by implication, the reality of the institution of slavery." Noble's substantial chapter contrasts Burns's positive vision of Washington's America with his pessimistic view of Scotland. Discussing the four poems of Burns that have reference to America , Noble justifies their importance. There is a measure of overlap in the volume, doubtless owing to the conference origins of the papers, in that each of the literature specialists engages with these four poems.

Responding to his question, "How has Burns been received politically in North America?," Gerard Carruthers designates Whittier's Burns "a poet whose cultural value is precisely conservative," and describes the identification of Burns with individual enterprise by writers from Emerson onward as "little short of platitudinous." Consideration of the Scottish-Canadian poet, Alexander McLachlan, prompts censure of "Canadian poetasters" for their "version of the poet that is stripped of both formal and ideological nuance." This judgment requires qualification in the light of Edward J. Cowan's work on poems by McLachlan such as "The Workman's Song" and "The Cry of the Oppressed." That such poems remained unpublished reflects the extent to which the demands of the market for a sanitized Burns were met. This point is substantiated in Rhona Brown's chapter on responses to Burns in Scottish and American periodicals, which reflect not the radical Burns but "the untutored poet of nature." Brown's account of reviews of Burns in the *Pennsylvania Packet* and *Freeman's Journal* raises the prospect of a

wider study of the reactions of the American press. How was Burns's work received in the South? Was he recruited by either side in the American Civil War?

Given their aspiration in the introduction that "Burns studies can help steer transatlantic studies away from the fate of becoming American studies in new clothes," the editors ensure that Canadian responses are encompassed. In a thoughtful essay entitled "The Presence of Robert Burns in Victorian and Edwardian Canada," Carole Gerson and Susan Wilson note that the conservative, nation-building instincts of Scottish–Canadians were resistant to the more radical Burns; they offer discerning comment on the "double voicing" of settler cultures, record the sparse presence of Burns in Canadian school-books, and sound a welcome warning against assuming that Burns is the sole influence on Canadian oral and vernacular poetry. Another highly informative chapter finds Michael Vance offering detailed discussion of Canadian memorialization of the poet. Fiona Black's invaluable essay, "Tracing the Transatlantic Bard's Availabilty," places Burns in the perspective of other poetic imports to Canada such as the work of Thomson, Ramsay, Macpherson, and various English poets. A table of shipments to Canada of Scottish Enlightenment titles up to 1820 finds Burns in eighth place in descending order after Tobias Smollett's *Peregrine Pickle*, William Robertson's *Charles V* and *History of Scotland,* William Buchan's *Domestic Medicine*, Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* and *Sermons*, and William Guthrie's *Geographical Grammar*, which suggests that eighteenth-century criteria of Instruction, Verisimilitude, and Amusement were as keenly observed in North America.

Black points out that the issue of dialect did not restrict the reception of Burns in Canada. In contrast, Nigel Leask finds it the principal impediment to Burns's influence in Latin America. Endorsing Black's view with relation to the USA, Robert Crawford notes that Jefferson used the example of Burns to support his prediction that an American dialect of English would come into being. Acknowledging the enthusiasm for Burns of Edgar Allan Poe, "a poet of lost loves and haunted darknesses," Crawford astutely observes that "Poe's admiration is a reminder that Burns in the States did not simply become a bard of Yankee patriotic poetic optimism."

The heart of the book is Part 4, "Robert Burns and Transatlantic Cultural Memory," comprising three essays of outstanding quality and relevance. Susan Manning's "Robert Burns's Transatlantic Afterlives" is replete with invaluable insight and serves to underline the loss to scholarship of such an exceptional talent. In a fascinating analysis, Carol McGuirk notes the Scottish fondness for aphorism as exemplified in Allan Ramsay's collection, *Scots Proverbs*, and examines the extent of Burns's influence as aphorist on writers including Laura Ingalls Wilder, P. G. Wodehouse, John Steinbeck, and Sting. Leith Davis deals with the Burns Centenary celebrations and identifies how Burns does "double duty as a marker of imperial loyalty and local assertion." However, "by identifying with Burns, Americans were able to further stake out their singular position in relation to their British predecessors."

Davis records that during the 1859 celebrations in Scotland, London, Boston, and New York, messages of universal brotherhood were exchanged by telegraph. Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson show how the worldwide web can be utilized in furthering global scholarly exchange. A precedent was set in the collaboration of Serge Hovey and Jean Redpath on Burns's songs, the subject of Kirsteen McCue's chapter.

This is an important book, and its editors are to be congratulated. It is incumbent on reviewers to carp about something. Accordingly, issue is taken with the editors' endorsement of Murray Pittock's claim that academic study of Burns plummeted after 1945. While it is undeniable that universities produced fewer scholarly monographs on Burns than on the major Romantics, two caveats have to be sounded: account should be taken of the unparalleled extent of the Burns scholarship conducted by non-academics; and the purely quantitative approach ignores the quality of the studies of Burns in that half-century (names such as J. De Lancey Ferguson and David Daiches—both absent from index and bibliography here—James Kinsley, Donald Low, and G. Ross Roy spring to mind). It may well be that it is the unsurpassed work of Thomas Crawford on the poems and songs or the definitive treatment of Burns in terms of the background of ideas by Carol McGuirk that enables Burns scholarship to encompass the new approaches represented here.

Ken Simpson, University of Strathclyde

Richard J. Jones, ***Tobias Smollett in the Enlightenment: Travels through France, Italy, and Scotland***. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2011. Pp. x + 220.

The title of this book is misleading and ambiguous, for it invites the reader to expect a discussion of Smollett's contributions to the various discourses of the Scottish Enlightenment, especially regarding the culture of Glasgow, where Smollett spent just over three years and visited only occasionally during his writing career. Smollett never made a point of personally enriching his relationships with the university community in his trips north. When he came to visit John Moore in 1766, he did not meet the leading lights of the university faculty—John Millar, John Anderson, and Thomas Reid—two of whom Moore knew. It is evident that Smollett wanted to

be associated with what was going on intellectually in Glasgow, especially as he was so far away. But it is unreasonable to insist too strongly on this possible connection, as Smollett was unable to maintain any thriving relationship with any Scottish city except through letters with friends.

Nor is there any attempt in Jones's book to link Smollett's contributions in history and criticism to any of the major themes of Scottish Enlightenment thought. Instead there are explorations of Smollett's interest in medicine, public health, and natural history, in theories of beauty, in theatre, and in the writing of history, to which he contributed important texts. The upshot of Jones's coverage is to establish, not that Smollett was influenced by other literati, or that he influenced them, but only that Smollett and other Scots dealt with similar subjects, and shared similar interests.

Jones sees Smollett as particularly loyal to Glasgow medicine, but it is more obvious that Smollett was partial to Scottish medical men working in London, such as William Hunter and William Smellie. Nevertheless, one of Jones's more successful connections with the Enlightenment world is his discussion of the influence of Smollett's training in medicine on his later contributions to medical publishing. He is correct in claiming that Smollett's apprenticeship under John Gordon, which included physic and surgery, was more practical than theoretical. (An example of this emphasis is the infirmary wing of the Touns Hospital that Gordon established in 1739. Though it is doubtful if Smollett ever served there, a remark by Matthew Bramble in *Humphry Clinker* shows that he understood its significance.) Infirmaries for those who could not pay constitute one of the better examples of Scottish civic humanism. Subsequently Smollett recognized the need to edit Smellie's papers and was especially interested in reviewing medical treatises. Jones states: "Although Smollett missed the innovations of William Cullen in Glasgow in 1747, his relationship to John Gordon (shared by Smellie, Hunter, and John Moore) confirms the 'enlightened' basis of his interests in midwifery and public health" (p. 20). Smollett's sympathetic response to Sir John Pringle's *Observations on Diseases of the Army* (1752) reflects this bias, as does his dismissive remarks on medical publications that revealed little experience or observation. His *Essay on the External Use of Water* (1752), to which Jones devotes several pages, is consistent with Smollett's preference for tried practical remedies and tests.

A less successful example of Jones's attempt to align Smollett's thought with the "literati" of the north can be seen in his patchwork discussion of the question of beauty. Jones assumes that Smollett experienced Hutcheson's teaching in the late 1730s (p. 53), but since Smollett never matriculated, this cannot be verified. Finding a connection proves a challenge. "Smollett's views on fine art are certainly not as thought out as those of Thomas Reid. . . Smollett. . . was not a philosopher, and. . . considering him alongside Hutcheson and Reid is problematic" (p. 54)—so the supposed influence of Glasgow aesthetic thought fails here as well. The relationship Jones seeks is finally made where Hutcheson states that we have an internal sense that has the power to perceive in the object the "real quality": some thing that "strikes" one with the idea of beauty (p. 54). Jones believes Smollett consciously adopted this perspective while sightseeing in southern Europe and viewing objects of art and architecture more than superficially. "For Smollett, what was important was the pleasure that strikes us at first with the idea of beauty." Viewing the pictures in the Campo Vaccino, Smollett wrote, "I saw them but once, and then I was struck with the following particulars"; elsewhere he said, "I was not at all struck by the picture of [St. Luke]" (p. 55). But he also said that some equestrian statue "did not engage my attention." Such statements do not strike this reviewer as exclusively Hutchesonian, much less distinctive of the Scottish Enlightenment. They are figures of speech that anyone might say while walking through the vast collection of a gallery, especially since Smollett took special pains in Italy to describe the beautiful aspects of both pictures and sculpture in great detail, as opposed to a "striking" glance.

Jones pleads particularly for the inclusion of *Travels through France and Italy* as a text with affinities with works of the Scottish Enlightenment. "*Travels* was another form of compendium or encyclopedia. . . Smollett's *Travels* leaves the domain of the 'travel book' and becomes. . . an encyclopedic work of a Scottish (and totally Glaswegian) Enlightenment" (p. 10). It is easy to see why Jones might be tempted to make this claim because the novelist went to special pains to flesh out his account of southern cities, their histories and their monuments, as well as the holdings of galleries with material drawn extensively from guidebooks and previously published accounts. Certain letters can definitely be classified as "guidebook." But it seems extremely doubtful that this "undifferentiated vision was Smollett's Glaswegian inheritance" or that "Glasgow provided Smollett with a way to understand his lowland aspirations" (p. 136). As a contribution to the popular genre of travel literature in the late eighteenth century, the *Travels* fulfills the conventions of its kind, with descriptions of art and architecture, comments on the manners of the urban population, observations about rural poverty, and complaints about bed and board, the conditions of the roads, and the chicanery of postillions.

All Jones's analyses seem tenuous or thinly advanced. (Between pages 118 and 128, the phrase "Smollett may have" appears nine times.) Stylistically, Jones betrays a propensity to parenthetical inclusions: between pages 103 and 109, for example, there are forty-five of them (exclusive of dates). Originally a doctoral dissertation at

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John P. WRIGHT, "Hume on the Origin of 'modern Honour': A Study in Hume's Philosophical Development," in *PREB*, 187–209.

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Key to the Abbreviations

BOP = *Burns and Other Poets*, ed. David Sergeant and Fiona Stafford (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

EHBS2 = *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland. Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion 1707–1800*, ed. Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012).

HEI = *History of European Ideas* 38 (March 2012): special issue on "Dugald Stewart: His Development in British and European Context," ed. Knud Haakonssen and Paul Wood.

NCECBF = *New Contexts for Eighteenth-Century British Fiction: "Hearts Resolved and Hands Prepared": Essays in Honor of Jerry C. Beasley*, ed. Christopher D. Johnson (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2011).

OHMSH = *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History*, ed. T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

PREB = *Philosophy and Religion in Enlightenment Britain: New Case Studies*, ed. Ruth Savage (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

RBF = *Robert Burns and Friends: Essays by W. Ormiston Roy Fellows Presented to G. Ross Roy*, ed. Patrick Scott and Kenneth Simpson (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2012).

RBTC = *Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture*, ed. Sharon Alker, Leith Davis, and Holly Faith Nelson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012).

SSL = *Studies in Scottish Literature* 38 (2012).

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Income: +£942 (dues and book orders)

Expenses: –£378 (South Carolina conference graduate student travel grants)

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Bank of America Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2012: $8,167.60

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Expenses: –$4,238.64 (newsletter printing & prep: $1,321.82; equipment: $231.97; supplies: $217.59; South Carolina conference: $1,982.26 [Board dinner/meeting: $554.38; exec. secretary expenses: $396.27; graduate student travel grants: $300; plaque: $70; payments to USC: $630; pictures: $31.61]; partial reimbursement to NJIT History Dept. for newsletter mailing: $460; NJ state non-profit society filing for 2013: $25)

Balance 31 Dec. 2012: $7,207.45

PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2012: $1,556.65

Income: +2,282.69 (dues and book orders)

Expenses: -$75.63 (PayPal fees)

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and Friends remains above all else a celebration of the scholarly rigor, selfless dedication, and collegial bonhomie of a man who did as much as anyone in his generation to promote the study of Scottish literature and of Scotland's national poet in an international context.

Ross Roy will be remembered principally for his exemplary edition of *The Letters of Robert Burns* (Clarendon Press, 1985) and for his forty-five years of service as editor of *Studies in Scottish Literature* (est. 1963), a journal that did much to establish Scottish literature as a credible object of academic inquiry. Following a short hiatus, *SSL* is being continued as a second series in both digital and print format, under the editorship of Tony Jarrells and Patrick Scott. Volume 38, the first issue in its new incarnation, features a symposium on the condition of Scottish literary studies, in which a variety of leading scholars in the field (notably Leith Davis, Matthew Wickman, and Caroline McCracken-Flesher) respond to substantial position papers offered by Murray Pittock and Gerard Carruthers. Other articles in this issue that treat eighteenth-century themes include Ruth Perry on Anna Gordon Brown's ballads and Stephen Brown on the printing of Burns's *The Merry Muses of Caledonia*.

In the short biographical tribute that opens *Robert Burns and Friends*, Kenneth Simpson pays due attention to Ross Roy's scholarly achievements, but he also highlights—quite properly—Roy's "legendary" generosity. There can be few scholars of Scottish literature who have not benefited, directly or indirectly, from Ross Roy's energy, enthusiasm, and erudition. In my own case, I remember with great fondness my visit to USC as a postgraduate student for the bicentennial Burns conference in 1996. Returning home after a stirring fortnight in Columbia, it was difficult to determine whether I had derived greater benefit from the superb Roy Collection of Scottish Literature in the Thomas Cooper Library or from my conversations with a man who had been unfailingly generous in sharing his time and his extensive knowledge with a junior scholar.

The distinguished contributors assembled by Scott and Simpson are similarly indebted. All are former holders of the W. Ormiston Roy Memorial Fellowship, established by Ross Roy and his wife Lucie to bring scholars to South Carolina to work in the Roy Collection. As Thomas Keith demonstrates in his witty account of Roy's "bibliomania," the Roy Collection is particularly strong in the area of Robert Burns studies, and the essays gathered here—in what amounts to a kind of themed festschrift—interrogate various aspects of Burns's writing, context, and legacy.

On top of his opening tribute, Kenneth Simpson contributes a bravura essay on Burns's "epistolary performances," in which he explores Burns's "considerable dramatic talent" in ways that dovetail nicely with R.D.S. Jack's spirited treatment of "Robert Burns as Dramatic Poet." In her thoughtful study of Burns's debts to his "elder brother in the muse," Robert Fergusson, Carol McGuirk shows how Burns "packages" his poems with greater care than his vernacular predecessor and is less diffident than either Allan Ramsay or Fergusson in his deployment of Scots, becoming the '"first of the eighteenth-century Scots poets to break away from caricature in the portrayal of dialect-speakers." McGuirk also shows characteristic independence of mind in her compelling reading of "The Cotter's Saturday Night" as embodying a "vision of working families as strong and indomitable, not politically quiescent and meek."

If several of these essays—such as Ted Cowan's lively assessment of Alexander McLachlan (the "Robert Burns of Canada") and Marco Fazzinni's absorbing account of the challenges involved in translating Burns into Italian—break new ground in Burns Studies, others offer fresh perspectives on familiar terrain. Of the latter, perhaps the most impressive is Gerard Carruthers's tightly focused yet wide-ranging essay on the reception of "Tam o' Shanter." Drawing shrewdly on Coleridge in preference to a Scottish critical tradition that has misguidedly pursued a phantom coherence in Burns's great narrative poem, Carruthers reads "Tam o' Shanter" as a brilliantly "dissonant interface...between inner and outer human worlds." Along the way he makes a compelling case for restoring the surreal image of the lawyer's tongues "Wi' lies seam'd like a beggar's clout" and the other excised lines in future editions of the poem, including—one may anticipate—the forthcoming Oxford Burns.

Robert Burns and Friends concludes with a checklist of publications by G. Ross Roy, compiled by Patrick Scott with Justin Mellette. Scanning this list, one is forcibly struck by the catholic range of Roy's interests. Alongside scholarly articles on French-Canadian poetry, Walt Whitman, George Sand, French stage adaptations of Fielding's *Tom Jones*, Jacobite literature, Hugh MacDiarmid, and Scottish diaspora poets, there are reviews of books (in English and in French) on Sterne, Germaine de Staël, English literary criticism, Thomas Percy, Gaelic poetry, and E. M. Forster. In an age of sometimes myopic specialization, it is salutary to ponder the panoptic range of Roy's scholarship. In this, as in much else, Ross Roy will remain an inspirational presence in the field of Scottish studies. When delegates meet at the University of Glasgow next summer for the inaugural World Congress of Scottish Literatures, their reflections on the global reach and context of Scottish literature will form a tribute—whether conscious or not—to the pioneering work of G. Ross Roy.

Liam McIlvanney, University of Otago

The Correspondence of Joseph Black represents an impressive first step toward a fully rounded assessment of Black's life and work. Anderson and the late Jean Jones have brought together all the known letters to and from Black, along with a wide-ranging selection of other documents which illustrate various facets of his career. In total there are some 835 items in the correspondence itself, with a further fifteen items in the numerous appendices (including three letters from Montesquieu to Black's father). The editorial apparatus is equally sizeable, for it includes, *inter alia*, an extended introduction surveying Black's historical context and career and lengthy appendices containing biographical sketches of the members of Black's family and brief biographies of individuals who are frequently mentioned in the correspondence. In addition, most of the letters are heavily annotated. The two volumes are a treasure trove of information about Black and those who moved in his orbit, and they will consequently be the starting point for serious research on Black and his contacts within the community of chemists and medics active in the Atlantic world during the heyday of the Enlightenment.

The majority of the letters date from after Black's appointment as the Edinburgh University professor of chemistry in 1766, with the two decades from 1779 to 1799 being the most densely covered. Black's formative years and the early period of his career in which he carried out his most innovative research are, by contrast, only sketchily documented in the surviving letters. Twenty-five of the 57 items that date from before 1767 have already been published in whole or in part, and there are no surprises to be found in the hitherto unpublished material regarding Black's studies in Glasgow and Edinburgh or the development of his ideas in the pivotal years 1756–1766, when he lectured on chemistry at Glasgow. Many of the early Black letters which appear here for the first time are addressed to his father, John Black (1681–1767), and, even if they do not record anything especially noteworthy, there are some valuable nuggets of information about the younger Black's medical thesis, his anxieties about learning the practice of medicine, and the quotidian affairs of the University of Glasgow.

One of the most notable features of the correspondence is the fact that after moving to Edinburgh in 1766 Black apparently did not keep up a number of the friendships he formed in Glasgow. He did, of course, remain on close personal terms with Adam Smith, John Robison, and James Watt. But beyond these well-documented relationships, the only notable link to Glasgow revealed in these volumes was between Black and Patrick Wilson (1743–1811), who succeeded his father Alexander as the Glasgow University professor of practical astronomy in 1784. Twenty letters between Wilson and Black are here printed for the first time, and they not only broaden our knowledge of Wilson's activities as a man of science but also illustrate his critical engagement with aspects of Black's science of heat. Nevertheless, one wonders why there seems to have been little or no contact between Black and his erstwhile collaborators William Traill and William Irvine, or with ex-professorial colleagues who shared Black's scientific interests, such as Thomas Reid and Wilson senior. Black's correspondence thus suggests that the social network sustaining the Scottish research tradition in chemistry initiated by Black's mentor William Cullen was far less coherent than has previously been recognized.

The Correspondence of Joseph Black is undoubtedly the most important contribution to Black scholarship to have appeared since Ramsay's *Life and Letters* almost a century ago. Yet the *Correspondence* is not without flaws. I have checked the letter from Thomas Reid to Black (which the editors fail to note was published in 2002 in my edition of *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid*), and the version which appears in the volumes under review contains a variety of transcription errors. I have also discovered numerous discrepancies between Anderson and Jones's transcriptions of letters between Black and Adam Smith and those found in the Glasgow edition of Smith's correspondence. While my sample is admittedly limited, it would seem that the texts included here are not entirely accurate. Moreover, I have identified a number of mistakes in the annotations and biographical entries, which suggests that these components of the editorial apparatus should be used with care. Such blemishes should not, however, blind us to the herculean labor involved in the production of *The Correspondence of Joseph Black.* We should be grateful to Robert Anderson and Jean Jones for having stuck to their daunting editorial task and for having significantly enriched our understanding of Joseph Black and the Scottish Enlightenment in the process.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Patrick Scott and Kenneth Simpson, ***Robert Burns and Friends: Essays by W. Ormiston Roy Fellows Presented to G. Ross Roy***. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Libraries, 2012. Pp. x + 192.

Studies in Scottish Literature. New Series. Volume 38 (2012). Edited by Tony Jarrells and Patrick Scott.

The tragic recent death of G. Ross Roy, Distinguished Professor Emeritus at the University of South Carolina, has robbed Scottish studies of one of its staunchest advocates and finest exponents. It has also transformed the rich and varied collection of essays edited by Ross Roy's close friends and colleagues Patrick Scott and Kenneth Simpson from a joyous festschrift into a somber memorial. But whether bouquet or wreath, *Robert Burns*

ment may be awakened and Rouzed to ridd us of the Impertinencie and Tyrrannie of this Gang, who Inguriously treat all good and learned men and are enemies to Humane Society itself" (p. 231). By the time Pitcairne wrote the play, he had been expelled from the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh for exposing Robert Sibbald as a political and religious turncoat, having first denied his Covenanter roots and then his Catholic conversion to take the oath required by the Test Act of 1681. For good measure, Pitcairne described his former friend as "a quack of the college's quorum" (Sibbald was its president at the time).

Both in the play and in his extra-academic writing, Pitcairne's vision of "humane society" is intellectually sincere and morally honest, acknowledging, following Newton, that knowledge of the world must be based on induction: we begin with a candid account of what we know from what we see; this enables us to reason toward an understanding of new discoveries. Its first principle is passive obedience to established authority: of our senses, or of our king. For Pitcairne, the insistence of Calvinists and Presbyterians on the primacy of faith over reason provides an insincere and circular excuse for, say, Sibbald's whiggish opportunism: it allows men to adjust what they see to confirm their own self-importance. Just as Newtonian mechanism enables the possibility of new knowledge through the application of human reason (favored by Episcopalians like Pitcairne), Aristotelian deduction merely confirms concepts that have been established in books (a method favored by Presbyterians). One point MacQueen does not discuss is the apparently "deductive" catch-phrases that Pitcairne and other Jacobites used (and not only in this play), such as "Return! Restore!"—for we normally associate Jacobites and Episcopalians with a return to the traditional order rather than an embrace of the skepticism required by the inductive or empirical method. Similarly, Newtonianism was suspected of deism at best (atheism at worst), both in its own time and throughout the eighteenth century. Pitcairne's fixed analogy between the immanent authority of the senses, the supremacy of reason, and the primacy of the divinely ordained Great Chain merits more discussion than we find here. Then again, MacQueen seems to suggest that Pitcairne's own Jacobite commitment sought political rather than religious ends. So it is ironic that this comic satire on intellectual hypocrisy takes aim at religious figures.

Despite this edition's scholarly depth as well as its generous girth—the poem is pressed between an 82-page Introduction and 146 pages of commentary—MacQueen's textual notes raise but do not resolve two key questions: since the manuscripts and the printed editions (1722 and 1756) carry the title *The Assembly*, why adopt *The Phanaticks* as the title? Its single merit is descriptive appropriateness to today's readers, and the phrase is taken from the Epilogue. Similarly, the typographical evidence for attributing authorship to Pitcairne also supports the attribution of joint authorship, with contributions from his close friends Gregorie and Sir Bertram Stott (fl. 1691–1707). MacQueen's convincing social and intellectual exegesis would be just as strong should we accept *The Assembly* as the poem's title and the collective authorship of Pitcairne's acknowledged fellow-travelers in "Episcopalian" science.

Adam Budd, University of Edinburgh

Robert G. W. Anderson and Jean Jones, eds., ***The Correspondence of Joseph Black***. 2 vols. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012. Pp. xiv + 1564.

Although Joseph Black is widely recognized as eighteenth-century Scotland's most distinguished chemist, he has not received the scholarly attention that he deserves. Black's fame rests partly on his discovery of "fixed air," which he announced in the thesis that gained him an Edinburgh M.D. in 1754 and in the lengthy paper which he published a year later in the second volume of the Edinburgh Philosophical Society's *Essays and Observations, Physical and Literary*. Insofar as Black's paper made a fundamental contribution to pneumatic chemistry and served as a methodological exemplar for those who championed the use of quantitative methods and rigorous inductive reasoning in natural philosophy, it is striking that since the appearance of Henry Guerlac's classic article of 1957 and Arthur Donovan's *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1975), little has been written about how Black came to formulate the innovative ideas contained in the publications with which he launched his career. Black is also celebrated for his investigation of latent and specific heats, yet the literature on his seminal researches in the science of heat is not extensive. Pioneering work on the subject was done by Douglas McKie and Niels Heathcote in the 1930s, but only Guerlac and Donovan have subsequently investigated this facet of Black's career in any detail. Black's broader theoretical speculations about the physical nature of heat and the properties of phlogiston have likewise attracted little commentary beyond the ground-breaking discussions of Carleton Perrin and David B. Wilson. And in his contribution to *Joseph Black, 1728–1799: A Commemorative Symposium* (1982), Robert Anderson observed that "at present there exists no satisfactory biography of Joseph Black". Thirty years later, Anderson's comment still holds true. While Anderson's profile of Black in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* is a marked improvement on the old *DNB* entry and on Sir William Ramsay's *Life and Letters of Joseph Black* (1918), we still lack the kind of in-depth biography befitting an enlightened savant of Black's stature.

blematic of the difficulty is a reference to the philosopher Thomas Reid as "John Reid" (p. 242), an error that would have been picked up as a matter of course in a more informed academic environment. Similarly, Raeburn's friend, the pioneer thinker on aesthetics, Dugald Stewart, is primarily mentioned in the book in the context of the export of a portrait of him to America—that is, primarily as a subject rather than as someone whose ideas not only might have informed the artist's practice but might also have been informed by that practice. So while the placing of Raeburn socially and economically is well done throughout, from the perspective of the Scottish intellectual tradition, any such placement is fairly perfunctory. Another example can be found in Nicolas Tromans's chapter, which rejects Duncan Macmillan's reading of Raeburn in terms of the theories of Thomas Reid in favor of his own reading of Raeburn in terms of John Locke. Tromans's view may have merit. Indeed, in the light of the debt of Raeburn's Scottish contemporaries Robert Simson and John Playfair to the thought of Isaac Newton, the influence of those two great English contemporaries, Locke and Newton, on Scottish visual thinking deserves more examination. But the problem is that Tromans implies that Macmillan's position is insufficiently analyzed and then presents little analysis for his alternative. At least he mentions philosophy, but his doing so mainly draws attention to the fact that much work remains to be done in this area. Other examples of this lack of a sense of Raeburn as part of a wider intellectual culture are the almost complete neglect of Henry Mackenzie and Adam Smith. One would have thought that, as Robert Burns put it, "Smith wi' his sympathetic feeling" would have at the very least been a point of discussion with respect to Raeburn's ability to bring out the qualities of his sitters. While writing this review I came across Susan Manning's edition of *Julia de Roubigné*, with its cover showing Raeburn's *Mrs William Urquhart*. Delving into the Introduction, I now realize that Manning chose the image to make just the kind of point about Raeburn, Mackenzie, and sentiment that is absent in this book.

There are, however, some interesting indications of what might be done from such a philosophical perspective. Real insight is given in the concluding paragraph of Sarah Symmonds's comparison of Raeburn and Goya, where she notes that the paintings of both artists "openly tender the…directness of the modern." She underlines this illuminating point by noting that "such courageous techniques expanded the limitations of portrait methodology, investing it with an aura of modernity, which contemporary portraitists have used as a point of departure" (p. 281). This European context for Raeburn's vision finds a philosophical echo in the extraordinary reception accorded to *la philosophie écossaise* in nineteenth-century France, particularly through the agency of Victor Cousin. Some of this has been explored by Duncan Macmillan, but Raeburn's links to *la philosophie écossaise* certainly demand more attention.

Murdo Macdonald, University of Dundee

Archibald Pitcairne, ***The Phanaticks***. Edited by John MacQueen. Scottish Text Society. Woodbridge, UK: Boydell and Brewer, 2012. Pp. lxxii + 247.

Hopefully it is not too bold to suggest that the late seventeenth-century Jacobite physician Archibald Pitcairne (1652–1713) is not usually associated with wit or with theatre (let alone comedy); similarly, James VII is not normally remembered for his patronage of royal colleges in Scotland (let alone the founding of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh). Indeed, to historians of our period, Pitcairne may be remembered less for his own writings than for the telling epithet *Apollo Mathematicus*, awarded to him in 1695, for his various attempts at *curing diseases by the Mathematics*. Yet it is precisely to these neglected yet illuminating dimensions of the lives of Pitcairne and his medical associates, including David Gregorie (1661–1708) and Sir Robert Sibbald (1641–1722), in late-seventeenth-century Edinburgh, that this deeply learned edition calls attention. Apart from John MacQueen's refreshing emphasis on the theological controversies that greeted the publication of Newton's *Principia* in 1687, this edition of Pitcairne's obscure comedy of 1691 (no evidence of a production exists) unpacks Pitcairne's specifically anti-Presbyterian aims, explaining why Jacobites were quick to embrace the "new science" of Newtonian mathematics while whiggish Presbyterians stuck to the syllogistic scholasticism of Aristotle. If ever there were a comic satire that should be studied by intellectual historians of our period, it is this play in this edition.

The 75-page script takes its structure and style from Restoration comedies, but its characterizations are more complex and more concrete than the burlesque abstractions made famous by Aphra Behn, Abraham Cowley, and Sir Robert Howard. Pitcairne's satirical targets meant that his characters were socially specific. Each principal character, despite carrying titles such as Lord Whiggridne, Lord Huffie, and Timothie Turbulent, is "modelled on a living person, well-known to the original audience" [sic] (p. xliv); these, respectively, were: William Crawford (1644–98), president of the Scottish Parliament and scion of a fiercely anti-Episcopalian family; David Melville (1660–1728), a leading Scots Presbyterian exile who landed with William in 1688; and the religiously and spiritually uncertain James Fraser of Brae (1639–99). The aims of the play, in Pitcairne's own words (which MacQueen has located in his own hand), are: "To Represent the Vilanie and follie of the phanaticks...that the Civil Govern-

sometimes criticized as naively optimistic, Wolloch shows that for Gibbon and Enlightenment historians generally, mastery of nature is endemic in human nature and will *inevitably* bring about the progress of civilization.

Wolloch is well aware that, especially during the later Enlightenment, somewhat different views were often expressed in literature and the arts about nature and its cultivation (see pp. 137–42). He rightly acknowledges that Enlightenment historians do not necessarily represent the whole period, though he does in many places identify the views of the historians as those of "the Enlightenment." But the discrepancy between historians and some others working in arts and letters points more importantly to a problem with Wolloch's method. For example, Wolloch quotes with approval a line from Oliver Goldsmith's *History of the Earth, and Animated Nature* (1774): "To subdue the earth to his own use was, and ought to be, the aim of man." Yet this is the same Goldsmith, who, in 1771, could write in the *Deserted Village*:

> Thus fares the land, by luxury betrayed;
> In nature's simplest charms at first arrayed;
> But verging to decline, its splendours rise,
> Its vistas strike, its palaces surprise;
> While scourged by famine from the smiling land,
> The mournful peasant leads his humble band;
> And while he sinks without one arm to save,
> The country blooms—a garden and a grave.

This discrepancy complicates our sense of Goldsmith's attitude toward mastery of nature and points to nuances that Wolloch's method does not take into account. Wolloch relies on the notion of the "Enlightenment in general" (p. xi), according to which he puts together quotations from historians of various nationalities occupying various moments of the Enlightenment without much contextualization either in terms of chronology or of the full breadth of their outlooks. The result is a rather one-dimensional view of his historians' thinking (though he is at his best with Gibbon). Even William Robertson enjoyed the natural environment of the spa at Buxton and could recommend the wild beauty of the pass of Killiecrankie to tourists. These enjoyments do not mean that Robertson embraced primitivism, nor do they invalidate Wolloch's conclusions. But they do mean that Wolloch might have been better served by less broad coverage and more contextualization of the historians covered. This problem is exacerbated by the book's occasional repetitiousness and diffuseness, as familiar ideas are labored and sometimes analysis seems to wander. Yet despite these complaints, Wolloch has written a useful, well-documented study of an important idea—one that is likely to lead to further development as environmental issues continue to gain prominence in eighteenth-century studies.

Jeffrey Smitten, Utah State University

Viccy Coltman and Stephen Lloyd, eds., ***Henry Raeburn: Context, Reception and Reputation***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. Pp. xvi + 388.

This is a substantial and important book which extends discussion of the work of Sir Henry Raeburn into the wider international field. The artist's work is explored under three general headings—context, reception, and reputation—by a number of credible writers: Stephen Lloyd, Viccy Coltman, Helen Smailes, Godfrey Evans, Stana Nenadic, Nicholas Tromans, Philippe Bordes, Robyn Asleson, Sarah Symmons, Matthew Craske, Jordan Mearns, Olivier Meslay, and David Alexander. The book benefits greatly from a mix of art historians and writers with wider historical training and scope of interest. Topics range from Stephen Lloyd's reconsideration of Raeburn's portraiture as a whole to Nicolas Tromans' work on Raeburn's history of exhibiting in London. The book is a treasure trove of interesting material, and every chapter has something to recommend it. A couple of chapters that caught my eye immediately from the "Context" section were Godfrey Evans's "In the Shadow of Jacques Louis David's *Napoleon*: The 10th Duke of Hamilton and Raeburn" and Stana Nenadic's "Raeburn and the Print Culture of Edinburgh," but it seems invidious to single them out. In the "Reception" section I note the interest of both Sarah Symmons's comparison of Raeburn with Goya and Robyn Asleson's consideration of Raeburn in America, while the "Reputation" section yields, *inter alia*, a thoughtful consideration of the significance of Raeburn's portraits of women by Jordan Mearns and an interesting exploration of Allan Cunningham's biography of the artist by Matthew Craske.

There is no sense here of a comprehensive treatment of Raeburn. Part of such a comprehensive treatment must lie, inevitably, in the Scottish intellectual dimension of Raeburn's work, which the book does not address in a thoroughgoing manner. In the interest of full disclosure, I should point out that the editors approached me to provide just such a chapter, but in the event I was unable to do so. The wider point, however, is that this intellectual dimension should permeate the book. The fact that it does not is an indication of the sad state of Scottish cultural awareness within higher education in general rather than the fault of either the editors or the writers, who are indeed helping to reverse the situation. The neglect of the Scottish intellectual tradition has unfortunate effects. Em-

other hand, his biography focuses in great detail on a critical analysis of Witherspoon's ideas, whereas Collins has only a summary chapter on Witherspoon's thought.

The result is mixed. The strength of the book is the author's sharp assessment of Witherspoon's writings on philosophy, politics, satire, and theology. There are two especially good chapters. The first is McGinty's analysis of Witherspoon's *Lectures on Eloquence*, which contains an insightful contrast with Hugh Blair's *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*. The discussion is placed in the context of Professor John Stevenson's class in logic at the University of Edinburgh in the 1730s, which both Blair and Witherspoon attended. The second is the chapter on emigration, which contains new, detailed information on Witherspoon's extensive and successful efforts to promote Scottish emigration to North America in the 1770s.

For the reader, McGinty's strategy creates several problems that far outweigh the volume's strengths. Narrative continuity is largely missing. There are no transitions between the narrative and topical chapters. The topical chapters usually lack historical context and contain a great deal of repetition. Perhaps the best example of the latter fault occurs in the discussion of Witherspoon's relationship with other Founders—Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison—in the two chapters on politics and in much of the chapter on the impact of Witherspoon on Scotland and America. McGinty often belabors his criticisms, repeating a point for several pages when a succinct account would suffice. This tendency results in focusing too narrowly on one topic and neglecting a much broader range of issues, as happens in his powerful critique of Witherspoon's Christology in the chapters on theology and the *Lectures on Divinity*. Furthermore, McGinty sometimes speculates on the reasons for Witherspoon's ideas and actions when he does not have sufficient empirical evidence. This problem is most evident in his critique of Witherspoon's pamphlet *A Serious Inquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage* (1757), where he argues, without any evidence, that Witherspoon's opposition to John Home's play *Douglas* was caused by stressful personal and political problems. In fact, it was a direct response to Adam Ferguson's pamphlet defending Home's play. McGinty often goes off on tangents that detract from the coherence and focus of his account, such as his frequent digressions on Thomas Paine. Lastly, the author does not make good use of, or neglects entirely, basic primary sources—such as Scottish church records, records of the American Revolution, and Witherspoon's complete works— as well as the wealth of secondary works on Witherspoon, all of which are easily accessible. A perceptive editor would have corrected these problems, resulting in a much improved volume.

Roger J. Fechner, Adrian College

Nathaniel Wolloch, ***History and Nature in the Enlightenment: Praise of the Mastery of Nature in Eighteenth-Century Historical Literature***. Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011. Pp. xv + 290.

Taking its place in a line of inquiry reaching back to older studies such as Clarence J. Glacken's *Traces on the Rhodian Shore: Nature and Culture in Western Thought from Ancient Times to the End of the Eighteenth Century* (1967) up to more recent work including Jan Golinski's *British Weather and the Climate of Enlightenment* (2007), this book offers what the author claims is an as-yet unexplored perspective on the relationship of human civilization and the natural environment. Nathaniel Wolloch focuses on the role that nature (in the sense of physical environment) plays specifically in Enlightenment historiography, drawing extensively, though not exclusively, from the Scottish Enlightenment. Wolloch sees nature presenting a challenge to human civilization: in the view of Enlightenment historians, "the most essential precondition for the sustained progress of civilization in general, is the degree to which the control of nature, through cultivation, has been achieved" (p. vii). In four rather loosely organized chapters titled "Cosmology," "Cultivation," Rudeness," and "Barbarism," he examines the idea of the control of nature in the context of some familiar broad themes in Enlightenment historiography. "Cosmology" treats the shift from a religious to a more secular (though nonetheless anthropocentric) outlook on nature, "Cultivation" the issue of the Enlightenment's desire to cultivate natural resources, "Rudeness" the failure to cultivate nature and the place of such backwardness in stadial theory, and "Barbarism Civilized" the way in which the mastery of nature underlies Enlightenment optimism as expressed particularly in the theory of unintended consequences. Always at the core of his wide-ranging discussions is the claim that mastery of nature is the basis of all human civilization. In a passage in the *History of America*, which Wolloch quotes (p. 148), William Robertson acknowledges the vital importance of improvement: "The labour and operations of man not only improve and embellish the earth, but render it more wholesome, and friendly to life. Where any region lies neglected and destitute of cultivation, the air stagnates in the woods, putrid exhalations arise from the waters; the surface of the earth, loaded with rank vegetation, feels not the purifying influence of the sun or of the wind; the malignity the distempers natural to the climate increases, and new maladies no less noxious are engendered." Human life itself depends on mastery of nature, but that fact is a cause for optimism. In an interesting analysis of Gibbon's "General Observations on the Fall of the Roman Empire in the West" in chapter 38 of the *Decline and Fall*, a discussion that is

Empire," where he fosters a more nuanced understanding of their innovative adaptation to colonial frontiers within diverse areas of entrepreneurial or intellectual activity. Imaginatively integrating cultural, demographic, and ethnographic data, MacKenzie demonstrates convincingly that the capacity of Scots to thrive in distant and sometimes alien environments (out of proportion to their numbers in the population) was embedded largely in the character of Scotland itself: central aspects of its civil society, variously manifested, and its religious, ethnical, and educational qualities, with all these implied. Thus (placed in a national context) MacKenzie aptly concludes that the peoples of the British and Hibernian Isles do have to be disaggregated into the "four nations"—Irish, English, Scottish, and Welsh—"in order to understand fully the various pedagogical attainments, skills, and interests, some of them lying deep in longer-standing traditions, that were brought to bear on the British Empire" (p. 175).

Next, studying the metamorphosis of the Highlanders from stereotyped savage barbarians to gallant, loyal soldiers, especially following Waterloo (1814), T. M. Devine argues that this perceptual transformation had been underway already from the mid-eighteenth century: regiments such as the Black Watch, Fraser's, and Gordon's, serving with distinction during the Seven Years War, the American War of Independence, and the French revolutionary conflict. The battalions active, we learn, had a "strong sense of identity based on their distinctive dress, language, common heritage and culture and often on the same name" (p. 183). Together with English units, they constituted the military spearhead of Europe, with concomitant martial renown that in turn served to consolidate a wider notion of "national identity resonating to the present day" (p. 192)—but also cemented the Anglo-Scottish relationship, certainly between 1750 and 1914.

Additional contributions of Scottish uniqueness to the fabric of empire—including its economic, cultural, and religious dimensions—are explored in excellent contributions by Esther Breitenbach, who unravels the productive links between Scottish churches and foreign missions; Devine and MacKenzie in chapter 9, where they illuminate post-Union Scotland's preeminence in numerous transatlantic trades, which furthered substantially the country's own industrial revolution; and Angela Smith, whose insightful essay reveals that Scotland's notable contributions to academic writing and imaginative literature, refracted through the colonial experience, embody a uniquely distinctive approach when compared with their English (in national terms) equivalent (pp. 254–279). Finally, Richard Finlay identifies hitherto unrecognized links between Scotland's national identity, the controversial Union of 1707, and the imperial phenomenon throughout the later nineteenth and much of the twentieth century. His major achievement is to correct the historical imbalance which, for too long, has seen the Scots as hapless victims of overpowering British colonialism (i.e., Tom Nairn, *The Breakup of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, 1981). He does this by relating Scottish imperial activity to the broader *domestic* socio-political context during key periods of expansion—an imaginative approach that deftly clarifies the diverse motives and rationales underlying the imperialist dynamic. Indeed, in clarifying the intricate, mutually reinforcing links between imperial ventures and expanding public cultural awareness, Finlay effectively supplements previous work on elite-populist attitudes toward empire with new perspectives on the interpenetration of national identity and migrant ethnic experiences.

In sum, *Scotland and the British Empire* is a timely, rewarding, and stimulating collection—of great interest to specialists, who will find a great deal to think about in this book, but also to educated general readers on both sides of the Atlantic wishing to gain a richer understanding of the British Empire as a theme in world history, and especially Scotland's central place within it.

K. W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology

J. Walter McGinty, ***An Animated Son of Liberty: A Life of John Witherspoon***. Bury St. Edmunds: Arena Books, 2012. Pp. 433.

J. Walter McGinty's study of John Witherspoon's life and thought is the first full-length biography since Varnum Lansing Collins's *President Witherspoon: A Biography*, the standard account published in 1925. These works have major similarities and differences. Like Collins, McGinty emphasizes the third of Witherspoon's life spent in America (1768–1794), as opposed to the two-thirds of his life that he spent in Scotland (1723–1768). Thus, McGinty misses an opportunity to give a fuller, richer account of Witherspoon's Scottish period, which was so fundamental to understanding his American years. A fundamental difference in their accounts is that while Collins organized his work as a traditional narrative biography, McGinty give us an awkwardly structured mixture of fourteen narrative and topical chapters. Narrative chapters on Parish Minister, President of the College of New Jersey, Politician I: 1768–1776, and Politician II: 1776–1783 are interspersed with topical chapters on Ecclesiastical Characteristics, The Stage, Theology, Lectures on Divinity, Lectures on Moral Philosophy, Lectures on Eloquence, Personal Qualities, Personal Characteristics, Emigration, and the Impact of John Witherspoon on Scotland and America. Another major flaw in McGinty's book is the absence of a narrative chapter on Witherspoon's emigration from Scotland to America in 1768, which plays a key role in Collins's account. To McGinty's credit, on the

John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, eds., ***Scotland and the British Empire***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Pp. xiii + 323.

The volume under review is part of a Companion Series to the highly regarded *Oxford History of the British Empire*, exploring topics not adequately covered in the main series, buttressed by new manuscript research and fresh, innovative interpretations. It seeks, moreover, to develop a more integrated, comparative mode of analysis—one that enriches British Empire historiography by expanding its traditional London-centered focus with the interactive contributions of the so-called "periphery" regions: Ireland, Wales and especially Scotland during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (pp. 26–27).

On all these counts, this book, skillfully edited by two prominent veterans in the field, is a notable success. The quality of the essays, *in toto*, is uniformly high, and the editors are to be commended for giving the volume greater unity and coherence than is usual in multi-authored works, even on a common theme.

The unifying theme here is that an understanding of the deeply symbiotic relationship between Scotland and the British Empire is vital for a clearer appreciation of both Scottish and English societies but, equally, many of the constituent territories of the British Empire, inasmuch as the Anglo-Scottish experience impacted vital elements of their respective growth and constitutional development (a point, incidentally, alluded to earlier concerning the part played by Westminster in Phillip Lawson's 1995 work, *Parliament and the Atlantic Empire*).

The reasons for Scotland's overseas affiliations, its imperial connections—already present before 1707—and what these reveal about the nature of Scottish society, and relations with the empire, is highlighted in the intellectually scene-setting Introduction, which emphasizes that it is "far too simplistic to consider the Celtic fringe as somehow in a quasi-colonial relationship with the central and dominant English power" (pp. 3–4). Scots and English (joined by Welsh and Irish communities) interacted in complex patterns of partnership, giving rise to the British world system.

The Introduction also lucidly surveys the colonial historiography of Scotland, the British state and empire, showing how the devolution of Britain between the 1920s and 1990s rekindled interest in the histories of the various ethnicities of the British and Hibernian isles: how these component elements interacted with the English and with each other, not least through the agency of the British Empire and, finally, how these processes have featured in the scholarly literature of recent years, including migration studies, primarily those of the Scottish and Irish diaspora. Regarding the former, the editors argue persuasively in favor of "difference" over "exceptionalism" from their English contemporaries, to explain the remarkable achievement of Scots around the globe—differences in education, religion, and cultural heritage over other contrastive attributes.

It is this proposition that frames the context of the chapters by Cairns Craig, Angela McCarthy, John M. MacKenzie, and T. M. Devine. In a judicious blend of narrative and analysis, Craig illustrates how the Scottish Enlightenment and its trans-global ramifications arose largely from the distinctive nature of certain aspects of Scotland's institutional life, "which sustained intellectual and disciplinary developments that were unique in their configuration," (p. 11) during periods both of integration and migration, endemic throughout the eighteenth century.

Rather than segregating themselves within the communities in which they were transplanted, Scots aimed to preserve and transmit Scottish values by universalizing and, if possible, institutionalizing them (i.e. colleges in France and Germany), thus gaining acceptance and legitimacy for these in relocational environments (pp. 91–93). A reinforcement factor was the instinctive solidarity of many Scots with marginalized groups ranging across the professions in the new lands in which they settled. Craig provides numerous poignant examples of this pattern worldwide, concluding that the spread of inspired Scottish writings and ideas through many dominions gave "the nation a truly global significance" (p. 112). Indeed, as he emphasizes, the very term "Scottish Enlightenment" did not first circulate in Scotland but was the product of Scottish migration, primarily to America, where Scotland's intellectual heritage provided the generative impulse for America's own social, political, and scientific disciplines. (Jerry Evensky, *Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy*, 2005).

Significantly promoting Scotland's solidarity was the perception of, and engagement with, specific cultural affiliates that differentiated Scots from the English and other contemporaries, a case persuasively made in Angela McCarthy's chapter on "Scottish Migrant Ethnic Identities in the British Empire." Mapping emigration movements, including to those relatively neglected areas outside the imperial mainstream, she shows that in most areas of Scots' migration, ethnic identity—Scottishness *per se*—was perceived and maintained via forms of associational culture (i.e. Caledonian societies, Highland games, music, etc.) as well as personal articulations of identifiably Scottish uniqueness. By illuminating the iconic referents that lend collective identity to Scottish communities throughout the British Empire, McCarthy supplements importantly the studies of Murray Pittock, Angela Smith, and others, and so contributes significantly to the existing body of scholarly literature on the complex nature of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century adjustments to a new life abroad.

So equally does the coeditor, John McKenzie, in his clear exposition on "Scots and the Environment of

torians, who in their turn had left behind (although not entirely) the mythical Scotland of James Macpherson's Ossian.

Parts III and IV incorporate fourteen topics. These include those we would expect to see, and include Stana Nenadic, "Industrialisation and the Scottish People," Alexander Broadie, "The Rise (and Fall?) of the Scottish Enlightenment," Clare Jackson, "Union Historiographies," and Graeme Morton, "Identity within the Union State, 1800–1900." Additionally, there are topics that bear testimony to relatively new but already significant avenues of research endeavor. These include Steve Murdoch and Esther Mijers on "Migrant Destinations 1500–1750," as well as chapters on immigration (Ben Braber), emigration (Angela McCarthy), and empire (Douglas Hamilton and Esther Breitenbach).

The Scotttish diaspora has clearly become a major topic in Scottish history, important not only in itself and as a measure of Scotland's global reach and influence—a "greater Scotland beyond the seas" (p. 181) is Devine's term for this. However, it also helps to ensure that Scottish historians and students of Scottish history look outward as well as within. But does the diaspora warrant four chapters (as many as seven if we stretch the definition, on top of which there is some repetition) in a book of this kind where there is so much ground to cover? It is not obvious why, for instance, between Devine's chapter on the early modern economy, which in this volume ends in 1650, and Nenadic's on industrialization (mainly nineteenth century), there is nothing on the critical issue of Scotland's economic condition in the era of the Revolution and the Union, or on the astonishing transformation of the Scottish economy from the mid-eighteenth century. Instead, the economy is cursorily examined in Karin Bowie's neatly balanced and wide-ranging "New Perspectives on Pre-Union Scotland," while with a much narrower focus Anne-Marie Kilday bravely grapples with the issue of criminality in Scotland.

But this is not intended as a criticism of the younger scholars who, by and large, have stuck to their brief. If on occasion this can become somewhat pedestrian, one of the most rigorous contributions in the book—and indicative of its author's hands-on engagement as a researcher on the topic he has been allocated in this volume—is Gordon Pentland's "Challenges of Radicalism to 1832." In penetrating style Pentland exposes considerable gaps in our knowledge of radicalism (the utility of which term he is inclined to question) and major weaknesses in what he considers to be over-simplistic and under-theorized explanations for the rise and demise of radical "movements" in the period of the French Revolution and its aftermath. Greatly to his credit, Pentland calls not only for greater attention to be paid to the international dimensions of Scottish radicalism but also (and unusually in this volume) for more regional and local studies. Scotland is not simply the big two Lowland cities.

This points to what in a volume of such riches might seem a somewhat churlish observation. On more than one occasion in their Introduction, the editors point to the importance of urbanization in Scotland's modern history. It is disappointing therefore that Scotland's towns prior to about 1800 are largely overlooked, not least as early modern Scottish urban history has seen significant advances over the past three decades. Indeed, our understanding of the economic, cultural, and spatial dynamics and the political, social, and material characteristics of the smaller Scottish towns in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries has in very recent years begun to be transformed through the investigations of Bob Harris and Charles McKean (colleagues of mine I hasten to admit)—who among other things have demonstrated that the experience of Glasgow (no matter the quality of research effort invested in the city's history) is far from typical, notwithstanding its frequent utilization as a proxy for urban Scotland. But it would be wrong to say too much about omissions. The chapter we do have on urban Scotland is Richard Rodger's "The Scottish Cities." As the title indicates, this does focus on the "big four," Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. However in an essay that covers the century to 1914, Rodger sweeps through the main developments and changes, convergences, and contrasts in magisterial style. Cultural history too is lightly represented in terms of specific chapters devoted to it, but on the other hand there is much on culture throughout the book. Religious cultures appear in the very finely observed chapter on reformed religion by Jenny Wormald as well as in Alisdair Raffe's model contribution, "Scotland's Restored and Reshaped Politics and Religion, *c.*1660–1712." Raffe underlines the importance of religion as a divisive force in Scottish society and politics before and after the Union, a theme picked up in Daniel Szechi's elegant chapter on Jacobitism, even if the emphasis here is on Jacobitism's international context. The disapora again. And weren't the Whigs an integral part of Scotland's story too, before and after 1707?

This is a very fine book. Albeit falling short of being a comprehensive guide, this *Oxford Handbook* should find a permanent place on the bookshelves of anyone with a serious interest in Scottish history from the Renaissance, and will for many years provide the best starting point for many of the topics it does include. Presumably Oxford University Press will publish a cheaper version, though; £95/$170 is too much for the intended readership. This is a book that deserves to be bought and read at leisure, not just consulted in libraries. Why are we waiting?

Christopher A. Whatley, University of Dundee

and in what particular circumstances they worked. The procedures, practices, and customs of the court are given both as theory from the style books of their time and as practice from the Session Papers and letters of participants. This methodology brings the members of his communities to life.

Finlay provides a rich selection of contemporary publications and archival materials, including Town Council minutes, correspondence, and Session Papers. The book achieves its goal: to "identify and examine the lives and activities of those who made up the community of the College of Justice in Edinburgh between 1687 and 1808" (p. 1). Finlay's archival research is impressive in its range and provides many details about day-to-day life in the College. The Town Council records, for example, tell us that Bailie McQueen's efforts stopped the Parliament House roof from leaking in 1774 and that the Inner House's walls were painted olive green in 1787 (p. 54). Parliament House was a lively place, and in 1754 the Lords issued instructions to the macers to enforce order by apprehending any "confabulating" people who were disturbing the Court "particularly att the Back of the Benches in the Innerhouse" (p. 187). It was also a place of rivalry and gossip, where skills, character, and appearance were judged and cliques were formed. The "Itch Club," for example, noticed by the future Lord Cockburn and made up of advocates who were "unemployed middle-aged disreputables" met on the west side of the Outer House (p. 252).

A minor complaint: I would have preferred footnotes on each page to endnotes at the end of each chapter. Finlay's notes are informative and deserve to be read alongside the text. Sometimes the sources, especially for the archival and Session Papers materials, are useful in their own right.

This book will be of interest not only to legal and social historians but also to genealogists, who will appreciate the accompanying "index of persons." The appendices giving lists of Edinburgh's town clerks and agents and the leaders of the bar are also full of interest. This comprehensive and detailed study is bound to inspire more research into the fascinating world of the early modern College of Justice. It is erudite but accessible. There is far too much in it for a single reading, and my copy is already studded with post-it notes marking future visits to the fascinating world that it describes so well.

Karen Baston, University of Edinburgh

T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald, eds., ***The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012. Pp. xi + 707.

This is a welcome publication. As Tom Devine and Jenny Wormald rightly emphasize in their succinct, forceful, and sometimes provocative Introduction, Scottish history over the past four decades has flourished as never before. The editors, Tom Devine especially, have played no little part in this remarkable process of national self-discovery and the establishment of Scottish history as a subject of serious inquiry as important as England's, with a distinctive contribution to make to historical studies beyond Britain. Stock-taking exercises have been held during this time, as for example in the shape of the three-volume series published by the Scottish Economic and Social History Society between 1988 and 1992, as well as important conferences held under the auspices of *The Scottish Historical Review* in 1994, 1997, and 2010. What has been achieved is remarkable, especially for the post-1707 period, given that even Scottish historians in the nineteenth century tended to ignore Scotland's post-Union history. Indeed, the editors rightly highlight the remarkable fact that William Ferguson's *Scotland: 1689 to the Present*—published as late as 1968—was "the first ever book length study of the last three hundred years...written by an academic historian" (p. 8). *The Oxford Handbook* is not only a heavyweight publication literally (it is 707 pages long), but intellectually too it is a substantial achievement, pooling as it does the expertise of almost forty scholars (mainly but not exclusively historians) in thirty-six chapters that encompass a host of topics from the early sixteenth century to the present day. Appropriately for a reference book in the Oxford series, contributors were asked to identify controversies, reflect critically on the current state of knowledge, and help shape the field by identifying approaches and issues that they judged most likely to "lift the debate out of excessively worn historical ruts." In effect this was an invitation to look forward and suggest agendas for future research.

Readers of this newsletter will be most interested in Parts III and IV, which survey aspects of two periods, "Union and Enlightenment, *c.*1680–1760" and "The Nation Transformed, 1760–1914." Having said this, I should add that Part I, "Some Fundamentals of Modern Scottish History," should be of interest whatever the reader's specialist period, dealing as the chapters do with issues not easily corralled within narrower time frames. These include Christopher Smout's characteristically insightful, profound, and yet clear discussion of environmental factors that have shaped modern Scottish history—and those aspects of the natural environment that in their turn have been influenced by that history, as for example coal mining and its multifarious consequences, and over-fishing in the North Sea. But there are another six chapters in this section, each of which has its own fascination, not least Colin Kidd and James Coleman's essay revealing the extent to which the Scots' myths about themselves have changed over time. The imagined nation today is not the democratic, Whig–Liberal Presbyterian nation of the Vic-

seventeenth century, (2) Locke on church and toleration, (3) Carmichael and Pufendorf, (4) Fletcher on government and standing armies, and (5) Pierre Nicole and the origin of French political economy. Part II, "The Scottish Enlightenment," has five more essays on (6) the Moderates and the Popular Party, (7) Newtonian method in Hutcheson's *Inquiry*, (8) Hume's early notes and the formation of his economic thought, (9) moral politics in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, and (10) Hume's and Smith's critique of social contract theory. Part III, "European, American and Japanese Enlightenments," has essays on (11) Benjamin Rush and education, (12) Condorcet and Constant reading Smith, (13) Genovesi and the Italian Enlightenment, (14) Möser's critique of the Enlightenment, and (15) Yukichi Fukuzawa's economic thought in the Japanese Enlightenment.

One of the editors states that "this book comes to be the most cutting-edge research accomplishment in this field" (p. 436). This might be true by global academic standards, particularly for Part II, such as essay no. 8 by Tatsuya Sakamoto. All of the contributions surely and properly reflect how widely and deeply Mizuta-san has concerned himself in the research on the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, I, another long-time Mizuta reader, cannot help questioning certain aspects of this book's approach.

For many Japanese intellectuals, Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment have had a special meaning since the Meiji Restoration in the late nineteenth century. Particularly, the *Wealth of Nations* was thought to provide a typical image of modern democratic commercial society. They thought such a society should be an objective target for Japan in a pre-modern agrarian stage. Because of the "absolute poverty" that was prevalent in those days, Marxism substituted for western liberalism in the age of authoritarian ultra-nationalism founded on the exploitation of income from the poor before 1945. It was commonly thought that Smith was the major precursor of the labor theory of value. This historical background still influences Japan's Enlightenment scholarship. All but one of the contributors graduated from economics departments where Marxian economics is still taught simultaneously with neo-classical economics. And Mizuta-san has never made a secret of his Marxism, especially in regard to his interpretation of social and commercial aspects of Enlightenment thinkers. He has been a firm antagonist of the "civic humanist paradigm" and Quentin Skinner's type of historical relativism. Therefore, this Mizuta-commemorating work should have included something related to Mizuta-san's Marxist-based method. In fact, there is no entry on Marxism or Marx in the index. Ironically, the chief editor, Hideo Tanaka, is well known to be a follower of J.G.A. Pocock.

Here is another point to consider. The most famous Meiji man of letters, Fukuzawa, whose face is on the 10,000 yen banknote, once declared to the Japanese in the 1880s: "Leave Asia and enter Europe." Most of the contributors to this book seem to have practiced this slogan: the focus of Japanese Enlightenment scholars has been on translating and introducing classic Enlightenment works from the West as well as books by western scholars of the Enlightenment. But doing this has prevented Japanese scholars from expressing original and unique views on the Enlightenment that western scholars may have missed.

Daisuke Arie, Yokohama National University

John Finlay, ***The Community of the College of Justice: Edinburgh and the Court of Session, 1687–1808***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. Pp. viii + 295.

In *The Community of the College of Justice*, John Finlay explores the world of Edinburgh's influential legal practitioners of the eighteenth century. Although the College had been around since 1532, an act of sederunt of 1687 gave it and the legal practitioners who inhabited it a new structure which defined its membership; this remained in place until 1808, when the court took its two-division form. As Finlay describes, the College was not just a body of legal professionals but also a community of interlinked individuals who depended on each other for business, patronage, and progression. The College was not isolated. Its members played key cultural, social, administrative, and financial roles in the development of Edinburgh as it became a modern urban center.

This book fills a gap in our knowledge about the College and its activities. It offers a comprehensive but succinct description of one of Scotland's most important institutions during a time of change. Historians of law and society will find much of interest: Finlay supplements information from primary and secondary texts with a range of archival sources, some of which have barely been tapped before. His years of research are evident on every page.

Finlay's Introduction puts lawyers in context as privileged members of society linked by kin, marriage, money, patronage, and charity. It also helpfully describes the mechanics of the court. The second chapter describes how members of the College influenced Edinburgh and places them within its physical space. Finlay then divides his communities into groups, with chapters devoted to the Lords of Session, advocates, writers to the Signet, clerks and record keepers, and minor office holders. Each community from the Lords of Session to the extractors and copyists of documents to the keepers of Parliament House had specific roles to play, and Finlay skillfully defines and describes these while also giving individual examples. He reveals not only what people did but who they were

that, proportionally, there were the same number of aristocrats among rejected applicants as from every other social stratum. Similar analyses of the professions represented and of other political functional elites, especially of the complex Scottish legal system, the military, and the academic community, shed light on the Scottish patronage system, which has often been the subject of description, but until now has never been investigated in such great detail. By means of various empirical data collections, Fleßenkämper is able to provide evidence for the first time of the close family relationships among society members, for example, which allows her to differentiate the term "patronage" and make a distinction between clientele relationships, intermediary relationships, and insider relationships (cartels). Armed with this knowledge, she revises the characterization of individual relationships of the society members with one another, which are, in some cases, already known as individual biographical depictions, but are drawn together here to form a tableau of active society life against the background of the specific historical situation in Scotland in the period after 1707.

Insights are also provided into the relationship between the program of the Select Society and its reconstructable day-to-day operation. Fleßenkämper investigates the reality of the society in terms of its principles, such as equality and tolerance, and comes to the conclusion that it is not the phenomenon of deviance which is astounding, but rather the endeavors of the members to adapt the regulations of their own creation to their practicability in an ongoing process. In this communicative process, the author identifies a precursor of the bourgeois emancipation process.

Fleßenkämper also delivers new perspectives on the topics debated within the society. In contrast to previous studies of the Select Society, she analyzes the complete records of the meetings, and can thus significantly extend the boundaries of the questions discussed in the society and allocate them to various fields of knowledge. One finding of particular note is that alongside philosophical and anthropological questions, concrete political and social issues were also discussed, which the author investigates in more detail in a chapter on involvement in questions of public interest. The study concludes with an overview of the branch and subsidiary organizations of the Select Society.

Iris Fleßenkämper's work is an important study of one of the classic Enlightenment societies. It has a sound basis in social history, employs techniques of communication history, and provides a clear modification and extension of our existing knowledge of the structure of the Scottish Enlightenment. At this point, however, it must also be noted that at some stages during the work, a stronger contextualization of the Select Society within society in general would have been desirable. What was the relationship of the Select Society to the traditional institutions of learning, such as the universities? If the patronage system functioned so well, why did David Hume never receive a teaching post? Which persistent forces operated against the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of the society? How did those who were excluded organize themselves? And, of course, it would have been interesting to learn more about the European context of the questions discussed, the prize competitions etc. But these are questions which can be left to the next study of the Scottish Enlightenment, to which this book provides an essential foundation.

Annette Meyer, Munich University (LMU)

Takeshi Sasaki and Hideo Tanaka, eds., ***Enlightenment and Society: Changing View of Civilizations*** (in Japanese). Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2011. Pp. xiv + 448.

This book was published for the commemoration of Professor Hiroshi Mizuta's "Sotsu-Ju," or the Chinese-originated traditional phrase for the celebration of ninety years of age. Mizuta-san ("san": a suffix showing affection/politeness), born in 1919, published his first book in 1954, *The Formation of Modern Individuals.* It is well known that he conceived its main idea by reading the Marxist Franz Borkenau's *The Transition from the Feudal to the Bourgeois World View* (1934) while he was in a concentration camp in Java, Indonesia, toward the end of World War II. Mizuta-san experienced a Japanese radical polity change from totalitarian monarchy to democracy-based constitutional monarchy after 1945. Mizuta-san, then, has been concentrating for a long time on Japan's "real" modernization and democratization both in academic research and political activities. He has never abandoned one of the basic Marxist ideas of the mutual relationship between "superstructure and substructure" for analyzing modern capitalist society. Mizuta-san has always maintained this perspective in his wide range of academic research on Thomas Hobbes, Adam Smith, Karl Marx, and German and French socialist thinkers. He has tried to interpret this line of thought within the mainstream of western radical democracy. Mizuta-san specifically views real democracy as a ceaseless revolution that transcends national and regional borders, and Japan is of course the far-eastern "lands end" for western-originated democracy and revolution.

This book contains fifteen essays by Japanese contributors. All of them have been influenced by Mizuta-san's research on the Scottish Enlightenment and early modern European social thought. The themes are wide-ranging. Part I, "Early Enlightenment," is composed of five essays on the themes of (1) the Irish Problem in the

love existed and, as Barclay writes, "love reinforced male authority and female subordination" (p. 103). It remained nearly impossible throughout the two hundred years to question the meaning of love, for to do so would have challenged patriarchal relationships (p. 108).

Another aspect of change that is central to the book is a shift in the understanding of the marital unit. Barclay shows that the perception of marital identity narrowed from that of an extended family definition of the marital unit to one which focused solely on the conjugal unit. This is a particularly important observation, as extended family had long played an important role in the north in terms of clans, but also in the south through a sense of duty to the extended family (pp. 44–45, 70, 83, 95, 170). Many factors contributed to this evolution, including a developing concept of individualism and growing economic restraints (p. 70).

Some shifts in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that Barclay observes could undergo additional evaluation. For example, she points out that Scottish marital law did not adhere to the idea of coverture, which was an important aspect of the law in England and in some places on the Continent (p. 51). Yet over these two centuries, Scottish letter writers and prescriptive writers leaned more heavily on the idea that, in marriage, man and woman were one. Barclay makes this point in several places in the text (see for example, pp. 113, 118), yet an investigation of how the broader world may be influencing Scottish couples and their ideas is lacking. There are ample comparisons, but analysis of the exchange of ideas is wanting. Considering that Scots spent more time in London beginning with the Union of Crowns in 1603 and increasing with the Union of 1707, that aristocratic Scottish sons were engaging in the "grand tour" by the middle of the seventeenth century, and that Adam Smith and other Enlightenment figures spent time outside Scotland, one wonders how Scotland's changing place in the world influenced this shift in ideas on marriage.

Readers wishing to understand the evolution of elite Scottish marriage will find Barclay's book very helpful. She provides detailed explanation of the intricacies and peculiarities of Scottish marriage as well as helpful comparisons of elite marriage in Scotland and its changing language with the same in England, North and South American colonies, as well as numerous continental states. These comparisons often highlight important differences on topics such as female participation in negotiations for marriage (p. 86), consummation and marriage validity (p. 52), and male infidelity (p. 138). Barclay's examination of the types of marriage as an institution in Scotland and of letters as historical sources, as well as her gift for demonstrating change over time, are sure to satisfy both the student and the researcher anxious to find out more about gender and the adaptive nature of patriarchy in Scotland.

Kathy Callahan, Murray State University

Iris Fleßenkämper, ***Considerations, Encouragements, Improvements: Die Select Society in Edinburgh 1754–1764. Soziale Zusammensetzung und kommunikative Praxis einer schottischen Gelehrtengesellschaft zur Zeit der Aufklärung***. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010. Colloquia Augustana, vol. 27. Pp. 399.

In scholarly circles, consensus has long been established that the term Enlightenment cannot be used to define a group of famous thinkers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Since the 1960s at the latest, the Enlightenment has been seen as a phenomenon which can only be understood through its social structures, media, institutions, and particularly its forms of communication. It is thus hardly surprising that associations are a popular subject of research, as several phenomena come together here and allow for a more detailed description of what Habermas has called "the structural transformation of the public sphere." This is also true of the Scottish Enlightenment, which owes this label to the close exchange and high degree of organization on the part of its members. Virtually no other eighteenth-century group—perhaps with the exception of the *Encyclopédistes*—drew as much attention in terms of being a case study for sociology of knowledge. Key studies in the history of science, the history of knowledge, and intellectual history are based on the association landscape of the Scottish Enlightenment. It is therefore astounding that the most illustrious of these societies, the Select Society in Edinburgh (1754–1764), has not yet received appropriate attention in a monograph. This gap, however, has been filled by the dissertation by Iris Fleßenkämper who, as the subtitle proclaims, has investigated the "social composition and practice of communication of the Scottish respublica litteraria in the age of the Enlightenment." This work not only provides German readers with a general introduction to the social history of the Scottish Enlightenment but also manages to deliver more in-depth insight into the structures of the learned society and to dispel several popular misconceptions, some of which date back to the period itself.

Due to an elaborate prosopographic process, in which the data on the persons in question were analyzed according to a range of different aspects, Fleßenkämper is able to show not only how large the proportion of aristocrats in the society was, for example, but also the percentage of aristocrats among those applicants refused admission to the society. The rather unsurprising fact that the aristocratic proportion of 27.6 percent among members was well above the aristocratic proportion of the general population is contrasted with the intriguing revelation

vision) in part to the ways in which the Trossachs can stand in for "The Highlands," sometimes very specifically, sometimes with little sense of the actual location. Murdo Macdonald considers artistic representations of the Trossachs, particularly the work of J.M.W. Turner. Macdonald shows that Scott was part of a wider group of interdependent writers and artists who revisioned the Highlands in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He emphasizes Scott's (and Turner's) status as European artists, a point implicitly echoed by Ian Thompson's study of Scott's influence on Jules Verne.

Several essays, including Ian Brown's Introduction, consider issues of cultural imperialism relevant to Scott and to literary tourism. Michael Newton surveys the thriving Gaelic literary traditions of the Lennox and Menteith. He notes that while Scott's footnotes to *Lady of the Lake* acknowledge borrowing certain narratives and motifs from local native traditions, the poem claims to give voice to an area that has become silent, which effectively undermines the authority of Gaelic culture to speak for itself. As seen in David Hewitt's reading of *Rob Roy*, however, Scott was well aware of the costs of "improvement." Hewitt identifies *Rob Roy* as an "imperial novel" which raises questions about the marginalization and oppression of indigenous peoples in the interests of commercial growth. Dorothy MacMillan finds that one of the distinguishing features of the pre-Scott travel writings about the Trossachs by Dorothy Wordsworth was her effort to give a voice to the real lives of local people. William Wordsworth's imaginative experience of Highland people depended on retaining a sense of mystery; Dorothy credited them with a life independent of her imaginings.

Although some of these essays are more in the nature of surveys of existing scholarship than original research, all are insightful and thought-provoking. They are, perhaps necessarily, brief, which is sometimes frustrating. It is possible to quibble with some of the production aspects of the volume: there are a few too many typos or missing periods; font sizes occasionally change; and more seriously, some citations are incorrect. Nonetheless, these essays work together to place Scott and his imagining of the Trossachs into several useful contexts, while also pointing to valuable future avenues of research.

Katherine Haldane Grenier, The Citadel

Katie Barclay, ***Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850***. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011. Pp. viii + 256.

The history of gender is among the most neglected topics in Scottish history. Rosalind Marshall has been one of the most prolific contributors to the field beginning with her 1972 work, *The Days of Duchess Anne*. Recently, feminist scholars such as Rosalind Carr, Katharine Glover, and now Katie Barclay have made important contributions toward gaining a better understanding of gender in Scotland. Barclay's *Love, Intimacy and Power: Marriage and Patriarchy in Scotland, 1650–1850*, winner of the Women's History Network Book Prize in 2012, explores the adaptive nature of patriarchy in the context of marriage.

Family letters provide the major source for Barclay's investigation. Barclay samples letters from sixty-five elite families (one hundred couples within those families), both titled and untitled. This list includes several relations of, for example, the Dukes of Hamilton, the Earls of Leven, and the Clerks of Penicuik. The majority of the letters come from the extensive holdings at the National Archives of Scotland in Edinburgh; sampling proved necessary since the numbers of available letters of some families run into the thousands. She also examines various Enlightenment tracts, legal writings, and prescriptive literature in order to contextualize her findings. Central to the analysis is an understanding of patriarchy and how it evolved over the two-hundred-year period. For her argument's foundation, and to define patriarchy, she draws heavily from a variety of fields, including history, sociology, and philosophy.

One of the strengths of this outstanding monograph is the author's ability to demonstrate change over time. While marriage law remained relatively unchanged over the long period, there were, according to Barclay, profound shifts within the conjugal unit itself, and patriarchy demonstrated its elasticity as a system by adjusting to ensure that the power of men remained secure. Successive chapters explore courtship, love, intimacy, family finances, and abuse, highlighting subtle shifts in language found in letters over the long period under examination. For example, in chapter 4 the author explores the construct of patriarchy in marriage by examining the meanings of words such as love and obedience in both letters and other contemporary works. In seventeenth-century law and popular culture, she finds that love was best expressed through actions and promises of actions, not in emotional terms. Men provided "provision and protection of their wives" and wives, as a demonstration of their love, behaved obediently (p. 103). These ideas found reinforcement in letters from the period. In the eighteenth century, with the emergence of the ideas of sensibility, she finds evidence of a concept of "romantic love," but gender-normative behaviors (provision and obedience) remained consistent, though they were less likely to be overtly discussed (pp. 109–112). As the nineteenth century moved forward, emotional descriptions of love gave way to self-control, as emotion was now viewed as a weakness (p. 118). Just as in the previous periods, actions proved that

Both of these collections are absolutely top notch. Each features a veritable "who's who" of Romanticists, especially ones oriented to Scottish studies. The *Scott Companion* contains primarily thematic essays, covers all phases of Scott's career, and features chapters penned by Ina Ferris, Ken McNeil, Ali Lumsden and Ainsley McIntosh, Caroline McCracken-Flesher, Catherine Jones, Sam Baker, George Marshall, Tara Ghoshal Wallace, and Alex Dick, in addition to Duncan and Robertson. Their topics range from the recurring but shifting roles of Jacobites in Scott's novels (McCracken-Flesher), to Scott's treatments of wartime (Baker), religion (Marshall), and money (Dick). Additionally, two chapters are devoted to Scott's under-analyzed but incredibly popular verse productions: one, by McNeil, on *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, and another, by Lumsden and McIntosh, which treats his major narrative poems.

The *Hogg Companion* contains a larger number of individual essays, each somewhat shorter than their Scott-ish counterparts, and split more evenly between thematic and generic categorizations. Its list of contributors is equally impressive, and it includes a few who display loyalties divided enough to write for both *Companions*—for which extra credit is certainly due! In addition to its editors, the *Hogg Companion* features Valetina Bold and Suzanne Gilbert (the latter also writes a single-authored chapter), Peter Garside, Gillian Hughes (twice), H. B. de Groot, Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson, Caroline McCracken-Flesher, Silvia Mergenthal, Kirsteen McCue, Fiona Wilson, Meiko O'Halloran, John Plotz, Graham Tulloch, and Penny Fielding. Topics in the *Hogg Companion* range from Hogg's travels in the Highlands (de Groot) and his near-reckless participation in Edinburgh's booming periodical culture (Hughes) to his challenging literary representations of gender and sexuality (Mergenthal) and career-long engagement with poetry (Wilson). Special attention is of course paid to his best-known text, *The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner*, in separate essays by Fielding and Hughes.

These two *Companions* are brilliant feats of critical, anthological engineering. They are perfectly accessible and appropriate for undergraduate use; furthermore, if my experience is anything to judge by, more seasoned veterans of Scottish studies in the long eighteenth century will also find much to admire in them. I honestly cannot imagine more useful volumes, or more necessary ones, on these subjects. Kudos are due not only to the editors and contributors, but to Edinburgh University Press for creating a series of *Companions* that are handsomely constructed and affordably priced, and that draw much-needed attention to the Scottish authors and genres frequently overlooked by the older Cambridge series of *Companions*. I plan to place my *Edinburgh Companions* side-by-side on my bookshelf, confident that in these textual embodiments at least, Scott and Hogg will enjoy in their literary afterlives the easy camaraderie they could never quite sustain during their fleshly existences. As William Blake says, "Opposition is True Friendship."

Evan Gottlieb, Oregon State University

Ian Brown, ed., ***Literary Tourism, The Trossachs and Walter Scott***. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2012. Occasional Papers series, No. 16. Pp. v + 169.

It is well known that the 1810 publication of Walter Scott's *The Lady of the Lake* made the Trossachs a major tourist destination and stimulated the imaginations of a variety of writers, artists and, eventually, filmmakers. As Jim Alison points out in this collection of essays, the accumulation of creative responses to the Trossachs makes the region a fertile site for exploring the aesthetic, psychological, and commercial intersections between representation and reality. That, in part, is the task of this small but well-integrated compilation. Coming from several disciplinary perspectives, the chapters assess the historical and artistic context of *The Lady of the Lake* and, to a lesser extent, *Rob Roy*. The essays also explore the Trossachs' role in the development of "Romantic Scotland" and investigate Scott's influence on the creative impulses of others.

While it is frequently argued that "Scott invented Scotland," Tom Furniss, Alastair J. Durie, and Nicola J. Watson emphasize that the Trossachs were far from unknown among tourists in the 1790s. Furniss traces the influence of Rev. James Robertson's 1794 entry on Callander in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, and finds that Robertson was the first to celebrate the landscape of the area. It was Robertson who suggested the standard tourist route from Callander to Loch Katrine, and he may also have written the earliest guidebook of the locale. Watson explores the ways in which *The Lady of the Lake* built on that existing interest through Scott's use of the genre of the guidebook. The poem took over "the prevailing aesthetics of scenery-description" (p. 59), and its characters and narrative modeled key aspects of the tourist experience. *The Lady of the Lake*, she argues, activated in readers a desire not just to read but to take the poem to Loch Katrine with them. The experience of tourism around the Trossachs acted as a "materialization of text" (p. 64). Over time, as other essays show, the Trossachs came to encapsulate "Romantic Scotland." Reviewing the experiences of several writers and artists between 1785 and 1885, Alison notes that the Trossachs became Scotland's first National Park partly because of the area's role in Scotland's cultural heritage. David Manderson similarly attributes the region's frequent depiction in film (and tele-

ing of Scottish Romanticism avoids the familiar emphases on political anxieties stirred up by the threat of Napoleonic invasion. Instead, Gribben points to the cosmopolitan elements of Scottish Romantic writing, providing a close examination of poetry by Burns and Robert Blair, novels by Galt, Hogg, and Scott, criticism by James Maxwell and Edward Irving, to show that Romanticism in Scotland was informed by theological developments among Scottish students in Geneva (among them Robert Haldane) as well as among Moderates and Evangelicals at home. "The principal literary figures of the Romantic movement," Gribben observes, "were already attuned to the stylistic and thematic opportunities offered by religious belief," and Scottish writers were particularly sensitive to them: "Scottish Romantic writers continued to draw upon the confessional legacies they inherited," within a wider intellectual context (p. 121). Like Kirsteen McCue, whose insightful chapter reads Scottish song through Continental traditions, both Stafford and Gribben locate the special receptiveness of Scottish authors to broader cultural and intellectual currents.

The contributors share Pittock's concern for the development of Scottish identity within specifically British political and material contexts, and they are quite right to identify Scottish absorption of pan-European developments in politics, literature, and ideas. Yet, as Richard Cardwell and others have pointed out elsewhere, and at length (Cardwell is cited just once here), the Scottish authors discussed in this volume were themselves read widely in Europe and America; the focus here on Romanticism *in* Scotland invites further research in the reception of this material abroad. Readers will come away from this volume primed for appreciating the cosmopolitan dialogue of literature and ideas with Scotland across the seas.

Adam Budd, University of Edinburgh

Ian Duncan and Douglas S. Mack, eds., ***The Edinburgh Companion to James Hogg***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. Pp. xii + 188 pp.

Fiona Robertson, ed., ***The Edinburgh Companion to Sir Walter Scott***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012. Pp. xii + 195.

James Hogg and Walter Scott competed, sometimes cordially and sometimes otherwise, throughout their lives. How fitting, then, that the near-simultaneous publication of these two fine *Edinburgh Companions* allows them to continue their competition in the literary afterlife! As referee of this particular match, I hereby declare a provisional winner in each of the following (thoroughly arbitrary and mostly superficial) categories:

Best Paperback Cover Portrait: Hogg, for its modernist painting by John Bellany. The Ettrick Shepherd looks appropriately mischievous, and more than a little cranky, as he nominally watches over three of his wooly charges while peering into the distance out of the corners of his half-shut eyes.

Most Concise Chapter Title: Scott, for the final chapter by Nicola Watson, entitled simply "Afterlives." In fewer than twelve pages, Watson helpfully surveys the wild swings of Scott's reputation, from the days immediately after his death to the recent mushrooming of memorial, Scott-related plaques in Kelso and elsewhere.

Best Acknowledgments: Hogg, for its dedication to the volume's co-editor, Douglas Mack, who passed away in late 2009. Like many others, I benefited enormously from his erudition, humor, and generosity. He will be missed.

Most Citations of Slavoj Žižek: Scott, for a single citation in Ian Duncan's chapter on "Late Scott." Duncan finds a wonderful resonance between Scott's description in "The Two Drovers" of the private satisfaction Robin Oig takes in his Highland birth, and Žižek's theoretical account of national identity as one of those secret "Things" that, by virtue of its necessarily incomplete manifestation, seems to be what the Other has always already stolen from us.

Best One-Liner: Hogg, for John Plotz's pithy opening statement in his chapter on "Hogg and the Short Story": "In the story of the short story, James Hogg has perpetually found himself out of place, out of time, and surprisingly out of luck" (p. 113). The rest of Plotz's chapter repeatedly reminds us why this is such a shame, and why Hogg's innovative, absorbing short fiction deserves a much wider readership than it currently generally finds.

Coolest Epigraph: Scott, for Fiona Robertson's recycling of an unattributed epigraph from chapter 9 of *Saint Ronan's Well*, Scott's habitually overlooked novel of contemporary manners: "We meet as shadows in the land of dreams, / Which speak not but in signs —" (quoted on p. 93). Robertson subsequently juxtaposes statements by William Wordsworth and Scott regarding their shared interest in "passions" that have been "agitated," to explore how the Author of Waverley was, in his own way, as interested as the co-author of *Lyrical Ballads* in the movement of emotion and affect both within and between social subjects.

As you can see, this is a championship bout that could potentially go on forever unless it is called. And so—with the score conveniently tied—I will cease this award-giving frolic, and conclude in a more traditional reviewing format.

with its own claims to literary status." The importance of the fragment is not purely literary, however, as the concluding essay, by one of Scotland's most important contemporary artists, demonstrates. For Calum Colvin, the *Poems of Ossian* offered "the possibility of a fragmented body of work, part historical, part cultural narrative," which related directly to his own artistic method of creating "photographic artworks."

The volume that begins with Gaskill's personal response to *Ossian* concludes with Colvin's retrospective reflection on his astonishing series of images, *Blind Ossian I–IX*, which formed a major exhibition in 2002. Although the reproductions in the volume are in black-and-white, the haunting face of Ossian among the broken standing stones retains its power. In Colvin's essay, the themes of this volume are filtered through the consciousness of the individual artist, who seizes cultural fragments and expands them "into their own epic." The task is personal, aesthetic, technical, intellectual, political, national, and crucially, unfinished. As Colvin acknowledges, "for me the Ossian project was an intense, complicated, open-ended journey, and it remains so." In his hands, epic and fragment, past and present, literary and visual come together, to create something new and yet weirdly recognizable. *Ossian* is, it seems, as inspirational in the twenty-first century as it has ever been.

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Murray Pittock, ed., ***The Edinburgh Companion to Scottish Romanticism***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011. Pp. 250.

This is an unusually strong collection of short essays that addresses the historical, theoretical, and poetical concerns that define the literature of Scottish Romanticism. Since each of the sixteen contributors evaluates the critical traditions that shape the study of Scottish Romantic novels, poetry, and criticism, this book provides a fine reference for upper-level undergraduates and postgraduates. Indeed, there's an encouraging sense here—from the contributors' cogent style and their citation of each other's recent publications—that Scottish Romanticism yields fertile ground for further study. Yet, as Murray Pittock declares in his "Introduction: What Is Scottish Romanticism?," a key aim of this volume is "to demonstrate the basis for its title by theorising Scotland's claim to the possession of a national Romanticism," and this trenchant justification will enable specialists to profit from this book, too (p. 1). Pittock has marshaled an international team for this volume, from both sides of the Atlantic, the Channel, and the Tweed. One comes away with a refreshing sense that students are enjoying a renaissance of interest in Scottish Romanticism, and that, at last, critics have worked through the "deep recession in the reputations of writers such as Burns and Scott who had previously been regarded as colossal" before "the purveyors of 'Scotch myths'" had fueled a fanaticism that seemed to preempt serious attention.

Unlike many edited multi-author volumes intended to introduce and develop a given field, the contributors sustain their quality throughout; this is not an eclectic collection. A shared focus of these essays concerns the relationship between the intellectual aims of the Scottish Enlightenment and the creative literary expression of Scottish Romantic authors, specifically James Macpherson (Fiona Stafford), Robert Burns (Nigel Leask), John Galt (Angela Esterhammer), James Hogg (Peter Garside), Lord Byron (Brean Hammond), and Walter Scott (Caroline McCracken-Flesher and Fernando Toda). This interest in the relationship between intellectual and creative production also informs the chapters on associated genres, including balladry and chapbooks (Steve Newman), song and lyric poetry (Kirsteen McCue), urban space (Ian Duncan), periodicals (Alex Benchimol), travel writing (Matthew Wickman), and sermons (Crawford Gribben). This focus allows the contributors to examine the philosophical and literary self-consciousness of those generations of Scottish authors who lived and wrote in the newly cast shadows (or well-worn lights) of the Enlightenment writers whose popular works had redefined Scottish national identity among British readers in particular.

Fiona Stafford's lively chapter, "Romantic Macpherson," discusses the importance of aesthetics in the development of Romanticism in Scotland: here, fierce landscapes that emphasize the mutability of weather, sound, and light exist within a literary tradition indebted to the imagery of biblical allusion. By the turn of the century, while Wordsworth and Coleridge were struggling with the anxiety of influence, Macpherson's readers in Scotland relished both *Ossian*'s exoticism and its familiarity. For this reason, Stafford sees Macpherson anticipating Blake by nearly two generations. Stafford proceeds to survey the appeal and rejection of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; her chapter is particularly compelling when she suggests that current readers may find fruitful comparisons between Walter Benjamin's modernist preoccupation with the artistic reassembly of broken shards of earlier wholes and Macpherson's intriguing presentation of his *Ossian* as a restoration of fragmentary texts to its "original purity" (p. 34). This comparison could help us understand the cultural and intellectual contexts that inform the poet's "melancholy" project: just as Macpherson's poet mourns the loss of the ancient bard whose work was then whole, Benjamin defines the modern age through its ruined cities and broken myths.

Crawford Gribben's innovative discussion of the theological contexts that informed the writing and read-

Oxford University, the work is heavily documented.

Jones's citations from reviews and non-fiction prose remind us of Smollett's broad range of interests, which will be a surprise to those who know the man only from his novels. Not since James Basker's 1988 volume on Smollett's work on the *Critical Review* have we been exposed to such an impressive review of Smollett's concerns. Yet the argument to enroll Smollett among the Scottish philosophers seems inconclusive, deserving of a distinctive Scottish judgment: "not proven." Smollett's achievement, in fiction, history, and criticism, divorced from his homeland, can stand on its own.

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Gerald Bär and Howard Gaskill, eds., ***Ossian and National Epic***. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2012. Pp 314.

"What happens to nationalism, though, when it is translated?" Landeg White's question might serve as an epigraph to this new volume of essays, brought together by two scholars who have devoted a great deal of energy and expertise to the question. Gerald Bär and Howard Gaskill, whose respective work on Portuguese and German translations of *Ossian* enables the treatment of transnationalism with the dual authority of comparative linguistics and literary history, have assembled a collection of essays that is individually and cumulatively thought-provoking. From the practical challenges of translation addressed by White, who reflects on his translation of *The Lusiads* and the problem of altering Camões's highly adjectival style into one suitable for a modern English-reading audience, to Peter Hanenberg's exploration of the complicated, far-reaching workings of epic in modern Germany via Kleist's drama, *Die Herrmannsschlacht*, the question of whether a poem's "nationalist fervor" can be "remotely interesting to non-specialist readers of other nations" is answered again and again. The volume ranges from eighteenth-century Scotland to nineteenth-century France, Finland, Italy, Germany, and Portugal, to twentieth-century Greece, Spain, Germany, Portugal, and back to contemporary Scotland; it even includes a far-reaching comparative account of "ancient deeds" as recalled in Greek, Germanic, Scandinavian, Christian, Indian, and Chinese mythological traditions. But as Gauti Kristmannsson points out in his incisive discussion of the essential need for an epic in so many national literatures, James Macpherson not only appropriated the Homeric form for his own country but also "created the idea of such a translation for all others who need an epic for their identity." This is a collection with much to offer anyone working in translation, nationalism, identity, or genre studies. But since readers of this society are probably most interested in Ossian and Scottish identity, this review focuses accordingly.

For those who, like me, have already benefited so much over many years from Howard Gaskill's remarkable work, one of the highlights will be his beautifully judged opening essay, "Why Ossian?" For here, the volume's broader intellectual concerns are traced back to a deeply personal response to the poetry, as first encountered in the pages of Goethe's *The Sorrows of Werther* by the schoolboy, Gaskill, newly fluent in German, in the Preston public library. The editor's straightforward statement of his personal admiration for "the powerful pathos and beauty of the language" brings to mind the traditional purposes of literature and scholarship, all too often in danger of disappearing under the dazzling light of theory or the weight of contextual researches. This is not to suggest that there is anything naïve about the approach—Gaskill's personal opinion of *Ossian* is also that of the world's most knowledgeable Macpherson scholar—but it helps to recall what is essential to so many of the areas covered in the volume: the powerful response of a sensitive reader to poetry. What the poetry might say to an individual varies according to time, taste, and circumstances, but its force is undeniable—as these varied essays demonstrate.

Ossianic translations are not restricted to language; the collection includes essays on generic and visual exchanges as well. The fate of epic in a self-consciously modern society is exhaustively explored by contributors alert also to the closely related rise of mock-epic, whether in the form of parody, cartoon, or material culture: Bär's essay on the topic concludes with a memorable photograph of the Fingal Restaurant in Lisbon. A similar mixture of wit and seriousness is to be found in Joep Leerssen's entertaining piece on "Ossian's dress sense," which examines depictions of ancient bards in eighteenth-century paintings and engravings. Whether Joseph Cooper Walker's Irish Bard is so much more vigorous and youthful than Macpherson's blind, white-robed Celt is perhaps open to debate, but Leerrssen's antiquarian erudition gives immense authority to his important argument for a polygenist rather than monogenist understanding of cultural evolution. Despite its much-discussed demise, the formidable stature of the epic poem can still prove a debilitating burden for modern writers, as is clear from Katerina Karakassi's essay on modern Greek poetry. That even Homer was subject to some post-Ossianic rebranding is nevertheless apparent too, in Sebastian Mitchell's essay on Macpherson's translation of the *Iliad*.

The very variety of the essays in the volume collectively demonstrates both a paradoxical fluidity of genres and a persistent need for some version of national epic since the eighteenth century. Claude Rawson's magisterial account of the shifting fortunes of the poetic "fragment," from its fraught relationship with the disappearing classical epic to the foundations of modernism in *The Waste Land*, reveals the generally under-acknowledged importance of *Ossian* to English literary tradition—as the major source for "the emergence of the fragment as a genre