EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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MONTREAL BECKONS

ECSSS will hold its next conference with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the Hotel Delta Montréal, 15–18 October 2015. The theme is "Revolutions in Eighteenth-Century Sociability." The conference will be hosted by the Université du Québec à Montréal (with the support of the Stewart Museum and the Macdonald Stewart Foundation), and organized by Pascal Bastien of that university. The plenary talks, sponsored by the Coeur des sciences of the Université du Québec à Montréal, will be delivered by ECSSS past-president James Moore, Professor Emeritus at Concordia University, and Pierre Serna, Université Paris-I Panthéon-Sorbonne.

The conference will begin on the evening of Wednesday 15 October with a reception and will extend to the conference banquet on Saturday evening 18 October. Participants will be encouraged to visit (at no charge) the Stewart Museum on St Helen's Island, Parc Jean-Drapeau. A concert will be presented on Friday evening at the Chapelle historique due Bon-Pasteur. For further details on the program, registration, and accommodations, go to the conference website at http://csecs2014.uqam.ca.

LA SORBONNE, C'EST MAGNIFIQUE!

ECSSS's conference at the Sorbonne last summer, co-sponsored by the International Adam Smith Society and brilliantly organized by Jean-François Dunyach of the Centre Roland Mousnier, was one of our best ever. Focused on the theme of "Scotland, Europe and Empire in the Age of Adam Smith and Beyond," it began on 3 July 2013 with afternoon tours of the Sorbonne. The formal "welcome" occurred late that afternoon in the historic, newly renovated Amphithéâtre Richelieu, with welcoming words from Centre Roland Mousnier director Denis Crouzet, Jean-François Dunyach, ECSSS president Deidre Dawson, and IASS president Ryan Patrick Hanley. Then Emma Rothschild of Harvard University delivered the opening plenary address on French and Scottish military connections and empire. This was followed by an elegant reception and buffet dinner in the adjoining Salle des Autorités, where the assembled body was addressed by Sorbonne president Bartholomew Jobert. Over the next three days, there were twenty-four regular panels on various aspects of the main conference theme, on Adam Smith, and on other topics relating to eighteenth-century Scotland. There were also two further plenary lectures: by Michael Biziou of the University of Nice on Kant and Smith as Critics of Hume's Theory of Justice, and by Nobel Prize winner Amartya Sen of Harvard University on Smith and Hume's Critiques of Imperialism. Other highlights included an evening vocal concert by the Sorbonne Scholars, an afternoon of Paris museum excursions at the Musée Carnavalet and Musée Cognacq-Jay, a reception and buffet at the Maison du Val d'Aoste, and the conference dinner at the historic Le Procope, Paris's oldest restaurant.

Our warmest thanks to Jean-François and his dedicated staff, to Denis Crouzet, and to everyone else who made our Paris conference so enlightening and enjoyable!

READYING FOR ROTTERDAM

For the fourth time in its history, ECSSS will be meeting with the International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies (formerly called the International Enlightenment Congress), this time in Rotterdam, The Netherlands, 26–31 July 2015. The theme of this Congress is "Opening Markets, Trade and Commerce in the Eighteenth Century." As we did at Bristol in 1991, Dublin in 1999, and Montpellier in 2007, ECSSS will once again hold a "conference within the congress" at Rotterdam, and proposals for panels, round tables, and individual papers are now invited for that purpose, to be sent to the executive secretary of ECSSS by 1 December 2014 (see the enclosed Call for Papers, soon to be posted on the ECSSS website at www.ecsss.org). As in the past, all participants register for the congress

in the usual way (www.ISECS2015.com). Please note that the issue of timing is important, because ECSSS must present its program to the congress organizers by the end of 2014.

One special feature of the Rotterdam conference can be announced at this time: Rob MacKillop, master of the eighteenth-century Scottish wire-strung "guittar," will perform with Jelma Amersfoort of Amsterdam. We are hoping that they will perform "Twelve Divertimentis for the Guittar" by the eighteenth-century Scottish composer James Oswald—possibly a world premiere!

And keep in mind these future dates for ECSSS conferences:

31 March–3 April 2016: with ASECS in Pittsburgh (tentative)

Summer 2017: University of Glasgow

DAICHES–MANNING FELLOWSHIP NEWS

An annual fellowship in honor of David Daiches and Susan Manning, jointly sponsored by ECSSS and the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, was announced in our last issue. The fellowship provides US$3000/£1800 for two to six months of study in residence at Edinburgh University's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, which both David and Susan served as director.

2014 was the first year of competition for this fellowship. There were ten excellent applicants, but unfortunately the selection committee—Mark Towsey (chair), Deidre Dawson, and Craig Smith—could select only one of them. This year's winner is Dr. Clarisse Godard Desmarest, lecturer in British studies at the University of Picardie Jules Verne in Amiens, who will be in residence at IASH from August to November 2014, studying "Women and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." Congratulations, Clarisse! We would also like to acknowledge the support of Earhart Foundation, which is providing ECSSS with a grant to cover our share of the fellowship funding in 2014.

In order to fund this award after 2014, ECSSS has established a Daiches–Manning Fellowship Fund at the University of Edinburgh. Thanks to your donations, coupled with an exceedingly generous matching grant from an anonymous member of the society, we currently have more than £14,500 in the fund. This is a great start, capable of funding a portion of ECSSS's share of the fellowship from annual interest. But to make the fellowship self-sustaining, and to take full advantage of the anonymous donor's pledge of £5000 in matching funds beyond what has already been given, we need to raise at least £15,000 more from members and friends. Please give generously, either to ECSSS (by check or by PayPal.com, ecssspp@gmail.com) or by credit card directly to the Daiches–Manning Fellowship Fund at the University of Edinburgh (http://www.donate.ed.ac.uk/singlegift?destination=Daiches-Manning-Fell).

ECSSS AT ASECS

Thanks to the organizing enterprise of ECSSS president Deidre Dawson and Jan Swearingen, ECSSS made an impact at the meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Williamsburg, Virginia, on 20–22 March 2014. Deidre's panel on "The Reception and Influence of Scottish Arts and Letters in Europe and America" began the action on the morning of Friday 21 March, with papers by Kwinten Van de Walle on James Thomson, Arun Sood on Burns and abolitionism, Amanda Johnson on Thomas Jefferson and James Macpherson, and Adam Miller on Adam Smith, Equiano, and representations of the British empire. After a luncheon co-sponsored by ECSSS and the Irish Studies Caucus, Jan's panel on "Scotland in Virginia: Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy and Religion" featured talks by Steve Longenecker on Shenandoah Valley Presbyterians and Andrew Black on John Witherspoon, James Madison, and the new rhetoric, with a response from Amanda Johnson. Of course, many other ECSSS members participated in the meeting, and there were two panels on Adam Smith sponsored by our friends at the International Adam Smith Society.

Check the ASECS website this summer for news about participating in ECSSS panels being organized by Anita Guerrini and Andy Greenwood at the ASECS meeting in Los Angeles, 19–22 March 2015.

ECSSS AT BSECS

ECSSS vice president Mark Towsey presided over the society's first-ever panel at the annual meeting of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies on 10 January 2014. Titled "Pleasure, Entertainment and Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," the panel featured papers by Rosalind Carr on "Pleasure, Passion and Prostitution in Enlightenment Edinburgh;" Vivien E. Williams on "Scottish National Identity Expressed through the National Instrument: The Bagpipe in the Eighteenth Century;" and Sarah McCaslin on "Associational Culture and National Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." Comments by the respondent, Paul Tonks, rounded out this fine session.

WORLD CONGRESS OF SCOTTISH LITS

Excitement is building for the First World Congress of Scottish Literatures, which will meet at the University of Glasgow on 2–5 July 2014. Murray Pittock, Rhona Brown, and a large team of scholars on the advisory board and conference steering committee (including

ECSSS members Corey Andrews, Gerry Carruthers, Leith Davis, Ian Duncan, Nigel Leask, Liam McIlvanney, Pam Perkins, Rick Sher, Fiona Stafford, and Chris Whatley) have contributed to shaping this important event.

ECSSS will sponsor two panels at the Congress, both commemorating distinguished past presidents of the society. First, a Susan Manning Memorial Panel on "The Scottish Enlightenment in Regions and Nations" will be chaired by Ronnie Young and will include presentations by Deidre Dawson, Andrew Hook, and Pam Perkins. Then a Ken Simpson Memorial Panel on "The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture" will be chaired by Ralph McLean and include presentations by Catherine Jones, Sandro Jung, and Alexander Broadie. All the presenters at these ECSSS panels are contributors to the book on the Scottish Enlightenment and literary culture that Ronnie and Ralph are editing for publication in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Studies book series—Ken Simpson had been the lead editor until his death, and his name will remain in the credits in tribute to all the contributions he made.

Additional eighteenth-century panels featuring ECSSS members include "The Burns Scotland Panel" (Stafford, Leask, and Carruthers), "Robert Burns Revisited" (Elizabeth Kraft and Corey Andrews), "Sounds and Images" (Vivien Williams and Murdo Macdonald), "Sir Walter Scott and the Presence of Place" chaired by Caroline McCracken-Flesher, "Scottish Balladry" chaired by Steve Newman, "Writing the Union" chaired by Chris Whatley and featuring Daniel Szechi, "Rethinking the Historical Novel" (Ian Duncan), "Scottish Literature in the South Seas" (Liam McIlvanney), "Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Scottish Drama and Theatre" (Gioia Angeletti), "Pastoral" (Nigel Leask), "Tracing Scottish Literature in the Diaspora" (Leith Davis and Liam McIlvanney), "The Burns Federation Panel" (Bill Dawson), and "Theories of Enlightenment" (Evan Gottlieb).

FERGUSON SYMPOSIUM AT ABERDEEN

On 28 February–1 March 2014 a two-day colloquium took place at the University of Aberdeen on the theme "Ferguson After the *Essay*." Sponsored by the Research Institute of Irish and Scottish Studies (RIISS), the colloquium brought together established scholars and graduate students from around the U.K. to focus attention on neglected themes in Adam Ferguson scholarship, especially his work after publication of the *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767), including later manuscripts, correspondence, and his 1783 history of the Roman Republic.

Alexander Broadie gave the keynote address, "Adam Ferguson on Greece, Rome and the Fragility of Civil Liberties," highlighting the contemporary relevance of Ferguson's creative blending of martial and civic humanist values. Craig Smith elaborated on Ferguson's sensitivity to the interplay of descriptive and normative claims in his writing of history; Xandra Bello focused on issues of method in Ferguson's historiography; Jack Hill elucidated Ferguson's evolving understanding of divinity; Michael Brown examined issues of oratory and rhetoric in Ferguson's pedagogy; and Anna Plassart illuminated Ferguson's "stand alone" perspective on the French Revolution. David Allan's closing keynote address, "'People Who Live Long Like Me Must be Content to be Last': Multiple Fergsuons Beyond the *Essay*," expanded on the reception of Ferguson's work at home and abroad.

There was general agreement that the symposium, which also provided numerous opportunities for informal discussions over food and libations, was an unusually stimulating and congenial event. Indeed, the ground was prepared for fresh research on Ferguson, including the implications of his writings for ethics and responsible citizenship in the contemporary era, social scientific methodology, the writing of history, the understanding of religious transcendence in the Scottish Enlightenment and beyond, the teaching of moral philosophy, the analysis of political forces, and the reception of Ferguson in North America.

Craig Smith, University of Glasgow

Editor's Note: The symposium was organized by Jack A. Hill, the 2013–14 Fulbright-Scotland Visiting Professor (Distinguished Chair) at the University of Aberdeen. Jack's award was sponsored by the US-UK Fulbright Commission and the Scottish government. Michael Brown, Interim Director of RIISS, assisted with planning and coordination.

COMMON SENSE IN SCOTLAND

"Common Sense Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment" was the topic of the annual conference of the British Society for the History of Philosophy, held at the University of Edinburgh, 7–9 May 2014. Organized by ECSSS member Brad Bow, it featured plenary talks by two ECSSS members: Paul Wood, "The Reception of Scottish Common Sense Philosophy in Britain, 1764–1793," and Gordon Graham, "Scottish Common Sense Abroad." Thomas Ahnert, Jan Swearingen, and James Harris were among the other speakers.

RELIGION IN SCOTLAND

Under the able direction of its director, Gordon Graham, the Center for the Study of Philosophy at Princeton Theological Seminary held a stimulating conference on "Religion in the Scottish Enlightenment" on

14–16 March 2014. Participating ECSSS members included Ryan Hanley, who gave the opening plenary lecture on "Adam Smith on the Natural Principles of Religion," and Colin Heydt, who spoke on "The Problem on Natural Religion in Smith's Moral Thought." A round table on "Adam Ferguson on Religion" featured Katherine Nicolai on "Ferguson's Rational Arguments," Jack Hill on "A Non-Sectarian Aspect," Eugene Heath on "Ferguson's Morals: Metaphysics, Moderation, and Vigour," Mike Kugler on "Adam Ferguson Latitudinarian," and Matthew Arbo on "Religious Science and 'Communication with the Supreme Creator'." In another panel, Jan Swearingen spoke on "Christian Stoicism and Calvinist Providentialism" and Richard Sher discussed "James Beattie and English Episcopalianism in Late Eighteenth-Century Scotland."

INSTITUTE OF INTELL HIST AT SA

The University of St Andrews website boasts of having "one of the largest concentrations of intellectual historians in the world." So it seems only natural that the university has founded an Institute of Intellectual History in order to take advantage of its strengths in this area. The director is Richard Whatmore, and there are four associate directors, including ECSSS members James Harris and Colin Kidd. Established SA intellectual historians David Allan and Roger Mason are also involved, and the International Board includes ECSSS members David Armitage, Mark Goldie, David Lieberman, Nick Phillipson, J.G.A. Pocock, and John Robertson, who delivered the institute's inaugural lecture on "Sociability between Natural and Sacred History, 1650–1800." Other talks this spring were delivered by Gerard Carruthers on "Robert Burns and the Excise Service" and Colin Kidd on wide-ranging themes from Hitler and Aristophanes to the SNP. Honorary professorships have been given to Knud Haakonssen and to Donald Winch, whose archives are housed at the institute, along with the archives of Istvàn Hont (in whose name the institute has designated a prize in intellectual history) and James Burns, and James Mill's common place books.

For further information about the institute, go to its website at www.intellectualhistory.net.

HISTORICAL SCOTS THESAURUS

A new research project has recently begun at the University of Glasgow to create a pilot *Historical Thesaurus of Scots* (PHiTS), which will contain information on over eight centuries of Scottish life as seen through the language of Lowland Scotland. This will be the first thesaurus of Scots to be organized along historical lines, and the first comprehensive resource for Scots to be arranged according to synonymy and semantic category. It is a partnership with Scottish Language Dictionaries (www.scotsdictionaries.org.uk) and will be based on data from the online *Dictionary of the Scots Language* (www.dsl.ac.uk), which covers Scots from the earliest records to the present day.

The Arts & Humanities Research Council has awarded funding for a pilot phase of the project, running from January 2014 until March 2015, after which further funding will be sought to create the full thesaurus. In the pilot phase, the project will focus on selected subject domains which are rich in Scots vocabulary—such as sports and games, food, and weather—in order to produce a working subset of the thesaurus which will be made available online by the end of the project.

More information on the PHiTS project is currently available at http://scotsthesaureus.org.

Susan Rennie, University of Glasgow

BURNS CHRONICLE IN GOOD FORM

The *Burns Chronicle* has returned to being a single annual publication, now attracting substantial articles of interest to the wider Burnsian community. The 2014 issue contains the first publication of a transcription of Robert Burns's Second Commonplace Book in its entirety, edited by ECSSS member Bill Dawson, who also edits the periodical. In circulation since 1892, the *Burns Chronicle* is published by the Robert Burns World Federation: www.rbwf.org.uk.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

World traveler **Chris Berry** lectured in Chile and all over China, and conducted a special seminar in Milan, in 2013; in March 2014 he gave a series of lectures in Japan...After receiving his PhD from Edinburgh U. in 2012 with a thesis on Dugald Stewart, **Brad Bow** had a postdoctoral fellowship at IASH, held a fellowship at the Huntington Library, and then returned to Edinburgh U. in 2013–14 as a teaching fellow in Enlightenment history; now comes word that as of September Brad will be assistant professor of history at Yonsei U., Underwood International College in Seoul, South Korea, joining **Paul Tonks**, who has been on leave from Yonsei this year at the Institute of Advanced Study in the Humanities at Edinburgh U...**Michael Brown** is now interim director of the Research Institute for Irish and Scottish Studies at the U. of Aberdeen...**Rosi Carr** spent three months in 2013 in Sydney, Australia, working on a study of men's responses to violence in colonial spaces...**Dan Carey** organized an October 2013 conference at Columbia U. on "Travel, Science, and the Question of Observation, 1580–1800"...we managed to miss that **Greg Clingham** was promoted to the John P. Crozer Chair in English Literature at Bucknell U.; Greg spent spring

2013 as the J. D. Fleeman Fellow at St Andrews U... **Bill Dawson** spent several weeks this spring doing research at the U. of South Carolina as an Ormiston Roy Fellow...**Kay Doig** and the late Dorothy Medlin's edition of André Morellet's *Mémoires sur le XVIIIe siècle et sur la Révolution* was published in Paris in 2013...ECSSS's leading musical couple, **William Donaldson** and **Ruth Perry** of MIT, celebrated their marriage in 2013...**Denis Drosos** was promoted to professor at the U. of Ioannina...we should have mentioned earlier that in 2010 **Vivienne Dunstan** completed a U. of Dundee PhD thesis on "Reading Habits in Scotland circa 1750–1820"...**Jean-François Dunyach** received a CNRS fellowship for research travel in 2014...**Roger Emerson**'s biography of the third Duke of Argyll (reviewed below) was awarded the Saltire Society's Scottish History Book of the Year award for 2013...**John Finlay** is now professor of Scots law at Glasgow U...ECSSS member-at-large **Andy Greenwood** has accepted an assistant professorship in music at Southern Illinois U. Edwardsville, outside St. Louis...**Kathy Grenier** became head of the history department at The Citadel in 2013...**Anita Guerrini** has been elected chair of the history and philosophy of science section of the American Association for the Advancement of Science for 2014–15... **Knud Haakonssen** accepted a long-term fellowship at the Max Weber Centre for Advanced Study in Erfurt, Germany; Knud was also elected a fellow of the British Academy and honorary professor in the new Institute of Intellectual History at the U. of St Andrews... in fall 2013 **Sören C. Hammerschmidt** moved to Phoenix to teach English at Arizona State U...**Jack Hill** spent much of the 2013–14 academic year as the Fulbright-Scotland Visiting Distinguished Professor at the U. of Aberdeen...**Colin Kidd** honors ECSSS past-president **Nicholas Phillipson** in an article titled "The Phillipsonian Enlightenment" in a recent issue of the journal that Nick co-founded, *Modern Intellectual History*...**Làszlò Kontler** has finished a book on William Robertson and is serving as pro-rector for Hungarian affairs as well as overseeing the development of the social sciences and humanities at Central European U...**Tony Lewis** reports that an exhibition he helped to curate at the Kelvingrove Museum in Glasgow, "How Glasgow Flourished, 1714–1837," will be on view until mid-August, featuring more than one hundred objects that have never been displayed before...**Jeff Loveland** is now professor of romance languages at the U. of Cincinnati...our beloved **Susan Manning**'s last book, *Poetics of Character: Transatlantic Encounters 1700–1900*, was published in 2013 by Cambridge U. Press...**Philippe Massot-Bordenave** has completed his doctorate at the U. of Toulouse with a thesis on "Adam Smith: Voyages en France (1764–1766): Voyageur impartial, spectateur invisible," soon to be published in book form...**Minakshi Menon** has been awarded a postdoctoral fellowship for 2014–15 by the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin, to work on her book on British naturalists in colonial India...**Andrew Noble** has been awarded a Leverhulme Emeritus Fellowship for a work in the United Islands book series "Poetry and Song in the Age of Revolution"...**Shinji Nohara** moved to the U. of Tokyo in April 2014 as a lecturer in economics and will research the Adam Smith library held there; in 2013 Kyoto U. Press published his book *The Origins of Modernity in Adam Smith*...**Toshiaki Ogose** has retired from his professorship of economics at Kobe U....**Murray Pittock** was scheduled to be a keynote speaker at a symposium in early June on "Transcending Oppositions in Scottish Culture" at the U. of Porto, Portugal...on the occasion of his 90th birthday and the completion of volume 6 of his *Barbarism and Religion*, **J.G.A. Pocock** was honored in early May at the Folger Shakespeare Library, where he co-founded the Center for the History of British Political Thought; the speakers included ECSSS members **David Armitage** and **John Robertson**...**Philipp Rössner** is on a two-year leave from the U. of Manchester on a Heisenberg Fellowship awarded by Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft for research at the U. of Leipzig...**Patrick Scott** has received an NEH Summer Stipend to work on John Wilson, Robert Burns, and 18th-century Ayrshire...**Paul Scott**'s latest book, *Scotland: A Creative Past, an Independent Future*, was published by Luath in January...**Hideo Tanaka** has published a number of new works in Japanese, including *What Is the Scottish Enlightenment?*...ECSSS vice president **Mark Towsey** is now editor of the journal *Library and Information History* as well as the recipient, with partners in London and Chicago, of a grant from AHRC to set up an international research network on community libraries during the long eighteenth century...new member **Vivien Estelle Williams**—research assistant for **Kirsteen McCue**'s project on Burns's choral settings, **Gerard Carruthers**'s AHRC-funded project on editing Burns, and **David Shuttleton**'s projection on the consultation letters of William Cullen—received her PhD from the U. of Glasgow in December 2013 with a thesis on "The Cultural History of the Bagpipe in Britain, 1680–1840"...**David Wilson** is now professor emeritus at Iowa State U...**Jonathan Yeager** has been promoted to a tenure-track assistant professorship at the U. of Tennessee Chattanooga...**Bill Zachs** received a much deserved honorary doctorate from the U. of Edinburgh in 2013, celebrating his enormous contributions to the development and display of eighteenth-century Scottish studies.

Some Unpublished Correspondence of James Beattie, 1759–1769, including a Passage on Hume and Rousseau

By R.J.W. Mills
University of Cambridge

Thirty-three original and partially unpublished letters to and from the poet and philosopher James Beattie (1735–1803) are among the papers of Beattie's biographer, Sir William Forbes (1739–1806), in the National Library of Scotland, Fettercairn Papers, Accession 4796, box 250. The letters run from 20 August 1759, the final year of Beattie's stint as under-master at Aberdeen Grammar School, to 26 October 1769, when Beattie completed the manuscript of his *Essay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth* (1770). Some scholars may already be aware of these letters. However, their archival location and details of their full contents are not included in the key reference works on Beattie: Roger Robinson's invaluable four-volume *The Correspondence of James Beattie* (2004) and ten-volume edition of *The Works of James Beattie* (1996), and James Fieser's useful five-volume *Scottish Common Sense Philosophy: Sources and Origins* (2000). Similarly, the letters have rarely, if ever, been cited. The most likely reason why they are unfamiliar to most Beattie scholars is that their location in box 250 of the Fettercairn Papers is not in numerical sequence with the rest of the Beattie manuscripts, located in boxes 91–100. Similarly, there is no mention of the link between box 250 and the earlier Beattie items in the Fettercairn Papers inventory (www.nls.uk/catalogues/online/cnmi/inventories/acc4796.pdf), which identifies the content of box 250 somewhat vaguely, as "'Life of Beattie', 18th century." Thus, this article provides some contextual background on these letters as well as a summary of the contents of their unpublished sections. It also discusses some of the unpublished passages that may be of special interest to ECSSS members, and reproduces one of them.

The letters are interleafed within an incomplete draft manuscript of the first 151 pages of volume one of Sir William Forbes's two-volume *An Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie* (1806). The draft contained in box 250 is quite likely continued by the draft contained within box 91, which corresponds to pages 162–209 in Forbes's first volume. Thirty of the thirty-three letters in box 250 are written by Beattie to a variety of correspondents, including Sir William Forbes himself, the Scottish banker and merchant Robert Arbuthnot (1728–1803), the Aberdeenshire poet Rev. John Ogilvie of Midmar (1736–1819), the English poet Thomas Gray (1716–1771), the blind Edinburgh poet Thomas Blacklock (1721–1791), the Jacobite Charles Boyd (1728–1782), Beattie's former student James Williamson (1743–1813), the Edinburgh lawyer and Marian controversialist William Tytler (1711–1792), and Beattie's sister Jean Valentine; three are addressed to Beattie from his friend John Gregory (1724–1773), then a professor of medicine in the University of Edinburgh. Forbes published two of these letters in their entirety in his biography of Beattie (nos. 9 and 11 in the list below) and extracts from most of the others. One of the letters, from Beattie to Arbuthnot, 22 January 1762 (no. 5 in the list below), remains entirely unpublished. Extracts from two other letters from Beattie to Forbes, dated from 19 April and 24 May 1769 (nos. 30 and 31 in the list below), were conflated together in the published biography. As the extracts from these letters were published by Forbes under the date 19 April 1769, the 24 May 1769 letter is in a sense also "new."

In most cases Forbes omitted large portions of the letters in box 250. Unaware of their location, Roger Robinson conjectured that the separation of these letters from the main body of the Beattie manuscripts in the Fettercairn Papers may have occurred because their contents were particularly sensitive, and for this reason the letters were potentially of great interest to historians of Beattie and the Scottish Enlightenment (Robinson, Introduction, *Correspondence of Beattie*, vol. 1, p. xii). The reality is less exciting. The history of the Fettercairn Papers deposit in the National Library of Scotland suggests that their separation was not a deliberate act on Forbes's part but rather a decision made sometime in the second half of the twentieth century. Forbes's editorial approach to these new letters is no different from the items published in Robinson's *Correspondence*, and they evince the same variety of motives behind Forbes's omission of certain sections. Compliments, invitations, and news of friends and family were excluded as a matter of course. The avoidance of duplication was also a factor: a number of the unpublished sections repeat themes in other letters that Forbes did include. In other instances Forbes may have been trying to protect Beattie's reputation, as in the case of passages on the Hume–Rousseau affair, Beattie's dealings with booksellers in London, and his complaints about the limited cultural life of Aberdeen.

The list below identifies all thirty-three letters in box 250 and provides brief notes on their unpublished content. It also gives the relevant number of each letter in Roger Robinson's calendar of Beattie's correspondence in volume one of the *Correspondence of James Beattie* (CJB), as well as page numbers in volume one of Forbes's *Account of the Life and Writings of James Beattie* (ALWJB).

1. To John Ogilvie, 20 Aug. 1759 (*CJB* 8; *ALWJB* 38–46): Criticism of contemporary female education and manners.

2. To Robert Arbuthnot, 26 Feb. 1760 (*CJB* 9; not in *ALWJB*): Paragraph on potential new servant (WF's transcription is in NLS Acc. 4796, box 93).
3. To Robert Arbuthnot, 18 Aug. 1760 (*CJB* 10; *ALWJB* 54–55): Closing compliments to friends.
4. To Robert Arbuthnot, 24 Oct. 1761 (*CJB* 13; *ALWJB* 56–57): Elegy-writing and B's elegy for Lady Erroll; qualifying statement about B's judgment of Rousseau's *Nouvelle Eloise*; news of acquaintances.
5. To Robert Arbuthnot, 22 Jan. 1762 (not in *CJB* or *ALWJB*): Continuation of discussion in letter of 24 Oct. 1761; anger at London booksellers; news of acquaintances; short poem described as "The Peterhead Verses."
6. To Robert Arbuthnot, 29 Mar. 1762 (*CJB* 14; *ALWJB* 57–60): News of acquaintances; critical reception of *Fingal* (1761) in London and Scotland.
7. To Robert Arbuthnot, 28 Dec. 1762 (*CJB* 17; *ALWJB* 64–65): Proposed second edition of B's *Original Poems and Transactions* (1760); anger at London booksellers; desire to be acquainted with the bookseller Robert Dodsley.
8. To Robert Arbuthnot, 12 Dec. 1763 (*CJB* 27; *ALWJB* 67–69): Apologetic comments about quality of draft "Essay on Poetry;" news of acquaintances.
9. To Thomas Gray, 30 Aug. 1765 (*CJB* 39; *ALWJB* 71–72) [Full transcription published in Forbes.]
10. To Sir William Forbes, 7 Dec. 1765 (*CJB* 45; *ALWJB* 73–75): Brief mention of acquaintances.
11. To Thomas Blacklock, 15 Jan. 1766 (*CJB* 48; *ALWJB* 76–78) [Full transcription published in Forbes.]
12. To Sir William Forbes, 30 Jan. 1766 (*CJB* 49; *ALWJB* 78–81): Dealings with publishers over *Poems on Several Subjects* (1766); desire to attack contemporary skeptics ("Acc. 4796 Box 91" in pencil in modern hand.)
13. From John Gregory, 1 Jan. 1766 (*CJB* 47; *ALWJB* 83–84): Lack of communication about proposed new edition of B's *Poems on Several Subjects*; promise to discuss critical reception of B's writings; irritation about the appearance of a pirated edition of Gregory's *A Comparative View of the State and Faculties of Man* (1765).
14. To Sir William Forbes, 18 Sept. 1766 (*CJB* 59; *ALWJB* 84–87): Complaints about health. List of reasons why B should not attempt a translation of Tasso's *Jerusalem*; reading T. H. Crocker's 1755 translation of Ludovico Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1532).
15. To Thomas Blacklock, 22 Sept. 1766 (*CJB* 70; *ALWJB* 88–89): Complaints about health; suspicion about honesty of London publisher William Johnston.
16. To Charles Boyd, 16 Nov. 1766 (*CJB* 63; *ALWJB* 92–95): Compliments on Boyd's poetry; lyrical musing on British mountains; deleterious effect on mind due to working on metaphysics.
17. To Sir William Forbes, 8 Jan. 1767 (*CJB* 69; *ALWJB* 95–99): Thanks to Forbes; comment on health; flattering comments on Forbes's drawings; lengthy comment on the Rousseau–Hume affair.
18. To Robert Arbuthnot, 2 Mar. 1767 (*CJB* 70; *ALWJB* 100–1): Finances of the Widows Fund; *Essay on Truth* draft read to Mrs. Arbuthnot and Mrs. Mary Hepburn; anger at failure of bookseller William Johnston over sale of B's *Poems on Several Subjects* (1766); news of acquaintances.
19. To Thomas Blacklock, 20 May 1767 (*CJB* 74; *ALWJB* 102-3): Transport of Blacklock's diploma awarded by Marischal College; desire to be introduced to [Joseph] Spence; dislike of social life in Aberdeen; desire to be with friends in Edinburgh; Blacklock's puff piece for B's *Poems* in the *Scots Magazine*.
20. From John Gregory, 16 June 1767 (*CJB* 75; *ALWJB* 105–7): Request that B soften the vehemence of prose in draft of the *Essay on Truth*.
21. To James Williamson, 22 Oct. 1767 (*CJB* 84; *ALWJB* 108–9): Mockery of Hume's skepticism; playful inquiries into Williamson's researches in natural history; news of acquaintances; anger at immorality of the theatre.
22. To William Tytler, [c. 1767] (*CJB* 2071a; *ALWJB* 116): Early version of B's poem "The Hermit."
23. From John Gregory, 1 Jan 1768 (*CJB* 88; *ALWJB* 110–11): Compliments; comments on acquaintances.
24. To Sir William Forbes, 17 Jan 1768 (*CJB* 90; *ALWJB* 111–13): Hyperbolic compliments; plans for B to publish Edinburgh edition of Thomas Gray's poems ("Acc. 4796 Box 91" in modern hand).
25. To Robert Arbuthnot, 25 Feb. 1768 (*CJB* 94; *ALWJB* 113–15): Inquiry about whereabouts of B's "Ode to Lord Hay" and three prints B purchased that Arbuthnot was responsible for; news of acquaintances; limited pleasure of writing philosophy.
26. To Jean Valentine, 27 Mar. 1768 (*CJB* 96; *ALWJB* 116–17): Letter to his sister about financial affairs and needs of their mother following the death of their sister Mary, with whom their mother was living.
27. To Thomas Blacklock, 1 July 1768 (*CJB* 100; *ALWJB* 118–20): State of B's *Minstrel*; sends draft of B's "Discourse on the Permanency of Moral Sentiment."
28. To Charles Boyd, [Jan. 1767] (*CJB* 68; *ALWJB* 121–28): Rousseau–Hume affair; actions of Horace Walpole.
29. To Thomas Blacklock, 9 Jan. 1769 (*CJB* 112; *ALWJB* 129–38): Alexander Ross's use of words peculiar to the Aberdeenshire dialect; B and Blacklock's health.
30. and 31. To Sir William Forbes, 19 Apr. 1769 (*CJB* 123; *ALWJB* 139–43) and to Sir William Forbes 24 May 1769 (not in *CJB*; *ALWJB* 139–43) [Forbes published extracts from these two letters but described them as being only from the April letter.]: 19 April: failings of Christian apologetics; character of John Hawkesworth; low expectations about William Robertson's *History of the Reign of Charles V* (1769); finalizing of the *Essay on Truth* and the planned second volume; fears about whereabouts of manuscript of *The Minstrel*. 24 May: health complaints; views on the Douglas inheritance case, especially the bad poetry it has inspired; inappropriateness of systematizing in theology; extended study unpleasant and unprofitable; Forbes's epitaph to his father.
32. To Sir William Forbes, 4 Aug. 1769 (*CJB* 134; *ALWJB* 145–46): Owen Ruffhead's *Life of Alexander Pope* (1769)

misplaced; manuscript of the *Essay on Truth* sent to Forbes.

33. To Sir William Forbes, 26 Oct. 1769 (*CJB* 143; *ALWJB* 148–51) [Copy in amanuensis's hand, original not present]: Dealings with London booksellers; B wants Dilly as publisher of *Essay on Truth*.

One of the most interesting unpublished passages in these letters is transcribed below from Beattie's letter to Forbes of 8 January 1767 (no. 17). Here Beattie offers his views on the conduct of the recent affair involving Hume and Rousseau, the contents of Hume's *A Concise and Genuine Account of the Dispute between Mr. Hume and Mr. Rousseau* (1766), and the way the affair was being discussed in Aberdeen.

I am sorry for the animosity which has arisen between Rousseau and Hume; for I fear neither party will gain much credit by it. But I cannot be of the opinion of almost every body here; and elsewhere too I believe, that the conduct of the latter is altogether irreproachable; and I am not a little proud to find your sentiments similar to my own in this matter. Mr Hume certainly did a good thing in befriending and patronising the illustrious stranger; I will do him the justice to believe that he was wholly disinterested in so doing: but in his way of going about it he seems to give countenance to the opinion of those who say that he is utterly destitute of sagacity in regard to characters. For this however I blame him not; it is a natural defect, and he cannot help it. But how can I avoid blaming him for the method he has taken to vindicate himself—I should rather say, to take vengeance on his antagonist! For there is much of vindictive asperity, much of ungenerous sarcasm, and much of cruel though specious insinuation, in his defence; which is a proof to me, that to vindicate himself was only a part of his intention. A heart of exquisite sensibility, like that of Rousseau, is open to many impressions and emotions which a man of mere intellect like D. Hume is not capable of conceiving. Men who want delicacy (and the generality of men are of this kind) are glad of an opportunity of ridiculing that quality in others; and I see Mr Hume endeavours all he can to make a jest of Rousseau's delicacy. This puts one in mind of the fable of the fox and grapes; for it is very evident from the whole of Hume's writings that there is not one particular of it in his constitution. This temperature of mind is peculiarly obnoxious to the resentment of an Intellectual philosopher; for there is something in it which is altogether beyond the reach of metaphysicks, something which cannot be explained by any of the technical terms or acknowledged distinctions, something in a word which continually gives the lye to every systematic treatise of human nature.

Rousseau's misfortunes do certainly far exceed the measure of any imprudence he can be charged with. Driven from his own country and hunted about like a wild beast, the innocent victim of literary envy and of clerical vengeance, it is no wonder that a mind like his should become suspicious and fearful; it is no wonder that it should be ever driven to distraction. Who would not commiserate the lot of such a person? Yet it seems there is one, who incapable of pitying him, takes occasion from some exceptional parts of his conduct, which evidently proceed from a disordered mind, to persecute him in his last retreat, and hold him up to the laughter and contempt of those strangers, among whom as his last resource his hard fate compels him to seek protection.

D. Hume, notwithstanding his having done what in him lay, to overturn every thing that is sacred among men, is now in the meridian of glory, caressed, admired, flattered and pensioned. The case is very different with poor Rousseau, who though once in every mental accomplishment, except prudence, very far superior to his rival, has never been able to acquire a competence of fortune, or even a peaceful and secure retreat. It is said that prosperity hardens the heart, and Mr Hume's conduct seems to justify this saying.

But is not M. Rousseau ungrateful? Mr Hume wants to prove that he is ungrateful, and at the same time insinuates that he believes him to be now and always to have been disordered in his judgment. Is not this notable conduct in one who pretends to be a moralist? He says also that such books as Rousseau writes might very well have been written by a madman. But I fear, Mr Hume, the world will not take this upon your word; and as they will not admire him the less, so neither will they admire you the more for this malignant and invidious insinuation. If D. Hume believes Rousseau to be disordered in his judgment, he ought neither to laugh at him, nor to persecute him, but to pity him. In a word, Mr Hume may argue, and Voltaire may sneer; but it is not possible for a generous mind not to pity Rousseau, not to hate his persecutors.

I fear, that Mr Hume, in a preface to the French edition of his *Defence*, has thought it necessary to expatiate in praise of his own generosity, and to mention his patience under the attacks of Fanaticism as a proof of it. Truly it is a hard case, when a philosopher's virtue becomes so problematical as to need arguments to prove it; it is harder still when those arguments happened to be equivocal and inconclusive. Some ingenious men have proved unanswerably, that many of Mr Hume's principles are absurd and much of his logick sophistical; he made no answer, because he had none to make; and this seems is a proof of his generous temper. Far be it from me to run into personal invective; I should not have spoken of Mr Hume's virtue, if he himself had not introduced it into general conversation. I have heard of several unequivocal instances of his generosity, for which I honour him; but I will not believe him altogether generous with regard to Rousseau, till he publish a second vindication very different from the first.

I am sure you will not be offended with the freedom of these reflections; I love to speak what I think, especially to friends.

This passage, along with another much shorter one in the letter to Charles Boyd of January 1767 (no. 28), suggests that Beattie believed Hume to be a popular figure in Aberdeen who was seen to have acted in an "irreproachable" manner in his dealings with Rousseau. Beattie's belief in the pervasive popularity of Hume in Aberdeen raises questions about the interpretation—persuasively argued in N. T. Phillipson, "James Beattie and the Defence of Common Sense," in *Festschrift für Rainer Gruenter*, ed. Bernhard Fabian (1978), 145–54—that Beattie's *Essay on Truth* was the work of a provincial philosopher responding angrily to the damaging skeptical philosophy popular in Edinburgh and the indulgent response to it by those in positions of influence. Both letters were written while Beattie was completing a draft of his *Essay on Truth*, a work which notoriously treated Hume with dogmatic vehemence and ill-humor. One of the main messages of the extract above is that Hume, cold-hearted and revengeful toward Rousseau, was unjustly receiving the plaudits of the inhabitants of Aberdeen. The letter's focus on the failings of Hume's moral character is continued in Beattie's *Essay on Truth*, a work intended precisely to open the eyes of those who were condoning or praising the skeptical philosopher to the reality of Hume's bad character.

In the extract Beattie assumes the role of defending Rousseau's reputation, by an appeal to the Swiss philosopher's poor state of mental health, against charges leveled by Hume and parroted by his supporters in Aberdeen. Hume is dismissed as an "Intellectual philosopher" incapable of the "exquisite sensibility" and "delicacy" exhibited by Rousseau. In his *Essay on Truth* Beattie would again favorably contrast Rousseau—a "moral writer of true genius"—with Hume. Beattie seems to have viewed Rousseau as something of a kindred spirit and a fellow man of feeling. Much of the praise of Rousseau (although qualified because of his heterodox religious beliefs) in a lengthy footnote added to the fourth edition of the *Essay on Truth* (1773) mirrors the opinions expressed in the letters of 1767.

The view that Beattie might not have been an angry provincial writer who wrote out of detestation of Edinburgh is also supported by a lengthy unpublished passage in the letter to Thomas Blacklock of 20 May 1767 (no. 19). Here Beattie complains about the very same provincial mindset that has often been attributed to him. He views Aberdeen as a small-minded town, full of men interested in gossip and rancor, who interfere with other people's affairs. He expresses a longing to be in Edinburgh with friends of loftier interests, such as Blacklock, Forbes, and Gregory.

Another lengthy unpublished passage of interest appears in the letter written on 20 August 1759 from Beattie, then twenty-four, to his fellow Aberdonian and literary friend John Ogilvie (no. 1), on the topic of contemporary female education. Here Beattie enters into a long discussion on the state of the manners and intellect of women, prompted by his reading of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (1748). To Beattie, the eponymous heroine of that novel could not really exist in contemporary Britain. The present state of education for women was framed "as if marriage were the end of their being, and a husband their supreme felicity." To that end women were educated into thinking that "dress, show and foppery" were their chief interests. The cause of this degenerate state was current fashionable culture, including recent "pernicious" novels and plays that Beattie does not name. These had led women to abandon their virtuous "natural simplicity" in favor of affectation. In a tortuous metaphor, Beattie complains that the "plant of virtue" has been poisoned from within by an "unnatural and morbific culture" and "blasted with the pestilential mildews of example from without." Women would only act with "piety, sincerity and good sense" when the "tender soil of [the] human heart" was suitably cultivated by education and religion, with a focus on being trained in the arts of domestic economy. What is particularly interesting about the unpublished parts of this letter are Beattie's subsequent apologies to Ogilvie for the tone of the digression on female education and his reassurance that women's current failings were the fault not of a natural inferiority but of "custom and example." Later in his career, and particularly in his *Elements of Moral Science* (1790–93), Beattie would return to the intellectual parity of the sexes and, equally important, the natural duties of women in the realms of domestic economy. By then, however, his views had lost the tinge of anger and disdain toward women that is present in the 1759 letter to Ogilvie.

There is only space to briefly mention a few of the themes in the unpublished sections of these letters that are likely to be of interest to readers of this periodical. There is much more material for those interested in other aspects of Beattie's life and works. The unpublished passages offer more detail about Beattie's literary activities and thought in the 1760s, including a draft of an early version of Beattie's poem "The Hermit" and much discussion about the publication and sale of Beattie's *Poems on Several Subjects* (1766). With regard to the latter, Beattie repeatedly found reason to complain about the behavior of booksellers, complaints which verged on accusations of deliberate suppression. The unpublished passages also offer insights into Beattie's character. The discussion of Hume's skepticism in a letter to James Williamson dated 22 October 1767 (no. 21) provides a rare example of Beattie writing in a humorous and playful mood. The unpublished portion of the heavily edited letter that Beattie sent to his sister, Jean Valentine, on 27 March 1768 (no. 26), with regard to the accommodation of their mother, sheds light on the workings of the Beattie family. The frequent hyperbolic praise in letters to Forbes shows Beattie

to be a generous and loving, if sycophantic, friend. On the whole, the unpublished passages in these thirty-three letters do not dramatically change our understanding of Beattie, but they do provide interesting additional material about his literary and philosophical activities and thought during the decade from 1759 to 1769 and complicate discussion about intellectual life in Enlightenment Aberdeen.

R.J.W. Mills is a Ph.D. candidate in history at the University of Cambridge, writing a thesis on the relationship between human nature and religious belief in the British Enlightenment. He is grateful to the British Association for Romantic Studies for supporting his research on Beattie's unpublished letters and to the National Library of Scotland for their kind permission to quote them.

IN MEMORIAM: KENNETH SIMPSON (1943–2013)

Kenneth Simpson, former president of ECSSS, passed away on 18 September 2013 at the age of 70. Many of his friends in ECSSS and further afield were aware of Ken's long battle with leukemia, but his death still came as a shock. Ken was an active and engaging scholar of eighteenth-century literature, best known for his pioneering work on Robert Burns, but his academic acumen was perfectly balanced with his amiable and sociable nature.

Born in Kilwinning in 1943, Ken graduated M.A. in English Language and Literature from the University of Glasgow in 1965, and four years later took up a position as lecturer in English at the University of Strathclyde. While at Strathclyde Ken completed his Ph.D. and produced his *magnum opus*, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Literature* (1988), an easily accessible, yet rigorously scholarly examination of the paradoxes inherent in eighteenth-century Scottish literature. A prolific Burns scholar, Ken made several important contributions to the field through numerous articles and essays on the Bard. Of particular note are the volumes of collected essays he edited: *Love and Liberty: Robert Burns: A Bi-centenary Celebration* (1997) and most recently, in conjunction with Patrick Scott, *Robert Burns and Friends: Essays by W. Ormiston Roy Fellows Presented to G. Ross Roy* (2012). In addition to his recent work on Burns, Ken remained active in research despite his illness, and at the time of his death was the lead editor of the forthcoming ECSSS volume, *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture*.

One of Ken's great legacies is the establishment of the Centre for Scottish Cultural Studies, which he helped to found at Strathclyde in 1990, and also served as director until his retirement. Ken's reputation as an authority on eighteenth-century literature was also recognized through fruitful international partnerships. Ken was twice Neag Distinguished Professor of British Literature at the University of Connecticut, in addition to being the first "Scholar in Residence" there in 1999. He was twice a recipient of the W. Ormiston Roy Research Fellowship in Scottish Poetry at the University of South Carolina, that great repository of Burns scholarship and home to his close friend, the late G. Ross Roy. During his time at Strathclyde, Ken also helped found the International Burns Conference. That this event is still run annually at the Mitchell Library—Ken having helped in its transition to Glasgow University—is a testament to its success and to Ken's impact upon Burns studies. He was also active in securing ECSSS representation at the First World Congress of Scottish Literatures, due to be held at Glasgow University in July 2014. As a further acknowledgment of his efforts in this area, the planned roundtable discussion on the impact of Scottish literary culture will be dedicated to him.

Ken had a life-long a love affair with the island of Arran, as shown by his frequent returns to Blackwaterfoot. Always one to share his passions and encourage younger scholars, he worked to make Arran the venue for Strathclyde University's Arran Reading Party, an annual trip which took students and staff—and occasionally writers such as Ian Crichton Smith and William McIllvaney—to his favorite part of the island for a weekend of literary debate in convivial surroundings. Following his retirement as reader from Strathclyde in 2003, this tradition was revived briefly at the University of Glasgow, when Ken moved there to become Senior Honorary Research Fellow in Scottish Literature, and then Honorary Professor at the Centre for Robert Burns Studies. As those who attended these trips, and indeed anyone who met him, will know, Ken was a kind-hearted and compassionate person and a true gentleman. His passion for literature—which he communicated in such an easy and open manner—was matched by the shrewdness of his intelligence and the warmth of his humor. We will miss him greatly.

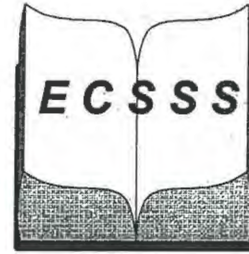
Ralph McLean and Ronnie Young, University of Glasgow

IN MEMORIAM: RONALD HAMOWY (1937–2012)

Noted libertarian Ronald Hamowy, professor of history at the University of Alberta from 1969 to 1998, died on 9 September 2012. He received his PhD from the Committee on Social Thought at the University of Chicago in 1970 with a dissertation on "The Social and Political Philosophy of Adam Ferguson," which was a close reading of Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Following in the tradition of his mentor, F. A. Hayek, Ronald continued to value the thought of the Scottish Enlightenment, and he made two significant contributions to its study: *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Theory of Spontaneous Order* (1987) and "Jefferson and the Scottish Enlightenment: A Critique of Garry Wills's *Inventing America*," *William and Mary Quarterly* (1979).

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

BOOKS in REVIEW



Roger L. Emerson, ***An Enlightened Duke: The Life of Archibald Campbell (1682–1761), Earl of Ilay, 3rd Duke of Argyll.*** Kilkerran: Humming Earth, 2013. Pp. xvii + 553.

Roger L. Emerson's exhaustive biography of the third Duke of Argyll is, in essence, a study in admiration: "He was learned, brave, an astute politician and kind to his friends and family" (p. 359). Those are some strong claims and, it must be said, Emerson makes a formidable case, for the most part, more measured and nuanced than his concluding encomium would suggest. Undeterred by the absence of personal papers for the duke, Emerson has been gathering materials from Scottish sources for the last two decades, and his contextual grasp of the politics of patronage in North Briton is unsurpassed. Sitting at the heart of that web was Argyll, whose appetite for disposing of offices and places in most areas of Scottish public life was insatiable down to his dying day. Argathelians were ubiquitous in mid-century Scotland. The obvious comparison is with his English ducal contemporary, Newcastle, though Emerson (for once) implausibly shrugs off the comparison, "how many of his appointees count in the...history of eighteenth-century England? At best, they were literary bishops" (p. 350). Neither does Emerson allow his subject's extraordinary obsession with making appointments to offset his approbation. Argyll was undoubtedly an enlightened duke, but there was a hard-grained dimension to his character that limited the extent of his human sympathies. Interestingly, despite some shared intellectual interests, Argyll was never close to his nephew, the third Earl of Bute.

The third Duke of Argyll began public life as a forceful younger son, by no means in the shadow of his high-profile elder brother, John, the second duke. Education at Eton was completed by study at Glasgow and then Utrecht; legal training and some military experience followed, and by 1706 Lord Archy Campbell had become Earl of Ilay, and lord justice general in 1710. Irrepressibility was as much part of the duke in early life as it was at the end. Emerson calls him "a fairly authoritarian Whig" (p. 18) and that gets him about right, though he was always capable of behaving with generosity toward Tories and Jacobites, in a manner that intensified the distrust of his Whig rivals for power. By 1725 Ilay had become the principal ministerial manager for Scotland, having seen off the Squadrone, calmed Edinburgh after the Malt Tax riots, and commended himself to Sir Robert Walpole, to whom he remained enduringly attached.

Ilay was a consummate politician but he was also, to quote David Hume, "a man of sense and learning." He assembled an outstanding library at his Middlesex country retreat at Whitton, with an emphasis on mathematics and medicine (Emerson details his purchases in two extensive appendices); he was also an amateur astronomer and a chemist, and had a fine collection of mathematical instruments. He turned his garden at Whitton into a major botanical center and was highly regarded by his fellow collectors. Ilay's succession to his brother's dukedom in 1743 only added to his eclectic ambitions. As the richest duke in Scotland, he embarked on a major building program and invested in his family lands in a manner that reflected his determination to improve the economic condition of the kingdom, seen in his institutional sponsorship of the Royal Bank of Scotland and the Board of Trustees for Fisheries and Manufactures. As third duke, he remained politically indispensable. He kept his distance from the Pelhams in the aftermath of the Forty-Five and was forthright in his opposition to the Heritable Jurisdictions Act in its parliamentary passage. Argyll personally risked a lot in urging generosity to Jacobite families, but it did no harm to his public reputation, and ministers in London again brought him entirely into their—and the king's—confidence. His power at his death in 1761 was as extensive as it had ever been, as his naming forty percent of commissions in the Highland regiments testified.

In religion Argyll was a convinced Erastian who achieved an exceptional level of dominance over appointments in the Church of Scotland. That the duke inclined to deism, had no chaplain (a token of his lifelong anticlericalism), and limited his interest in Christianity to the usefulness of its moral injunctions were characteris-

tics tolerated by ministers who stood to gain personally from his preferences. For Argyll, "moderation" was uniquely acceptable, and his patronage paved the way for that party's ascendancy in the three decades after his death. With an eye on the meal ticket, the Scottish clergy turned a blind eye to his failed marriage, his extra marital activity (it was of a steady if limited kind), and his illegitimate offspring. Expediency required no less while Argyll was "the man in charge" of Scotland (p. 249) for the best part of three decades.

It takes an assured historian to unpack the unending involvements of such a dominant public figure, and Roger Emerson has not let his subject down. This biography, read in conjunction with its harbinger, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2008), has given us an unsurpassed insight into the activities and character of the third Duke of Argyll, and it is unlikely that the job will need to be done again for the foreseeable future. Emerson's long years of involvement with the duke have produced this rich and crowded text. There are few lacunae, though one might have wished for more (given the exceptional level of detail in this text) on the duke as a dynast, albeit one without a legitimate son of his own. A few copy-editing glitches and some stylistic slips (especially with peerage titles) might be corrected in any subsequent addition.

Nigel Aston, University of Leicester

Fredrik Albritton Jonsson, ***Enlightenment's Frontier: The Scottish Highlands and the Origins of Environmentalism***. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013. Pp. ix + 344.

When it comes to understanding the origins of British environmentalism, most historians recognize the important role played by the political economy of late Enlightenment natural history. Yet, despite this recognition, little sustained attention has been given to the matter. Thankfully, *Enlightenment's Frontier* solves the Scottish side of this problem by offering an insightful interpretation of how the Highlands served as a focal point for the environmental reflections of naturalists and politicians. It is divided into three parts. The first two parts address the competing local and global environmental perspectives that developed from the 1740s to the 1780s inside Scotland. The last part of the book then traces the fates of these perspectives in national debates that took place on environmental issues in Parliament from the 1780s to the 1820s. Although these topics have been treated by historians of geography, economics, and, to a certain extent, literature, this is the first book to my knowledge that attempts to connect the ideological positions of Scottish policy makers (or the experts that informed them) to the evidence presented to committees and boards under the jurisdiction of the House of Commons. In examining this evidence, Jonsson reveals a deep relationship that existed between the natural history and political economy of Enlightenment Scotland.

The first part of the book points out that it is difficult to understand the local origins of Scottish environmental thought without taking into account the aftermath of the 1745 Jacobite Rebellion. During this time the Crown punished rebellious Highland landlords by confiscating their properties and placing them under the control of the Board of Annexed Estates. For around half a century the Board supervised environmental policies that affected a large proportion of the arable land in the Highlands. The body was comprised of Lowland aristocrats, politicians, and meritocrats, who treated the Highlands as one giant northern colony that had resources which needed to be identified and managed. Jonsson uses the views of the Board and its advisors to examine two competing perspectives that influenced Scottish environmental thought during the middle decades of the eighteenth century. The conservative view, favored by the cleric and naturalist John Walker, was to use local tenant farmers to cultivate and maintain Highland estates. The progressive view, promoted by the publisher and agricultural writer James Anderson, was to create new towns that encouraged the movement of local laborers and the establishment of industry. Crucially, both views stressed the importance of taking into account local resources, both human and natural.

The second part of the book looks at the political economy of Adam Smith and other thinkers who wanted to place the capital generated by Scotland's natural resources in competition with the global market of Britain's rapidly expanding empire. Jonsson shows that Smith's faith in the free market prevented him from seriously considering the long-term negative environmental impact that his theories might have upon the Highlands. Indeed, Jonsson points out that, though a Scot, Smith demonstrated remarkably little interest in the rapidly expanding literature on Highland natural history that was being written by improvement-minded authors like Walker and Anderson. Jonsson succinctly sums up this disinterest at the end of chapter 5 when he states: "The fascination with local knowledge felt so strongly by Highland improvers and naturalists held little sway over his [Smith's] mind." Instead of the particulars of local economies, Smith was interested in the universals of an imperial economy. This global perspective was by no means limited to the theoretical principles of liberal economics advocated by his *Wealth of Nations*, and Jonsson skillfully demonstrates how it informed Highland policies promoted by Scottish politicians, Henry Dundas in particular, from the 1760s to the 1780s.

The third part of the book analyzes how the local and global perspectives of the Highlands affected the origins of environmental thought on mining, agriculture, overpopulation, depopulation, pollution, and poverty in

debates that took place in Scotland and in Parliament in the decades surrounding 1800. Britain was at war with France at this time, and politicians became increasingly interested in the relationship between the scarcity of resources and national security. One of the key players in these debates, both in Parliament and in the public sphere, was Sir John Sinclair. In most work on the late Scottish Enlightenment Sinclair is usually glossed as the intrepid editor of *The Statistical Account of Scotland*. Printed in twenty-volumes from 1791 to 1799, it was the largest work of natural history published in Enlightenment Britain. This aspect of Sinclair's life, however, has tended to overshadow the fact that he was an active member of Parliament. It was, therefore, pleasing to see that the final chapters of the book astutely use this aspect of his career to emphasize how he and other Scottish naturalists played substantial, but hitherto unrecognized, roles as witnesses for parliamentary select committees or as experts that influenced the views of politicians and the public. Jonsson's main point in these discussions is to underscore the fact that the local environment of Scotland was increasingly undermined by the short-term global solutions offered by the free-market capitalism advocated by political theorists like Adam Smith.

Enlightenment's Frontier is well researched, drawing from an array of primary sources ranging from manuscript reports to polite Highland travelogues. When it comes to understanding the historical development of environmental thought in Scotland, it is an important work that explains how the local concerns so typical of eighteenth-century natural history experts were increasingly coming into conflict with the global expectations generated by Britain's imperial economy. It also has much to say about how the ideological commitment of Scottish politicians affected the stance they took on environmental issues in Parliament. In this respect the book is an informative account of how local politics affected British public policy during the late Enlightenment.

Matthew Daniel Eddy, Durham University

Peter Aitchison and Andrew Cassell, ***The Lowland Clearances: Scotland's Silent Revolution, 1760–1830***. Edinburgh: Birlinn Limited, 2012. Pp. x + 163.

The Lowland Clearances—a reissue of the edition first published by Tuckwell Press in 2003—is based on a BBC Scotland Radio series broadcast that year. Although written by journalists and squarely aimed at a general readership, with no footnotes and a limited bibliography, the book is based largely on interviews with academic historians— including Tom Devine, Chris Whatley, Chris Smout, and Jim Hunter—and also includes substantial quotations from primary sources.

A brief introductory chapter sets the scene by comparing the notoriety of the Highland experience of clearance with what the authors argue was the earlier but no less profound "silent revolution" of Lowland depopulation: why is it, the authors ask, that we generally consider the Lowlands to have been *improved* but the Highlands to have been *cleared*? The following chapter goes on to broadly outline the organization of Lowland Scotland's rural society and agriculture prior to the onset of improvement, the authors stressing the continuity of what they argue was a largely static system whose social structure and farming methods had remained essentially unchanged for centuries. Chapter 3 gives a short but vivid account of the revolt of the Galloway Levellers of the mid-1720s, the most unambiguous instance of Lowland clearance, where the removal of tenants and the enclosure of land for cattle farming resulted in widespread protests and civil unrest. The next two chapters chart the progress of the Scottish agricultural revolution, the unprecedented agrarian changes that transformed the economy and society of the rural Lowlands between the 1760s and the 1820s. Central to the authors' overall argument is their account of the widespread reorganization of traditional fermtouns and the subsequent movement from the land of the cotter and sub-tenant classes—what Devine describes here as the removal of "an entire echelon of the Scottish countryside" (p. 61). The seeming paradox of this "Revolution without Protest" is examined in chapter 6, with the authors drawing in particular on Chris Whatley's research to suggest that social unrest and resistance to change were more widespread than has previously been believed. Religious disputes, urban unrest, and meal rioting, they argue, should all be seen as symptoms of the wider upheavals in the countryside and suggestive of a much less passive response to the dramatic shift from peasant subsistence farming to a commercial wage-based economy. The final two chapters focus on the experience of emigration, where the point is made that overseas migration from the Lowlands for most of the eighteenth century far exceeded that of the Highlands: as Marjory Harper summarizes, this "constantly dripping tap of depopulation" was just as significant in the long term as the more visible later "flood" from the Highlands (p. 114). The final chapter consists of a detailed account of the McCowan family that left Ayrshire for Canada in 1833, providing an interesting case-study of one family's experience of dispossession and migration.

There is much to commend here, particularly the way in which the authors have brought together various strands of academic research into a coherent and accessible narrative of what remains a comparatively under-researched area of Scottish history. Perhaps inevitably in such a work, however, there is a tendency to oversimplify, and the parallels between the Highland and Lowland experiences are at times overplayed. While the authors are

right to note that "clearances"—in the sense of depopulation due to agrarian change—were not unique to the Highlands, and that broadly the same economic forces and improvement ideology were behind the changes in both regions, the Highland and Lowland experiences remain significantly different, not only in terms of timing, speed, and levels of coercion, but also in their underlying demographic, economic, and even topographical and climatic contexts. As Jim Hunter is quoted to say, in terms of "concentrated destruction and the brutality involved...there was nothing anywhere in the Lowlands that in any way compared to that." (p. 144)

Part of the problem is the very broadness with which the emotively charged term "clearance" can be applied. In the Highland context, the concept has been used to describe a wide range of events, from brutal evictions and acts of forced emigration to internal resettlement and voluntary migration. Part of the authors' case is that this definition should be further extended to include the Lowland experience and that we should regard the process as a single event: "the Scottish Clearances." Putting aside the problems of trying to present this form of rural depopulation as a uniquely "Scottish phenomenon" (p. 147), by over-stressing the parallels, there is a danger of distorting the actual experience of agrarian and social change in both regions. And despite the authors' acknowledgment that much of Lowland migration from the land may have been voluntary—representing the "pull" toward higher wages and better living conditions rather than the "push" of forcible eviction—there is also perhaps more than a hint of ruralist nostalgia in their overall account of the demise of subsistence peasant farming. All in all, however, *The Lowland Clearances* remains a lively, readable, and at times provocative overview of a subject that has received less than its fair share of attention, and as such it provides a useful starting point for further investigation and debate.

Brian Bonnyman, Forfar

Ariyuki Kondo, ***Robert and James Adam, Architects of the Age of Enlightenment***. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012. Pp. xii + 209.

The title of Ariyuki Kondo's book comes as no surprise, since Robert and James Adam dominated British architecture during the first three decades of George III's reign, from about 1760 to about 1790, when the Enlightenment reached its full development in Scotland. However, this study is ambitious in scope because it aims to trace the impact of Enlightenment thinking on the architects' ideas and work.

The author is right to point out the relative lack of in-depth studies on this subject. Despite several monographs—including James Lees-Milne, *The Age of Adam* (1947); John Fleming, *Robert Adam and His Circle in Edinburgh and in Rome* (1962); and Margaret Sanderson, *Robert Adam and Scotland: Portrait of an Architect* (1992)—offering detailed analysis of the architects' background, education, early career and training, social activities, writings, architecture, and decoration, little has been done to investigate the expression of contemporary philosophy, especially empirical ideas of the Enlightenment, in their work. Kondo evokes the limits of narrowly style-oriented approaches to architecture, which look at the Adam style within the context of the Baroque or the limits of English Palladianism. In that respect, both Emil Kaufmann, *Architecture in the Age of Reason* (1955), and more recently Giles Worsley, *Classical Architecture in Britain: The Heroic Age* (1995), can only dismiss the interest in the Adams' architecture and the self-claimed novelty of their work. The use of typologies, as the author suggests, may explain the failure to adequately consider the nature of the Adam brothers' ideas, which give significance to their diversified style. Previous studies, including A. T. Bolton's authoritative *Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (1922), devoted much of their analysis to the architects' work in England, assuming that "from the time he left Scotland and went to Italy, Robert Adam identified more with the South than with the North" (p. 130). Despite the prejudice against the Adam brothers' work in Scotland, partly deriving from Robert Adam's own statement about Scotland being too narrow a place for his talent and ambition, Kondo devotes ample space to commentary about the Adams' *œuvre* in Scotland, especially Edinburgh (chap. 4). Robert Adam's picturesque drawings are succintly evoked by Kondo, but only to suggest the architect's creativity, since this topic has been explored by Alan A. Tait in *Robert Adam: Drawings and Imagination* (1993) and *The Adam Brothers in Rome: Drawings for the Grand Tour* (2008) and by Alistair Rowan in *Robert Adam: Catalogues of Architectural Drawings in the Victoria and Albert Museum* (1988). In this way Kondo avoids repeating the content of previous monographs.

Kondo insists that the Adam brothers considered themselves not so much as professional builders but as talented artists, possessing the same experience of art and refined aesthetic taste as their patrons. Indeed, their wish to prove the superiority of their profession and the existence of a link between architecture and intellectual reasoning enticed them to develop a theory of architecture in their private correspondence and published treatises. After John Adam's draft *Theory of Architecture* (1762) and Robert Adam's *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* (1764), *The Works in Architecture of Robert and James Adam* (which appeared in installments between 1773 and 1779) provides the brothers' most significant explanation of their theory of movement and the picturesque.

To prove the connection between the Adam style and Enlightenment ideas, the book is divided into four parts of almost equal size. The first chapter is devoted to the Adam brothers' background and circle. Kondo recalls the importance of the Adams' classical education and social and professional connections in Scotland for their future career. Not only were they the sons of William Adam (1689–1748), an architect-builder who dominated the Scottish architectural scene in the first half of the eighteenth century and whose genius has only recently been acknowledged in John Gifford, *William Adam, 1689–1748: A Life and Times of Scotland's Universal Architect* (1989) and Ian Gow, "William Adam: A Planner of Genius," *Architectural Heritage* 1 (1990), but they were also well connected with the men of learning and great wealth of the period. Robert Adam's obituary, not quoted in Kondo's study, points to "the friendships he formed with men who have since eminently distinguished themselves by their literary productions; amongst whom were Mr. David Hume, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Adam Smith, Dr. Adam Ferguson, and Mr. John Home. At a more advanced time of life he had the good fortune to enjoy the friendship and society of Archibald Duke of Argyle" (*Gentleman's Magazine,* March 1792). Indeed, the Adam brothers' intimacy with the Edinburgh literati from an early age set them apart from their contemporary architects and builders, in particular Sir William Chambers and Robert Mylne, two of Robert Adam's biggest rivals. The originality of Kondo's contribution resides neither in his depiction of Robert Adam's formative years in Italy under the supervision of Clerisseau and Piranesi, two talented draftsmen, nor in his study of the Scottish intellectual scene—both aspects tackled elsewhere—but in his precise analysis of the Adam brothers' ideas.

This is the subject of chapters two and three. To explain the brothers' use of eclecticism, their combination of different styles, and their refusal to surrender to any ideal, Kondo refers to Edmund Burke's *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (1757) and to Hume's essay "Of the Standard of Taste" (1757). The empiricists' dismissal of an absolute and objective standard of taste challenged the aesthetic foundation of neo-Palladianism, the dominant style of British architecture during the first half of the eighteenth century. Their attack on the classical understanding of beauty, following a set of rules based on proportion and regularity inherited from the Renaissance, explains the Adam brothers' emancipation from fixed ideas. However, Kondo suggests that the Adam brothers remained heavily indebted to the style of buildings of Lord Burlington and the other neo-Palladians, for instance in their treatment of proportion. Kondo draws a parallel between Hume, for whom aesthetic judgment derived from the subject and so required extensive practice to reach a delicacy of taste, and the Adam brothers, who relied on the study of the great masters to form their own judgment. To him, the creative use of orders by the Adam brothers was a direct response to the new notions of anti-authoritarian aesthetics. The architects did not aim at the faithful imitation of models but rather looked for emotional impact; this is why they fully considered the spatial effects of architectural features. When dealing with the Adam interiors and the variety of inspirations (Roman antiquity, Renaissance, Baroque, eighteenth-century Italian, French, and British architecture), Kondo is very close to Eileen Harris's approach in *The Genius of Robert Adam: His Interiors* (2001) and to a certain extent Damie Stillman's *Decorative Work of Robert Adam* (1966). Like Harris, Kondo confronts domestic interior decoration with the architects' famous statement in *The Works*: "movement is meant to express, the rise and fall, the advance and recess, with other diversity of form, in the different parts of a building, so as to add greatly to the picturesque of the composition." To explain how the Adam interiors convey different feelings and emotions, Kondo also uses the example of Syon House, London (1762–69). With its rooms of different shapes and sizes, it is the perfect embodiment of the diversity in interior planning advocated by the Adams in their writings.

The third chapter deals with the concept of "movement" which, despite being a key passage of the first volume of *The Works in Architecture* (1773), has been misinterpreted by Kaufmann and Worsley in particular. Kondo refers to the definition of "movement" provided by the Adams and explains that the architects did not understand it as part of the things themselves, so not as present in the architecture of the buildings. To him, considering movement as to be found in the irregularity and variety of external forms of buildings offers a false interpretation of the brothers' theory. The Adams explain "movement," one of the prominent effects on architecture of the picturesque, as the architectural expression of visual qualities such as color and variety of light and shade. To make his point, Kondo considers the visual effects and pictorial qualities of several of the Adam brothers' finest domestic buildings, including Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire (1767–74), Osterley Park, Middlesex (1763–80), Kenwood House, London (1767–69), and Culzean Castle, Ayrshire (1777–92). Kondo refers to a philosophical tradition going from Locke to Hume for which beauty is not in the things themselves but in the minds that appreciate them. Successively looking at geometry, colonnades, and ornamentation, Kondo draws the following conclusion: "appreciating that the picturesque aspect of architectural compositions is not directly related to the plasticity of buildings, the Adam brothers came to the conclusion that a severely classical inclination or frequent use of neo-Palladian vocabularies did not compromise the picturesque potential of their architectural style" (p. 89). For Kondo, this specific approach to movement in architecture testifies to the architects' profound knowledge of Enlighten-

ment ideas as well as to their capacity for responding to a demand for a new type of classicism which approaches buildings as landscape-like compositions.

The last chapter focuses on Robert and James Adam's public buildings in the Scottish capital. Kondo explains that the construction of these buildings was motivated by Enlightenment ideas and by the necessary legal, political, and cultural improvement of the city. The Bridewell on Calton Hill, Register House, the university, and the Edinburgh New Town are successively evoked by Kondo, who fully considers the Adam brothers as architects of the Enlightenment. Kondo's analysis of the New Town through the notion of individualism emerging from Hume is interesting because it shows that the 1768 act's provisions determining the proper framework for building realized the Enlightenment concepts of harmony betweeen individual rights and public duties. Within the grid plan epitomizing enlightened urban society, each house was designed individually. Number 8 Queen Street, designed by Robert Adam in 1770–71 for the chief baron of the Scottish Exchequer, provides a good example. Kondo also sees the New Town as the expression of the moral concerns voiced by Adam Ferguson concerning a society's obligation to improve the economic status of people and encourage public spirit and civic morality. Charlotte Square, which was the last part of the initial phase of the New Town, completed in 1820, appears to be emblematic of a redefinition of the goals of the New Town. With its unified façades, the Adam brothers responded to the indications of the city authorities in favor of order and regularity in the townscape. Kondo believes that this last phase of the construction of the first New Town did not contradict earlier building developments. On the contrary, this standardization of people's taste in architecture reflects the empirical philosophers' idea that taste is not a universally shared quality. This relates to the New Town being a town development devised by the elite for their own indulgence.

Kondo's monograph offers a new interpretation of the Adam brothers as revolutionary students and masters of Enlightenment thought in the field of architecture. By means of a constant reference and analysis of empirical ideas and a close study of the architects' writings and works, Kondo demonstrates the close dependence of the Adam brothers' ideas on empirical theory. This work is particularly valuable for those interested in philosophical and aesthetic theory during the second half of the eighteenth century.

Clarisse Godard Desmarest, University of Picardie Jules Verne

Murray Pittock, ***Material Culture and Sedition, 1688–1760***. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2013. Pp. xv + 256.

This excellent book triumphs in the face of some notable challenges. The very subject of the book—Jacobite seditious material—was, of course, purposefully created to deceive, obfuscate, and have ambiguous meanings. Furthermore much of the primary study of this material has been, until recently, the province of the antiquarian, the collector, and the amateur. Finally, serious scholars have been dismissive, either from a Whig historical perspective (how can a political movement be taken seriously if it produces curios and geegaws?) or from a traditionalist art historical perspective that favors the primary, autograph work of art over any secondary, anonymous, or mass-produced object. Murray Pittock fully acknowledges the historical issues associated with this material and successfully manages to pull together and consolidate primary and secondary literature that is spread across a wide variety of disciplines to create what he terms a "unified field of enquiry."

Although the main text of this book runs to a modest 158 pages with a further appendix index of symbols, cant and code and a comprehensive bibliography, it manages to pack an extraordinary amount of information into a well-organized, extremely readable, and economic text. The "unified field of enquiry" incorporates the work of historians, art historians, architectural historians, literary scholars, antiquarians, collectors, and amateur historians into a rigorous and comprehensible whole; as such, this publication is a significant and timely contribution to a field that seemed impossibly fragmented. It will be the authoritative text on the topic for many years to come.

The sheer quantity of evidence that Pittock identifies for the broad dissemination of material culture and sedition relating to Jacobite sympathy offers a profound counterpoint to those who, for example, dismiss Jacobite drinking glasses as probably being all fakes. He rightly alerts the reader to the paucity of primary evidence for this particular expression of seditious behavior, but by presenting these in the broader context of his analysis, he demonstrates how inconceivable it is that these objects could somehow be entirely outside the ambit of the larger material culture. Examples such as this are the greatest service this work does, consolidating a highly fragmented narrative and thereby countering understandable criticism of studies of materials traditionally viewed in isolation.

Incorporating much of the scholarship and thinking that characterizes his previous studies, notably *The Invention of Scotland* (1991) and *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (1995), Pittock begins his analysis by framing the debate and suggesting the need to theorize Jacobite culture as something with a distinct identity and a language that is, by necessity, coded and not transparent. It is a language that operates outside the traditional source materials of written and printed words, yet is no less important as a consequence. In the four chapters that follow, his agile and

inquiring mind spans an extraordinarily diverse range of material, from landscape and interior design, to symbolism, iconography, and codes, and from clubs and associations, to the art trade and the use of art objects and relics. In the course of doing this he follows some fascinating and little-trod paths, as ever pulling often obscure and recondite scholarship into the mainstream of his thesis. For example, he considers in depth the symbolism of Scottish architect James Gibbs's interior designs, formerly only given lip-service attention within broader architectural studies. Elsewhere he offers an intriguing analysis of the color symbolism of loyalty and sedition, noting the prominence of white (alba rosa) and green (order of the Thistle robes) in Scottish Jacobitism, as contrasted to the blue of English Jacobitism and, of course, the opposing hues of Williamite orange.

Again building on his previous scholarship, Pittock considers in depth the play of distinctly Scottish symbolism and tropes within the broader language of Jacobitism. The cant and codes of sedition are varied and could move from a memorialization of Mary Queen of Scots to references to mountains (the last bastion of liberty) and the continental admiration for the idealized Highland mountaineer, *Les Montagnards*, or even the trees planted in an English landscape (Scots fir). His analysis of the use and significance of tartan in this context is the most comprehensive yet, again unifying and consolidating a varied literature.

Anyone interested in the shifting sands of loyalty and treachery in Britain in the long eighteenth century will find this an invaluable book. That it adds so much to the significance of material culture and its omnipresence in every aspect of political and social discourse adds immeasurably to its value and the range of disciplines that can gain insights from its fascinating content.

Robin Nicholson, Virginia Museum of Fine Arts

Alasdair Raffe, ***The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland, 1660–1714***.Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2012. Pp. xi + 289.

Alasdair Raffe's *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Argument in Scotland, 1660–1714* is a major new work on religion in Scottish public culture from the Restoration through the Hanoverian succession. The book has both historical and conceptual goals. The first is to explain how Scottish religious culture came to be divided into increasingly settled hostile and competing camps in the half-century after the Restoration. The second is to find a way of comprehending the public culture that spawned those divisions better suited to Scotland's circumstances than the more familiar concept of the public sphere. The result is what Raffe calls the "culture of controversy," a concept meant both to incorporate the assumptions upon which people participated and to reflect its ramifications for public discussion.

One of the virtues of the book is that it treats the religious configuration that emerged in Scotland as a matter in need of explanation rather than a product of an eternal Presbyterian/Episcopalian divide simply waiting to be realized. The starting point is the Restoration, a time, Raffe insists, at which Scottish religious culture, despite the strains of civil war, remained substantially unified in the basics of ecclesiology. Scots at the time had good reason to expect a Presbyterian settlement, as the king initially signaled. That was altered by the nobility, who had turned sharply anticlerical in the wake of the disorders of the civil war years and opted instead for an Erastian episcopal establishment. That left the clergy with the decision of whether to conform or not. For many, the choice at the outset was far from clear, the minority who became martyrs excepted. The rest had to choose their positions, and those were not necessarily decided for once and for all, but evolved along with controversy, not just over episcopacy but, more importantly, over the Erastian quality of the settlement and the continuing obligations of the covenants. Thus, two factions emerged, motivated as much by the attachment of particular individuals to a belief in Christ's sole headship of the church and the weight of history as their views of church government. From there, the divisions hardened as a result of the violent tenor of Restoration politics and over such questions as the nature of spirituality and the proper relationship between piety and moral behavior, with the application of hostile charges of fanaticism and immorality sealing the divide.

Two important aspects of the culture of controversy are worth noting. One was that participation was not necessarily an attempt to persuade one's opponents and approach a consensus of opinion, but rather to prevail, which often involved addressing audiences that were partly local and partly far removed, such as at court. Nor was it meant to mitigate difference but to follow through on religious obligations that could not, in their view, be compromised. Another important aspect of that discussion was that it was not limited to elites; different classes participated, albeit in varying ways. Those included the publication of controversial tracts, the preaching of sermons, and the act of conforming or not conforming to the church establishment. And it included crowd violence, especially in the form of the "rabbling" of Episcopalian ministers out of their pulpits in 1689, but also the actions of pro-episcopal crowds in the north against Presbyterian "intruders." Raffe notes as well the dominant role often played by women in crowd actions. The culture of controversy, while organized within the extant social hierarchies, was, in important respects, more inclusive than the culture of the public sphere.

The other question raised by *The Culture of Controversy* is how far the cultural model invoked here can be extended to other places and—especially for this audience—forward into the eighteenth century. While Raffe is sympathetic to the critiques of the public sphere in general, his larger concern is that the concept is based heavily on English experience, placing too much weight on the coffee house, the capital, and the proliferation of the products of the new print culture to reflect Scottish practice during the period. Still, we are left with one of the other peculiarities of the situation. While there is some discussion of Roman Catholics and Quakers, the bulk of attention, rightly, is focused on the great majority of Scots who became Episcopalian or Presbyterian during the period, including, increasingly after 1688, dissenting Presbyterians. That can certainly be contrasted with the much greater denominational diversity that developed elsewhere in the British world during the same period.

While the book ends in the early eighteenth century, there was much that carried over in ecclesiastical affairs. This included a culture of controversy in the eighteenth century that would be as pronounced within the Church of Scotland and among the different Presbyterian churches as it would be between Presbyterians and Episcopalians. It included also a public "discussion" of religion that incorporated both the pronouncements and the actions of the populace as well as the clergy, and a continuing popular resistance to the "intrusion" of ministers regarded as illegitimate into parish communities.

Ned C. Landsman, Stony Brook University

Laurence A. B. Whitley, ***A Great Grievance: Ecclesiastical Lay Patronage in Scotland until 1750***. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2013. Pp. xxiv + 334.

The issue of patronage provoked several schisms within the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The middle decades of the eighteenth century witnessed the secession of 1733, led by the Erskine brothers, and formation of the Relief Church in 1761, led by Thomas Gillespie and Thomas Boston, Jr., all of whom had been personally affected by the issue. The history of patronage, which was the main reason for these schisms, has been well documented. In 1843, the deepest split within the established Church in Scotland led to significant changes in the settlement process and eventually to the ending of patronage in Scotland in 1874. However, the long process by which patronage emerged within the medieval, reformed, and restoration church has now been extensively researched by Laurence Whitley in his book *A Great Grievance*.

Although he touches on the issues that produced the secession and Relief Church in the eighteenth century, Whitley devotes most of this study to a comprehensive description and evaluation of ecclesiastical lay patronage from the early middle ages to 1750, focusing in particular on the period between 1690 and 1750. He shows the way in which patronage worked within a complicated religious and political background. The author demonstrates the importanee of understanding the complex relationships in the ecclesiastical history of Scotland between church, people, landowners, and the crown, which led to numerous conflicts, as ministers were presented to livings, often without the consent of the parishioners.

Whitley unravels a complicated history, starting in the twelfth century, when the Lateran Council began to establish the principle of the church's role in filling vacancies within churches. It was a period in which a large proportion of parish churches in Scotland were gifted by the crown and other laymen to religious houses. This process meant that by the time of the Scottish Reformation in 1560 only fourteen percent of all parish benefices were outside of ecclesiastical control. However, from the fifteenth century onward successive monarchs in Scotland attempted to wrest back the right to nominate to vacancies within the Church in Scotland, the primary issue being that of income. Rather than recognizing the hope of the Reformed Church that the "people" would have a major say in the election of their minister, the crown increasingly claimed that right for itself. However, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, the right of presentation had moved from the crown to private hands by a proportion of two to one. Whitley succeeds in giving a detailed, lucid account of the various stages involved in the history of the church and nation. One of the ways that he does so is by providing a short summary at the conclusion of the fifteen chapters that tells the story.

A recognition that patronage was deeply unpopular led the Scottish Parliament to pass acts in 1649 and 1690 which attempted to eradicate patronage entirely. However, there was confusion over how the process of calling ministers would function, and this eventually led to the restoration of the practice by the newly formed British Parliament in 1711. Whitley demonstrates at length the various political allegiances and diverse religious influences that led to the original secession and the formation of the Relief Church in the eighteenth century, with an emerging moderate party within the church opposing the popular views of many ordinary members of congregations. This included not just those of an "evangelical disposition" but also the concern expressed by many who viewed some settlements as blatant manipulation by political rivals. This is well illustrated in his account of the events leading up to the "Drysdale Bustle" in 1762. However, Whitley also demonstrates that although there were notorious incidents when patronage led to schism, a peaceful settlement of a new minister occurred in the vast ma-

jority of cases, and he suspects that even if patronage had not been so controversial during the eighteenth century, it would still have been a troubled period of ecclesiastical history.

The book provides a helpful glossary of political and ecclesiastical terms and labels that occur in the text, as well as short biographical notes on individuals referred to within the text. This is a helpful, insightful study of a complex but fascinating period in Scottish ecclesiastical history.

Kenneth B. E. Roxburgh, Samford University

Further Letters of David Hume. Edited by Felix Waldmann. Edinburgh: Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, 2014. Pp. ix + 315.

Felix Waldmann is a young Australian scholar whose recent academic connections have been mostly with Caius College, Cambridge. He is now completing a doctorate on philosophy in enlightenment Naples and Sicily. Previously he had devoted a good deal of time to tracking, recording, and transcribing letters from and to Hume that were not in the published collections up to Klibansky and Mossner's *New Letters of David Hume* (1954). *Further Letters* is something of an interim report. Subscribers to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society, and those non-subscribers who have already placed an individual order (for whom the treasurer tells me about forty extra copies have been printed), should receive a one-page "Additions and Emendations" with their copy. If they do not have this, they can print it out by logging onto www.repository.cam.ac.uk/handle/1810/245149. Further supplements may be added in due course, as need arises. For the present, however, work on the project has been suspended, given the pressures on the editor to complete his other research.

The *Further Letters* of the title refers principally to 85 pages (pp. 21–106), consisting of 60 new transcriptions, many of them generously annotated. That is 85 pages out of 315. They range from an early letter conjectured to be dated to January 1745/6 (from Hume's Weld Hall period and addressed to someone close to the Annandale family), to several letters Hume sent to friends in the summer of 1776, when he was close to death. Some of these belong to a clutch of letters, hitherto unknown, that Hume sent over a period of fifteen years to a young lady, Cochrane or Coss Stewart. She lived for the most part at Gullane, East Lothian, although the family's principal seat was at Allanbank, Berwickshire. She would outlive Hume by thirty years. These letters are transcribed as a set (pp. 97–106). This charming and compassionate correspondence through various adversities came to public notice only recently, thanks to changes in access policy in the Coutts Bank Archives.

Waldmann's mastery of genealogy is daunting. The Stewarts of Allanbank were family friends throughout Hume's life: "Hume knew Stewart's father, one of her brothers, two of her sisters, three of her brothers- and sisters-in-law, two of her uncles, three of her nephews, and two of her first cousins" (p. 97). The Stewarts stood in a relation to the Coutts family that others besides me have misunderstood in the past.

Another excellent find is a copy of Hume's letter to Francesco Algarotti of 6 October 1763, preserved in a photographic copy in the West Sussex Record Office. In it Hume declares that he is tone deaf—no surprise there—and he regrets he will derive no more benefit from Algarotti's writings on painting than on music. (He was set to receive copies of both.) The autograph of Hume's response was brought back to Britain by James Murray II in 1818. It has been understood for some time that the original is now in the United States, but the information on its whereabouts appears to have been lost.

Those wanting a quick guide to the new letters should read pages 3–6 of the Introduction with care, and probably several times. They will correctly see that relatively little of the new correspondence relates to Hume the writer, and the little that does mostly concerns the *History*. I was particularly interested in Hume's correspondence with Andrew Millar, preserved at second hand, on the conduct of Charles II in Irish matters. The rest of the collection deals with personal or professional business, of Hume or his correspondents, and is not without the usual crop of conjectured dates and correspondents typical of such compilations. Two letters to Lord Shelburne in 1767 (pp. 74–78) took my fancy, and confirm that life in government service had its fun side for Hume. In quoting a phrase loosely taken from Philippians, Hume thought it appropriate to change the biblical meaning by inserting the word "seemingly": "if there be any Virtue, if there be any Praise; if there be any thing *seemingly* comely or of good report..." He then thought twice about it and deleted the intruded word. Waldmann's declared policy is to record all deletions in the texts unless illegible. But, as here, he just as often misses interesting changes that are neither illegible nor irrelevant to the sense. This is the only shortcoming I have found in what is generally a very high standard of transcription.

After the letters proper, the much larger part of the book is devoted to a miscellany of appendices. It would need fuller indexes to recover information from these with any ease. Some of the appendices contain transcriptions of or guides to documents which are written or signed by Hume or on his behalf, or by others and sent to Hume, normally in the exercise of the various official functions he fulfilled in the course of his middle life. These are correspondence of a kind, and have their own biographical interest. There are records of the disposal and acqui-

sition of correspondence and related materials, and last known location from Hume's day to ours, whose interest is primarily bibliographical. The list of *all* known letters from and to Hume in Appendix V ("Census of Manuscripts"), with its separate number system, must not be confused with the much shorter list and count of the *new* letters numbered and printed at the front of the book, a trap that it requires steady concentration to avoid. The bibliographical data here go even beyond correspondence in the extended sense to include listings of individual copies of Hume's works which include his own manuscript marginalia. (Even if taken as messages from Hume in yet another sense, these need not be messages that Hume wanted to enforce till the day he died—a mistake perhaps too easily made by many good editors.) Certainly as a finding list, Appendix V is invaluable, and unrivalled.

I was surprised to learn that Allan Ramsay's copy of *Five Dissertations* with some marginalia revisions seen by Green and Grose, though now missing from the library of the Museums of Scotland, has been preserved in a photographic copy (p. 185). Whether these are correctly called "proofs" remains to be seen. There is no reason on the same page to call the early form of *Four Dissertations* with the suppressed essays now in the National Library of Scotland "proofs." The sheets are printed double-sided, whereas proofs were usually single-sided.

A small section of Appendix V is headed "Apocrypha." Many scholars of my generation would expect to find Letter 2 (Hume to Michael Ramsay, 1734) here rather than in the global "census" as if it is now part of the canon. Even if the pretentious legal rigmarole used to record the deaths of those through whose hands the manuscript was lost is taken seriously, the fact is that the *content* of the letter contains so many incredible things that one's suspicions should be aroused. As a piece of student silliness to counter an uncharacteristically silly article by Richard Popkin ("Did Hume Ever Read Berkeley?" *Journal of Philosophy* 56 (1959): 535–45), however, it scores well.

Over the past year there has been a bit of interest generated by the attempted sale of a broken pane of glass once stolen from an inn in Carlisle (now demolished), which contains four lines of verse celebrating the poor quality of breakfast at the inn, the wretched singing of Carlisle Cathedral choir, and the fate of the Jacobite prisoners after the siege of 1746. Sir Walter Scott misquoted this quatrain from memory in a letter of 1815, and again in his late Journal, and attributed it to Hume. Waldmann says correctly that the inscription is not in Hume's hand (if we can envisage Hume's writing scratched onto vertical glass), and even he misquotes it! But it takes up half a page of the supplementary sheet of "Additions and Emendations." It is rightly classed as Apocrypha.

The book has been beautifully typeset. My only complaint about the presentation concerns the incessant and infuriating use of codes (mostly combinations of capital letters in every imaginable font—roman, italic, bold, italic bold, etc.) in giving locations (sometimes geographical, sometimes bibliographical) of documents used in presenting the new letters. Five pages are taken up at the beginning of the book to list them all and there is no way of keeping them in one's head. This method should be used only for very common sources. The practice is followed more sparingly in the Census of Manuscripts, which is all the better for it.

By an ironic twist of fate, no. 51 among the new letters (Hume to John Home the dramatist, July 1776), known to Waldmann only by excerpts in an 1888 sale catalogue, has long been sitting in the State Library of New South Wales, a stone's throw from where he attended high school. Nevertheless, this is a remarkable first book.

M. A. Stewart, Lancaster University

John P. Wright, ***Hume's A Treatise of Human Nature: An Introduction***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009. Pp. xx + 316.

Mikko Tolonen, ***Mandeville and Hume: Anatomists of Civil Society***. Oxford: SVEC, 2013. SVEC 2013:07. Pp. xiv + 292.

John Wright is well known as a proponent of the "New Hume," a Hume who is not ultimately a skeptic about fundamental metaphysical issues. He has also published studies of the key manuscript texts from the earliest stage of Hume's career, "An Historical Essay on Chivalry and Modern Honour" and the 1734 letter to an anonymous physician—studies that have suggested that Mandeville was a much more positive influence on the young Hume than is generally thought. Mikko Tolonen, too, has argued for the Mandevilleanism of the essay on chivalry, and has in addition detected the presence of Mandeville's ideas in one of few surviving letters from Hume's time in France in the mid-1730s. Taken together, these two books help to place Mandeville exactly where, to my mind, he should be—which is to say, right at the heart of the philosophical project of *A Treatise of Human Nature*.

Wright opens *Hume's A Treatise of Human Nature: An Introduction* with one of the best accounts available of Hume's early intellectual development. Drawing on his own published work, he argues, to my mind convincingly, for the importance of Mandeville in the years during which Hume began his work on a comprehensive science of human nature. But Wright's Hume is very far from being Mandeville's disciple. Rather, from the beginning he sets himself the task of finding a middle way between Hutcheson and Shaftesbury on the one hand, and

Mandeville on the other. This is the key, Wright claims (again, I think, convincingly) to understanding Books 2 and 3 of the *Treatise*. Mandeville slips from view, however, in Wright's chapters on Book 1. Chapters on causation, skepticism, and determinism expound and defend Wright's thesis that Hume's skepticism is mitigated by a commitment both to the existence of an external world animated by causal powers and to the physiological theory that gives thought and feeling a basis in animal spirits. This thesis is more controversial among Hume scholars than Wright acknowledges. Many believe that it does less than justice to skeptical arguments that appear to deny us so much as a conception of what things, whether inanimate or animate, are in themselves. It is arguable that in a book meant mostly for students, Wright should have acknowledged the apparent intractability of this debate. Book 2 of the *Treatise* is in the main less-contested territory than Book 1, but Wright's two chapters on Hume's theory of the passions bring out effectively the extent to which Hume is concerned to undermine the traditional view, defended by Hutcheson, that there is a natural and original hierarchy of passions and affections.

Some of those sympathetic to Wright's "skeptical realist" way of reading Hume's epistemology find what they regard as Hume's real beliefs expressed more clearly in the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding* than in the *Treatise*. It took Hume time, they believe, to find a way of saying what he actually wanted to say. Tolonen will have none of this when it comes to Hume's moral philosophy. He believes that the distinction between artificial and natural virtues, which structures Book 3 of the *Treatise* but is altogether absent from the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, is both absolutely central to Hume's moral thought and insufficiently attended to by Hume's modern-day readers. The artificial virtue of justice is, he argues, "foundational" to Hume's project in Book 3. That project should be interpreted as an exercise in "social theory," an uncovering of the conditions of the possibility of social life as we know it. Justice, understood as the conventions by means of which selfishness is redirected and harnessed to socially beneficial ends, is for Hume one of those conditions. This is not in itself news, but Tolonen stresses an important difference between small and large societies when it comes to how general respect for the rules of justice comes to be relied upon. The analogy between acceptance of the conventions of justice and two strangers agreeing to row a boat across a river that they both want to cross does not hold in a large society. In a large society, the coercive power of government is necessary to peaceful cooperation. Furthermore, Tolonen argues, life in the kind of societies that characterize modernity has another essential foundation, in the way in which what Hume calls pride, and what Mandeville calls self-liking, is made the basis of the artificial virtue of politeness. Tolonen's discussion of Humean politeness as something quite different from the natural politeness celebrated in, for example, Addison and Steele's *Spectator* is a significant contribution to Hume scholarship.

These are complementary but very different books. *Hume's A Treatise of Human Nature: An Introduction* is part of series of "introductory textbooks on what are considered to be the most important texts of Western philosophy." Its chapters give clear and cogent accounts of what philosophers have come to regard as the principal themes of the *Treatise*. All the main interpretative cruxes are explored. Elegant solutions are offered to them. I have used it as a textbook for an upper-level undergraduate class on the *Treatise*, and it has worked very well. By contrast, *Mandeville and Hume: Anatomists of Civil Society* sets to one side the topics that dominate philosophical work on Hume's moral philosophy. There is nothing here about Hume's case against rationalism in ethics. There is very little about the moral motive to justice. No contribution is offered to the debate about the character of Humean normativity. Instead, there is a vigorous attempt to insert the *Treatise* into the debate about the foundations of sociability that dominated European moral and political thought from Grotius through to Smith, and beyond. There is also an extended and fascinating reading of Mandeville, grounded in some detailed book history, that I do not have the space to explore here. On this reading, what we know as "Part Two" of *The Fable of the Bees* is properly read as a critique and repudiation of the ideas expounded in Mandeville's earlier writings, including "An Enquiry into the Origin of Moral Virtue" and "A Search into the Nature of Society." Those, of course, are precisely the ideas that have come to be seen as Mandeville's distinctive contribution to the history of moral philosophy. *Mandeville and Hume* is an exciting challenge to a lot of received wisdom.

James A. Harris, University of St. Andrews

Mark G. Spencer, ed., ***David Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer***. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2013. Pp. xii + 282.

Mark G. Spencer, in his Introduction, laments the paucity of book-length studies on Hume the historian published during the last hundred years. The essays collected in this volume, considering Hume as both historical thinker and historical writer, aim to address this lack, and to suggest paths for possible future research. Spencer advises that the real power of the eleven essays is best appreciated through reading the collection as a connected whole; yet each can be read as an individual contribution to our knowledge of Hume and as a challenge to further research along the lines pursued in this valuable collection. The contributors include scholars currently working in Hume studies in philosophy, literature, history, political science, classics, and religion. Hume spent his early years

as an author publishing philosophy, his later years as a historian. The collection of essays explains much about the relationships between the two that Hume was aware of, and others we can discern through careful reading. Each essay builds further understanding of the wholeness of his thought. Each is relatively brief yet densely argued and abundantly supported with evidence, including discussions of past and present scholars' relevant work.

In the first essay, "Hume and Ecclesiastical History: Aims and Contexts," Roger L. Emerson considers Hume's contemplating writing an ecclesiastical history, to enrich the presentation of ideas sketched in the *History of England.* However, Emerson suggests that one of the reasons Hume chose to undertake a series of revisions to the *History* rather than an ecclesiastical history was his awareness that the latter was likely to displease both his admirers and his detractors in the Scottish kirk. Jennifer A. Herdt, in "Artificial Lives, Providential History, and the Apparent Limits of Sympathetic Understanding," outlines some other reasons why Hume did not write ecclesiastical history. Hume maintained that a historian can develop a sympathetic understanding of many whose perspectives are at first alien, and then offer an explanation of their actions. However, Hume held that those whose lives were "artificial," that is, dominated by superstition or enthusiasm, cannot be understood sympathetically, since the "good" their actions seek is not readily determined. Since Hume regarded many church members' lives as dominated by either "enthusiasm" or "superstition," it follows that he could not have mustered the essential sympathy.

Hume disparaged "providential history," but Philip Hicks, in "'The Spirit of Liberty': Historical Causation and Political Rhetoric in the Age of Hume," traces the ways Hume's use of the phrase "spirit of liberty" portrays this "spirit" operating in some ways as a form of providence. Hicks points out that "like providence, Hume's spirit of liberty controlled human behavior in events so extraordinary that they could not be accounted for in human terms alone" (p. 69). He concludes that although Hume himself had a politically moderate and highly nuanced understanding of liberty, in the *History* he nevertheless "succumbed to this magical piece of rhetoric" (p. 74).

Two essays assess readers' reception of Hume's *History*. Building on his previously published work on the initial negative reaction among the Scottish reading public, Mark Towsey, in "'The Book Seemed to Sink into Oblivion': Reading Hume's *History* in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," investigates further evidence of these reactions. In the responses condemning Hume's *History* found in Scots' private diaries and letters, he discovers a widespread conviction that Hume "could not be trusted to tell the whole truth without distorting facts to suit his own agenda" (p. 87). Yet, paradoxically, Hume's work was soon accepted as "standard issue for polite libraries and genteel drawing rooms" (p. 88), eagerly acquired for, and widely circulated by, book-lending institutions. Towsey contends that Hume's *History of England*, because of its eventual general acceptance in Scotland, "equipped Scottish readers for interaction with England, her institutions and her people" (p. 95). David Allen, in "Reading Hume's *History of England*: Audience and Authority in Georgian England," agrees with Towsey's conclusions about the *History's* influence, examining responses to "this most popular and most problematic of historical works" (p.103). Allen concludes with a call for more research into the multifarious ways readers read Hume's *History*. The text drew vivid, articulate reader reactions, often in marginalia, and these reactions can help us better grasp the complex relationships between eighteenth-century readers and their books.

Jeffrey M. Suderman's "Medieval Kingship and the Making of Modern Civility: Hume's Assessment of Governance in *The History of England*" points out that Hume focused on kings' characters in communicating his lesson that civility and the rule of law were fostered, above all, by kings. The best kings created the rule of law out of chaos. This, Suderman observes, is "retelling a Whig story with a Tory cast of characters," and comments: "No wonder his audience was confused" (pp. 137–38). In "Hume and the End of History," F. L. Van Holthoon sees Hume as a neoclassical historian who wrote as a scientific Whig, with a focus on reason in history. Hume intended to tell a political story yet was fascinated by manners, constitutional practices, trade, and industry. It is clear, however, that Hume's overarching focus is political, as can be seen in the successive revisions he undertook, banishing cultural detail to notes or excising it altogether to enhance narrative flow. It is well known that Hume, like Tacitus, wrote his history backward. It was his own opinion that it was not until the Tudor histories that he began to succeed in his political aim, switching from the two Stuart volumes' focus on character to the detached narrative seen in the rest of the *History*.

In "Hume as a Philosopher of History," the late Claudia M. Schmidt argues that Hume's philosophy of history can be found both in his early career as a philosopher and in his later years as a historian. She traces the linkages between the two with close readings of the *Treatise*, the *Enquiry concerning Human Understanding*, and the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*. She finds that "Hume consistently regards the human agent as situated in a historical context" (p. 171), and that his *History* similarly shows his continual awareness of the interrelations among individual agents and historical context. Douglas Long, too, in "Hume's Historiographical Imagination," presents a close reading of the *Treatise* and considers the linkages between its ideas and the *History*, comparing the relationships between the ideas about space and time in the *Treatise* with Hume's practice in the *History*. Long sees an intention both to instruct and to amuse, as Hume's delightfully readable prose style sweeps the

reader along.

Timothy Costelloe, in "Fact and Fiction, Memory and Imagination in Hume's Approach to History and Literature," sees Hume aligning the techniques of history with those of epic poetry, since each must draw on both the repetitive power of memory and the creative power of imagination. Costelloe points out that "Hume explicitly characterizes the aim of history in terms of instruction," but in bringing the past into the present, he also provides "agreeable entertainment" and "amuses the fancy" (p. 193).

Over one hundred of the three hundred pages of Hume's *Political Discourses* are given to the essay "Of the Populousness of Antient Nations," a clear indication of Hume's estimation of the topic's importance. Yet this essay has been comparatively neglected. In "The 'Most Curious & Important of all Questions of Erudition': Hume's Assessment of the Populousness of Ancient Nations," M. A. Box and Michael Silverthorne provide a meticulous analysis of the essay's argument about the possibility of discovering how many people lived in the ancient world. They explain why this was important to Hume and his contemporaries and discuss how his method of weighing sources, while also advancing his argument about their relative lack of reliability, gives us a good understanding of his general approach to the evaluation of evidence.

Mark Spencer has done researchers and teachers a genuine service in bringing together these essays, summing up the state of current scholarship on Hume the philosophical historian—or is it Hume the historical philosopher? This collection will serve as a landmark, identifying where we have been and where we may go in the future.

Marianne B. Geiger, Fordham University

Ken Mackinnon, ed., ***Hume and Law***. Farnham, Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2012. Pp. xxxiii + 553.

In this volume in the well-established Philosophers and Law series, which focuses on philosophers who are not primarily associated with, but greatly influenced, law, Ken Mackinnon presents facsimiles of twenty-seven articles on the influence of David Hume on legal thought, originally published between 1959 and 2005. The editor admirably introduces the book and explains its structure. For him, "Hume's contribution to our understanding of law lies in his radical reassessments of various key concepts that form the architecture of legal systems" (p. xv).

The first part, on Law and Legal Theory, contains contributions by Philip Milton, Sheldon Wein, Neil McArthur, and Alfons Beitzinger which reveal Hume's criticism of natural law thinking and sympathy for, but not adoption of, a full-fledged positivistic stand. The core second part, on Justice, is divided into three sections: Origins (Ian F. G. Baxter and Andrew Lister), Obligation, and Content and Scope of Justice. Central here is Hume's concept of justice as an artificial virtue, fruit of his extraordinary circumstantial, evolutional, and empiricist social theory (or indeed "science of man"), combining self-interest, sympathy, and positive unintended consequences of human action. In Obligation, Luigi Bagolini lays open the subtle middle ground that Hume takes between a natural law explanation and a positivist "sanction theory," and the move in the missing link for the maintenance of obligation from sympathy in the *Treatise of Human Nature* to utility in the *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, and Gerald J. Postema and Jason Baldwin discuss in different ways the "sensible knave" problem. Finally, Hume's refusal of distributive principles of justice and his focus on property rules are discussed in articles by Alistair Macleod, Arthur Kuflik, and Russell Hardin (who stresses Hume's posture as a social scientist in context, versus a more normative philosopher).

The next part turns to property in Hume's theory of justice and law in general, and its foundation "in some internal relation" (*Treatise*), i.e., association in the mind of the owner caused by the external object. Articles by George E. Panichas, Christopher J. Berry, and Jeremy Waldron treat different aspects of the pivotal role of property, as do two others by G.E.M. Anscombe and Annette Baier in a further part on Promises and Contracts. Part V, with contributions by Jeffrie G. Murphy, Frederick G. Whelan, Rachel Cohon, and R. J. Glossop, is devoted to the question of the basis of government, and hence to the controversial issue of how much social contract theory is in Hume. In Part VI, on Liberty, Nicholas Capaldi stresses convincingly the centrality of law in Hume's historical writings, but all contribute to a deeper understanding that it goes also, and perhaps more profoundly, the other way around: Hume's theory of law and indeed of man as a social and legal animal is largely tributary to a complex and subtle understanding of its evolutionary and historical nature, dependent on time, context, custom, and "accident." Finally, the last two parts concentrate on the origin and the modalities of Hume's treatment of punishment or criminal law, with an article by H.L.A. Hart and Tony Honoré on causation, and pieces by Michael D. Bayles, Paul Russell, A. Wesley Cragg, and James Allan on responsibility and punishment.

This all gives a very good picture of recent scholarship on Hume, at its best in a virtual discussion of conflicting positions. The extraordinary, but hitherto not fully appreciated, familiarity of Hume with law is well confirmed. However, there are some surprising blanks in the Hume literature on law: there is first the obvious parallel between the sensible knave and O. W. Holmes's "Bad Man," or a systematic comparison with his cousin and legal

critic Henry Home, Lord Kames. Furthermore, Hume may have been "surpriz'd" in his famous is/ought passage, but the most surprising thing, indeed "a wonder" to "those, who consider human affairs with a philosophical eye," is for him "the easiness with which the many are governed by the few" in the essay *Of the First Principles of Government.* His conclusion that "it is, therefore, on opinion only that government is founded...to wit, opinion of INTEREST, and opinion of RIGHT," lays the ground for a legal theory of fiction, both public and private. This is hinted at by Beitzinger and by Baier (pp. 67, 333), but the only author who seems to be fully aware of its importance is Edmund S. Morgan, in a 1983 article that was reprinted in his 2009 collection, *American Heroes* (pp. 222ff.).

Mackinnon's selection is representative, though of course not complete (see the list of "additional reading"). The book might have benefited from the inclusion of articles by modern scholars such as Knud Haakonssen and Neil MacCormick. Unfortunately, the name index, which is an important instrument for this kind of book, is not wholly reliable.

Daniel Brühlmeier, University of Berne

Esther Mijers, ***"News from the Republick of Letters": Scottish Students, Charles Mackie and the United Provinces, 1650–1750.*** Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012. Pp. x + 223.

This volume analyzes the Scottish network in the United Provinces from 1650 to 1750. Following the Reformation, confessional reasons alongside political, cultural, and economic ties brought Scotland and the United Provinces closer together than at any time in history. The author's main focus is on the Scottish students who pursued a Dutch education, usually after obtaining a degree in Scotland. The choice is justified by the high numbers and importance of the students within the Scottish community in the United Provinces. Yet the perspective of the volume is broader: the author fully depicts the Dutch life of a Scottish student, which revolved around the vast Scottish network in the United Provinces, comprising merchants, agents, soldiers, religious and political exiles, and three Scottish institutions, which mark out Dutch-Scottish relations: the Scottish Staple at Veere, the Scots Brigade, and the Scottish Church in Rotterdam.

The first three chapters analyze the presence of the Scottish students and explain the Scottish network: 1) Context and Numbers, 2) A Dutch Education and 3) Going Dutch. The Scots were generally interested in the Dutch Humanist curriculum, not available in Scotland. The Scottish interest in the Dutch educational system can be broadly divided into two phases: until 1688–1707, the Scots sought a specialized education; after 1707, the polite education and "French scholarship" won over Scottish hearts, both abroad and home. Through the analysis of individual cases, handled with clarity and using large amounts of source material, the author reconstructs the broader picture of the most renowned educational system of the seventeenth century. The author does a particularly good job at illustrating the differences between the Dutch universities, Leiden, Franeker, Groningen, and Utrecht, with a punctual analysis of the curricula across all faculties. The final chapter focuses on Charles Mackie (1688–1770), a Scottish agent in the United Provinces and, as the author writes in the Conclusion, "a consumer" of the Republic of Letters (p. 190). Unlike some other Scots, Mackie did not contribute to the Republic of Letters as an innovator or as an independent thinker; rather, he contributed to the development of the cultural network on which the whole Republic hinged.

Charles Mackie exemplifies well the author's interpretation of seventeenth-century Scotland as a beneficiary of, and not as a participant in, the "Republick of Letters." The evidence comes from the exchanges between the two countries: whereas there is a significant presence of Scottish students and merchants in the United Provinces, we witness no similar flow in the direction of Scotland. The Humanist curriculum taught at the Dutch universities and Dutch "polite learning" were the models for the second wave of "new foundations" of the Scottish universities, following the post-Reformation one, which constituted a crucial step toward an Enlightenment culture.

Although the seventeenth-century Dutch universities are well researched, the Scottish presence in the United Provinces is comparatively less so. Thus, the volume is praiseworthy for correcting this imbalance and for making available a considerable amount of primary and secondary sources. It is not negligible that a considerable part of this literature is in Dutch, usually inaccessible to the English reader. The variety of the themes analyzed (from philosophy to law and religious controversies) makes this volume valuable to a diverse readership.

The case for Scotland as a beneficiary, and not as an equal partner, in Dutch–Scottish relations during the period examined here rests on solid evidence. The author's view, though, raises a question which is fundamental to our understanding of seventeenth-century and early-Enlightenment Scotland: what did it mean for Scotland to be a "beneficiary" of the Republic of Letters? The author seems to favor the view that "the Scottish Enlightenment had its roots in Scotland's close relations with the United Provinces" (p. 191). Whereas it is beyond doubt that "the Dutch-based Scottish institutions...would enable Scotland to tap into the intellectual and academic resources avail-

able in the United Provinces as well as the wider Republic of Letters" (pp. 32–33), it is also true that Scotland was in the perfect position to make the best of this connection because of her long and noble university and school traditions. Thus, we might want to look at the Scottish seventeenth century and at its role with respect to the Enlightenment in a more favorable way as, I believe, this very interesting volume—indirectly—suggests.

Giovanni Gellera, University of Glasgow

Alexander Broadie, ***Agreeable Connexions: Scottish Enlightenment Links with France***. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2012. Pp. 230.

Though "France's was an Enlightenment very different from Scotland's" (p. 5), in this volume Alexander Broadie demonstrates convincingly that the two were bound together by connections that were the product of existing, historic links. In focusing on the personal relationships of prominent Enlightenment philosophers, Broadie argues for Gaelic rather than Gallic superiority, suggesting that "Scotland during the Age of Enlightenment was the more enlightened of the two countries" (p. 6).

I encourage readers to begin at the end. It is in the Conclusion that the format of the book is elucidated, and one might question why this does not appear in the introductory chapter (pp. 212–13). Of the remaining five chapters, chapter 2 establishes that "for many centuries Scots have engaged in several crucial sorts of cultural activity in France" (p. 7), before chapters 3–6 explore four Franco-Scottish intellectual partnerships active during the Enlightenment period, "paired with a view to probing the impact of one on the other" (p. 213). The nature of these "agreeable connexions" and their impact on the Scottish and French Enlightenment movements was explicitly reciprocal—chapters 3 and 6 focus on the impact of a French person on a Scot (Pierre-Daniel Huet and David Hume; Montesquieu and Adam Ferguson), chapters 4 and 5 on the impact of a Scot on a French person (Thomas Reid and Théodore Jouffroy; Adam Smith and Sophie de Grouchy) (p. 213). Broadie's objective of establishing the existence of a pre-1700 Franco-Scottish intellectual relationship from which Enlightenment connections were born is largely fulfilled, though writing as a seventeenth-century specialist I had hoped that this would form a greater part of the volume. Despite its relative brevity, chapter 2 nonetheless establishes this history, as well as providing the opportunity for Broadie to question the claim that Francis Hutcheson was the "father of the Scottish Enlightenment" (p. 25). Broadie points instead to "seventeenth-century Scottish high culture as its true father" and in this argument he is, as ever, convincing (p. 26).

Chapters 3–6 form the core of the volume, as analyses of eighteenth-century philosophies are combined with explorations of individuals' personal experiences and relationships. Adam Ferguson's ability in Gaelic was "very rare among the literati" and thus had "a large impact on his career" (p. 166), while his service in the Black Watch was "never far from the surface of the *Essay on the History of Civil Society*" (p. 205). For Ferguson the product of these personal abilities and experiences was "a distinct perspective on society and especially on the large question of citizenly virtue" (p. 216), his biography thus influencing his philosophy. In addition to individual experiences, reciprocal relationships were imperative to the development of the Enlightenment, despite harboring distinct differences—de Grouchy, for example, spoke "from a searing experience of a kind that Smith, who had spent almost his whole life in the comfort and safety of Kirkcaldy, Glasgow and Edinburgh, was spared" (p. 159); Huet was a devout Catholic priest whereas Hume was raised in a Calvinist Presbyterian household (p. 27); Montesquieu was a Roman Catholic aristocrat and Adam Ferguson a Calvinist Presbyterian university professor from the middling ranks (pp. 170–71). In delving beneath these ostensible disparities, Broadie highlights the importance of these relationships to the development of Enlightenment philosophies. These chapters are interwoven with skilled analyses of philosophers' writings, covering such topics as skepticism, common sense, morality, sympathy, and citizenship.

Biographical and philosophical discussions are integrated seamlessly, ensuring that those familiar with Broadie's extensive work on the Enlightenment are treated to the engaging prose they will be expecting. The volume is succinct and unpretentious; discussions are clear and accessible. Indeed, Broadie makes a distinct effort to make this book relevant to a modern-day audience. This is laudable and in places successful—for example in the discussion of "Principles of Common Sense" the reader is warned of the "trap" of attributing modern-day understandings of common sense to what is a technical philosophical term (p. 90). Elsewhere, however, this nod to a wider Impact Agenda seems forced, with no obvious contribution to the volume's wider argument—particularly in the final pages of the Conclusion (pp. 216–17). Despite such minor quibbles, this volume is a must-read for all with interest both in the philosophies focused on here and in the wider Enlightenment movement. In providing a detailed biography of each individual discussed and demonstrating how their experiences and relationships influenced their philosophies, Broadie provides an educative, refreshing, and accessible account of the Scottish and French Enlightenments and the links between them.

Siobhan Talbott, University of Manchester

Hugh M. Milne, ***The Legal Papers of James Boswell, Volume I, in Relation to Cases in which Boswell First Became Involved in the Period 29 July 1766 to 11 November 1767***. Edinburgh: The Stair Society, 2013. Volume 60 of the Stair Society Publications. Pp. lxviii + 469.

James Boswell is now remembered as a biographer and autobiographer, but he was a career lawyer—in Scots one properly says "advocate," whereas the English term would be "barrister"—first at the Scottish Bar (1766–86) and then, with far less success, at the English Bar (1786–95). He passed his private examination in civil law in 1762, studied civil (Roman tradition) law at Utrecht in 1763–64, and then, all in 1766, passed his private examination in Scots law, produced a Latin law thesis called *De Supellectile Legata*, and became an advocate. Three years later he was admitted to practice at the bar of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. Although he was never elevated to either of the benches of the Scottish high courts (as his father Alexander Boswell, who held the bench title of Lord Auchinleck, had been), he was selected as one of the examiners of the Faculty of Advocates and one of the curators of the Advocates' Library, suggesting that his legal contemporaries had some respect for his talents.

Hugh Milne's name will be familiar to those interested in the study of Scotland in the age of James Boswell. Milne excerpted the majority of the Edinburgh segments of the Yale "trade editions" of Boswell's journals (cutting out some of the duller and more fragmentary bits) to make the estimable and entertaining anthology *Boswell's Edinburgh Journals, 1767–1786* (2001, rev. edns. 2003 and 2013), journals covering those years in which "Boswell [was] practising in Edinburgh as an advocate from 1767 to 1786" (*BEJ*, p. vii). That book was already deeply grounded in Milne's "study of a number of Boswell's manuscript legal papers, and other legal documents" (*BEJ*, pp. ix, 565). Therefore, it was a natural transition for Milne, a lawyer who has become a proficient editor of Boswell, to move on to Boswell's legal papers.

Whereas *Boswell's Edinburgh Journals* was aimed at the general reader, and based on the liberalized/normalized transcription of the "trade editions" of the Yale Boswell, *The Legal Papers of James Boswell* undertakes a far more conservative transcription. The technical terms and annotation of the *Legal Papers*, like those of the other volumes in the magisterial Stair Society series, are aimed at the community of Scottish studies and British legal history scholars rather than the casual reader.

In this volume, Milne edits forty-one cases which Boswell began work on from the end of July 1766 until the middle of November 1767, presenting them in a close and nearly perfect chronological order of case initiation, with only two exceptions in his two volumes re-dated during a late stage in his editorial work (by which time, the cases were irrevocably sequenced). He takes care to include all relevant papers from these cases, sorted within the case's lifespan rather than through strict chronology (p. vii). His work is made more challenging because "original copies of the papers included in these volumes" are scattered across at least seven major rare book libraries (p. viii). In locating these diverse sources, he stands on the shoulders of six duly-acknowledged bibliographers (pp. viii–ix). Milne carefully sets out his editorial methods, which seem consonant with the editorial methods of the Yale Editions for correspondence, entailing a moderate-conservative preservation of textual accidentals (pp. ix–xi).

It is impossible in this review to discuss all forty-one of these cases, but one may generalize about their nature. They represent Boswell's on-the-job-training, since the cases in this volume are all from Boswell's first sixteen months as a junior lawyer. Milne includes a helpful chart proving that a third of Boswell's cases came from his ancestral homeland of Ayrshire and its southwestern environs, a sixth from his natal metropolitan area of greater Edinburgh, a sixth each from greater Glasgow and the Highlands, and the remainder from other locales (p. lviii). This is a rather more national base for Boswell's practice than one might have guessed.

Boswell's mind was structurally that of a lawyer; in his books, he often argues in the manner of an advocate. Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides* and *The Life of Johnson*, which strove in much of its text to rescue Samuel Johnson's reputation from his critics' cavils, absorbed the Scottish legal tradition of printing evidence in civil cases and applied it to defending a literary personage. As Boswell saw it, he was defending Johnson against the pursuers Sir John Hawkins and Hester Piozzi, his toughest rivals in Johnsonian biography. "Ours is a court of *papers*," he noted in his journal on 2 February 1776. "We are never seriously engaged but when we write." Especially in Boswell's papers for the civil Court of Session, in which cases were mostly presented by documents rather than *viva voce* in verbal testimony, modern readers of Milne's edition are seeing these cases much as the judges of the lawsuits did, that is, through the presentation to the judges of sheafs of Reclaiming Petitions (31 examples), Answers (25 examples), Memorials (10 examples), Replies (6 examples), Representations (6 examples), Informations (4 examples), and Petitions or Petitions and Complaints (3 examples of each sort) (p. lvi). Much of the language of spulzies and compts and multiplepoindings will seem a shibboleth-laden foreign jargon to those not deep into Scottish legal history. Even those who are accustomed to reading the Scots of Allan Ramsay and Robert Burns with fluency will trip over unfamiliar legal terms, making Milne's numerous footnotes and thirty-five-page glossary of legal terms absolutely necessary.

What is the value of a volume of the cases of a man who did not rank among the great pleaders of this golden age of barristers and advocates? The great merit of Boswell's cases, counterintuitively, is precisely their quotidian and mediocre or middling nature. They are the sort of bread-and-butter cases which made up the legal work of the typical Edinburgh advocate, who took on clients high and low, some of whose cases were utterly fascinating, some appallingly boring. I suspect Boswell had a few more elite clients than many of his brethren, although Edinburgh's advocates were often well-born and well-connected gentlemen. It has also been suggested that Boswell's father being a judge on the high court benches may have aided young James to gain clients. On the other hand, the awkwardness and danger of a once and future prodigal son arguing before his often dour father, who was judgmental as a man as well as judicious as a judge, must have been palpable to those in the know.

A few names within these cases will be familiar to Boswellians: Boswell's sage old mentor Sir Alexander Dick (LP 3), the doomed sheep thief John Reid (LP 5), the daring bookseller Alexander Donaldson (LP 10, 36), the libertine Earl of Eglinton (LP 11), and Boswell's cousin Claud Boswell (LP 22). In one remarkable case (LP 37), Boswell defended newspaper publisher John Donaldson against a prosecution for publishing squibs on the Douglas Cause, many of which had been written by Boswell himself!

Milne promises a second volume quite soon, also from the Stair Society, which will cover the cases from mid-November 1767 until mid-November 1769. Aficionados of Frederick Pottle's biography of Boswell's *Earlier Years* (1966) will recognize the terminus of Milne's forthcoming second volume as the same month, and only two weeks before, Boswell's wedding to Margaret Montgomerie, which Pottle took as the end of his biography of Boswell's youth. So we shall soon have all the known surviving cases of Boswell's bachelor days, carefully edited. They can profitably be studied in context by reference to the already-published correspondence in the Yale Editions for this period with Johnston of Grange and William Temple, and the two volumes of *General Correspondence of 1766–1769*, four books frequently cited by Milne.

Milne, in his courage in taking on such a foreboding—or as Boswell would say, with his idiosyncratic spelling, "presumptous"—task, finds himself in the situation of Camus's existentialist hero Sisyphus. He notes that there are approximately 350 volumes in the Advocates' Library which might contain "further papers by Boswell" for this period (p. viii). After the first volume of his superb and definitive edition of Boswell's early legal career and the forthcoming second volume covering Nov. 1767–Nov. 1769, the large number of equally important cases from the period 1770–1785/86 will still remain unedited. "Il faut," Camus reminds us, "imaginer Sisyphe heureux."

James J. Caudle, Yale University

Norman S. Poser, ***Lord Mansfield: Justice in the Age of Reason***. Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013. Pp. xviii + 532.

William Murray, Lord Mansfield, was involved in some of the most contentious legal cases of the eighteenth century and was at the forefront of some of the most important issues confronting Britain in his lifetime. Growing up in Perthshire, Mansfield moved to London, and his decisions would have an impact on the law of England, together with a long list of other countries including, but not limited to, the United States, Canada, and Australia. Although Mansfield was very much a figure of English common law, Norman Poser presents him first and foremost as a Scotsman and, in this sense, almost brings the figure home to his roots, reminding us why his accomplishments are equally relevant for those interested in eighteenth-century Scottish history.

Lord Mansfield has been the subject of other recent studies, notably James Oldham's excellent *English Common law in the Age of Mansfield* (2004)—a legal history of the evolution of the common law in the eighteenth century, largely viewed through the history of Mansfield's decisions. Much of Poser's work is similarly grounded in Mansfield's decisions, but Posner also aims to offer a portrait of his subject both on and away from the judicial bench. The result is the first biography on Mansfield in recent years and a most welcome addition to the existing Mansfield literature.

The first part of the book focuses on Mansfield's early years and his establishment as a lawyer and eventually as a judge; the second looks at the substantive issues that Mansfield faced in his career. The chapters in the first part of the work are largely chronological, each accounting for a stage in Mansfield's life, including his education, his first days as a lawyer at Lincoln's Inn, his ascension to the post of solicitor general, his attainment of the bench, family affairs, and the social scene he experienced. The second part covers a broad range of contentious topics handled by Mansfield in his legal career, arranged according to theme. The groupings work well and create a coherent narrative. The author explores large topics, without sparing detail, while also penetrating the mind of Mansfield in relation to these issues. Poser is also consistent in his effort to assert his subject's relevance to the present day.

The first chapter is dedicated to Scotland. Mansfield's Jacobite heritage is discussed in detail, with em-

phasis on the divergence between his family's rebellious roots in Perth and his own journey into the very heart of Britain's political establishment. Educated at Perth Grammar School, Mansfield sat shoulder-to-shoulder with sons of gentry and sons of the poor, and it is out of this exposure, the author suggests, that Mansfield's sense of social awareness was born. This chapter closes with Poser's depiction of a young Mansfield crossing the British countryside on horseback alone at the age of thirteen. The reader acquires an image of a figure independent in spirit and mind from an early stage of his life.

The book continues at a good pace through the different stages of Mansfield's career: Oxford, Lincoln's Inn, Westminster, and ascension to the bench. This first half of the book ends with a meticulously detailed and rich account of Mansfield's social life, far beyond a history of professional relationships or patronage networks. The variety and volume of Mansfield's friends and acquaintances were considerable, and Poser emphasizes Mansfield's many Scottish connections. They included Robert Adam, who made extensive alterations to Mansfield's country home, Kenwood, notably creating the library, one of the architect's finest achievements. James Boswell is said to have been a regular visitor to Kenwood, and Poser quotes a dialogue that took place between the two men. We also learn that David Hume once relied on Mansfield for legal assistance.

The chapters on contentious legal issues in the second half of the work are focused on commerce and industry, freedom of the press, crime and punishment, betting and lending, slavery and the Somerset case, the American Revolution, women and marriage, and religious freedom. Unsurprisingly, the chapters vary in length, related to the debate over of the topic at issue. Commerce and industry and slavery dominate, but not to the extent of diminishing the impact of the other topics. The selection of important cases and areas of the law achieves the author's aim of balancing the concerns of readers whose interests are legal and historical.

In sum, this is a fine piece of historical scholarship, and essential reading for those interested in this imposing figure. It also offers much for readers who wish to acquire a better understanding of the changes that English common law underwent in the eighteenth century, the effects of which remain to this day.

Jasmin K. R. Hepburn, University of Edinburgh

Iain McDaniel, ***Adam Ferguson in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Roman Past and Europe's Future***. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2013. Pp. x + 276.

Iain McDaniel's new book on Adam Ferguson is a welcome contribution to the field. While Ferguson has long been recognized as a "Scots Cato" and was by his own admission a "warlike philosopher," we have until now lacked a monograph dedicated to this central theme in Ferguson's writing. McDaniel sets himself the task of examining Ferguson's lifelong preoccupation with Roman history and the lessons that might be drawn from it for contemporary Britain. The Ferguson that emerges is one preoccupied by the danger of military government and the corruption of empire. What is challenging about McDaniel's account is that it sets out to oppose the traditional identification of this aspect of Ferguson's work with a neo-machiavellian civic republicanism. Instead, the book considers Ferguson as conducting a sophisticated attempt to respond to Montesquieu's rejection of the relevance of Rome (itself an engagement with the Machiavelli of the *Discourses*) while participating in a debate about the tensions that exist in a nascent British Empire. Ferguson's analysis, refined and spread throughout his writings, stresses the "praetorian character" (p. 55) of eighteenth-century politics in a way designed to encourage reflection on the lessons from Rome.

But the lessons that Ferguson wants us to learn from Rome are not straightforwardly those of the republican tradition. McDaniel makes a strong case against reading Ferguson as a simplistic republican: he draws on Ferguson's hostility to democracy, moderated defense of luxury and commerce, and his defense of rank to show the distance of Ferguson's arguments from classical and seventeenth-century republicanism. But the chief argument that forms the center of the book is that Ferguson's analysis of republican Rome was intended to show how a democratizing republic in Rome fueled the imperial expansion that led to the fall of the free constitution and the rise of military rule. The corruption of the republic had its roots in the forces set loose by democratic republicanism rather than in the effect of some outside contagion. McDaniel's Ferguson is a thinker concerned with demonstrating the dangers of the republicanism of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Britain to the long-term prospects for liberty and political stability. The book is to be commended for drawing attention to Ferguson's *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (1783) and his manuscripts and lectures as sources for this interpretation. Other evidence is drawn from contemporaneous accounts that engage with similar arguments from Mably, Raynal, and others—though such evidence is suggestive and contextual rather than definitive, in the sense of demonstrating direct interlocution with Ferguson.

McDaniel argues that the evidence of what Ferguson says about politics from the *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (1769) through the late unpublished essays should lead us to read the final chapters of his history of the Roman Republic as a "projection of Britain's future" (p. 146). While this is a reasonable interpretation, it's also

worth underlining that Ferguson's commitment to historical accuracy—taken to the extent of visiting battlefields—means that this account is not merely reading back contemporary concerns into the Roman past, but rather a concerted effort to provide accurate historical analysis upon which subsequent generations might reflect. If Ferguson did have it in mind that Britain should learn from the fall of the Republic, then he must also have had it in mind to make a contribution to deflating the more enthusiastic whiggish dialogue on the virtuous "balance" of the British constitution—perhaps with the aim of providing a more sophisticated account of factional balance than the crown, lords, and commons focus of much of the eighteenth-century debate.

McDaniel presents a convincing case that Ferguson's engagement with the Roman example is more complex than we have thus far understood. But given the times and his preoccupation with warfare, it is perhaps curious that Ferguson did not spend more time considering the lessons of Carthage for a commercial republic, especially in the light of the anti-mercantilism that McDaniel so helpfully illustrates (p. 98). Indeed when McDaniel comes to discuss Ferguson's late essays on Napoleon, we might even wonder if the life-long application of the example of Rome to Britain might have been misplaced, with Rome as a more accurate account of post-revolutionary France. It's also curious, given the anti-republicanism that McDaniel identifies, that Ferguson did not devote greater attention to the republic and citizen army of Cromwell's Protectorate.

If there is an area that we might usefully have heard more, it is link between Ferguson's conflict sociology (pp. 81–82), used to account for national cohesion and "spirit," and the naturalness of war. It seems from McDaniel's account that Ferguson's support for the international balance of powers would have acknowledged the inevitability and healthiness of a certain type of war, while fearing the appearance of another (imperial wars of conquest). Ferguson was famously worried about the "relaxation" of spirit that resulted from internal and external peace, but looked at from the other side we might also wonder whether the hierarchical political-military structure that he advocates would be any better at ensuring that the necessary wars are the right type of conflict.

The book also raises questions about the coherence of Ferguson's vision. His desire for what McDaniel calls a "neo-German idea of military aristocracy" (p. 157) is clearly aimed at reviving virtue and preventing the drift to military rule that menaces commercial republics. But given what Ferguson says about the need for opposition between nations to preserve national health, and the militarized nature of the population in the model that he envisages, we are naturally left wondering what these good soldiers are going to do with their time.

Ferguson's own military experience (curiously under-explored in the book) would have provided insight into the developing form of the British regimental system, and it can be no accident that the hierarchy that blends social rank and merit-based authority looks like such a body. But the regiments were at the forefront of imperial expansion and British military success. What, we might ask, did Ferguson expect this new military class to do if not to seek opportunities to expand? Would he ultimately have had to fall back on republican and militia arguments about citizen soldiers were he to avoid this outcome? If, as McDaniel argues, Ferguson was advocating a new form of honor-based politics, then what would prevent those honor-seeking soldiers and politicians from seeking opportunities to engage in warfare?

These, however, are not criticisms of McDaniel's book; they are expressions of the recurring feeling of inconsistency one feels whenever one digs deeper into Ferguson's thought. McDaniel is to be credited for having dug deeper, and for providing a thoughtful engagement with Ferguson's writings on war and politics that demonstrates serious problems with the pervasive reading of him in the republican tradition while pointing the reader in potentially fruitful new interpretative directions.

Craig Smith, University of Glasgow

Jack Russell Weinstein ***Adam Smith's Pluralism: Rationality, Education and the Moral Sentiments***. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013. Pp. xv + 341.

Everyone knows that "the Adam Smith Problem" is not a problem, and yet somehow it never quite goes away. The relationship between Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (*TMS*) and *Wealth of Nations* (*WN*) remains sufficiently unsettled to sustain continuing debate. Jack Russell Weinstein's book takes the "problem" as its starting point, and using Mandeville as a focal point, offers an interesting and plausible account of the relation between the two books. *TMS*, Weinstein argues, is a rejection of Mandeville's egoism, while *WN* accepts, and builds upon, Mandeville's insight that private vices can have public benefits (though to call them "vices" is to side a little too closely with Mandeville, perhaps). On this interpretation, then, we can see both that the two books do indeed have different emphases, and that the "Adam Smith problem" arose from mistakenly taking these differing emphases to be competing philosophical commitments—the first against, and the second in favor, of a Mandevillian account of human motivation.

With this interpretation firmly in place, Weinstein proceeds to his main task, which is to show how Smith's account of morality, rationality, and socialization can be made relevant to contemporary debates about

liberal pluralism. He argues that Smith's philosophical explorations in *TMS* and *WN* together offer a more promising intellectual foundation for liberal pluralism than the (broadly) Kantian basis that Rawls sought unsuccessfully to give it, and that so many others have attempted to shore up. The topics of rationality and normativity figure prominently in the ensuing nine chapters, but the major topic is education, which provides the subject matter of four of them. Chapter 10 moves to a methodological topic and addresses the relation between historical investigation and normative prescription, while chapter 11 addresses postmodernist challenges to eighteenth-century progressivism. Weinstein makes the case for holding that, contrary to some familiar interpretations, "Smith's philosophy is not a romantic conservatism or a laissez-faire moralism but a forward looking corpus with a commitment to justice and diversity" (p. 240). Against Foucault, principally, he defends his contention that "twenty-first century theorists can learn from someone who published two and a half centuries ago." In a brief conclusion, Weinstein reaffirms his two main claims that "Smith offers a theory of pluralism that prefigures modern systems of diversity" and that "he presents an account of human rationality that is representative of a holistic picture of human agency" (p. 264).

Weinstein has written a very fine book. He is exceptionally well read in his chosen area, and his style is fluent and engaging. If I have a criticism, it is a slightly odd one, perhaps. The book is a little too long. This matters because the torrent of scholarly material that the modern academy produces requires readers to apportion their time. Long books run the risk of either being ignored or only read in part with the accompanying risk of being misinterpreted. It would be a great pity if such a fate befell this book, especially given the many years of dedicated work that have gone into its production.

More importantly, perhaps, it could in my view have been shorter without great loss. Weinstein, as it seems to me, is too anxious to cover all the angles, and too defensive in his championship of Smith. He feels under pressure to show, for instance, that Smith disapproved of slavery and approved of gender equality. His explication of these points is informed and interesting, but it is hard to resist the sense that contemporary moral proclivities are being given too much authority. Furthermore, the closing chapters on "History and Normativity" and "Progress or Postmodernism?" are in an important way superfluous. My suspicion is that, despite the quality of Weinstein's arguments, the people to whom they are primarily addressed—strongly contextualist historians of ideas, postmodern relativists—are unlikely to be persuaded. On the other hand, those who have followed the fine philosophical and scholarly chapters that precede these will need little persuading, I think, that many common interpretations of Smith are indeed caricatures, and that there is real intellectual illumination to be recovered from *TMS* and *WN* on themes with which contemporary political and social theory is centrally concerned.

Gordon Graham, Princeton Theological Seminary

Christopher J. Berry, ***The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment.*** Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. Pp. xii + 244.

A central tenet of the Scottish Enlightenment was the active conversion of theory into practice, as Christopher Berry reminds us early in *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment*. The complex interplay between the ideas that constituted the Scottish Enlightenment and the institutions that carried those ideas to fruition—law, church, universities, clubs and societies, and print media—made possible the development of Scotland as a commercial society in the eighteenth century. The major question this book asks, and thus its primary contribution to the field of Scottish studies in particular, and Enlightenment studies more broadly, is not simply how the theorization of commercial society informed the practices of social institutions, but instead how the *idea* of commercial society emerged in the first place. Berry's novel contention is that the thinkers of the Scottish Enlightenment invented the idea of modern commercial society. Through close observation of what Adam Smith called "the science of human nature," the Scots were the first to articulate how a commercial society can work to benefit a nation and how it can be implemented through its social institutions.

The book begins by using the leitmotif of "improvement" to differentiate the "institution" from the "ideation" of the Scottish Enlightenment. The first section on institutions shows how some of Scotland's major social institutions and their respective thinkers forwarded and debated improvement through laws such as the 1753 Act for "Encouraging and improving the manufactory of Linen in the Highlands" and changes in the university curriculum that emphasized modernization and the practical application of knowledge. Yet it is the "ideation" that is the focus of the book, and the second section of chapter 1 establishes the pedigree of thought upon which improvement was based by linking its key theoretical principles to four foundational thinkers: the ideas of university reform (Bacon), moral and social science (Newton), moral causation from habit, custom, and education (Locke), and fairness and equity in the justice system (Montesquieu). The translation of these ideas into Scottish thought provides the groundwork upon which the idea of commercial society is based.

The first chapter also provides the foundation for the book's argument: the Scots' application of Newtoni-

an empirical science to the social realm made possible what David Hume called the "science of man," which allowed "a complex of social conditions and circumstances" to be observed, and the discernment of these social conditions enabled the Scots to "articulate an idea of commercial society" (pp. 26–27). But *how* is the idea articulated? Chapters 2–5 read some of the traditional narratives of Scottish Enlightenment thought—conjectural history and stadial theory, law and justice, liberty, virtue, and commerce—as structuring elements for the idea of commercial society. For example, chapter 2, "Commerce, Stages and the Natural History of Society," provides a solid survey of the concept of the "four stages" theory in the works of Smith, John Millar, Lord Kames, and Hugh Blair and then argues that stadial theory was a key generating concept behind the idea of commercial society. Commercial society is the fourth and ultimate stage in the progression of a typical society through the hunter-gatherer, pastoral, and agricultural stages, and the conceptualization of this stage is a crucial contributing factor to its existence. The Lowland Scots saw themselves as living in this fourth stage, and this book's major contribution is that it clearly and meticulously delineates the parameters of the idea of commercial society as it appeared in nearly every major thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment, from Smith and Hume (on which the book may rely a little too heavily) to George Turnbull, Sir James Steuart, Sir John Dalrymple, and even James Hutton.

Berry puts a vast number of Scottish primary texts in dialogue with each other in order to illuminate how thinkers were developing the idea of commercial society. An example of his method is the use of conjectural historiography to develop a narrative of the fall of European feudalism and the consequent emergence of commercial society. Smith tells a historical story in the *Wealth of Nations* about the wane of European feudalism being consequent upon a widespread increase in the desire for luxury goods. Berry uses Smith's "diamond buckles" example to compare both historical narrative and social causation in the works of Smith, Hume, Millar, William Robertson, and Gilbert Stuart, among others, in order to develop a dialectic of liberty and commerce in their writing, which is followed up in chapters 4 and 5. He then shows how each of these thinkers addresses the issue historically by citing external, or exogenous, trade as a cause for pushing England out of feudalism and for establishing it as a commercial nation. The highlight here is the explication of Robertson's "A View of the Progress of Society in Europe," where Robertson posits the Crusades as a direct cause of the development of England's exogenous trade, and the connection of Robertson's claim to Smith's account: "The arrival of those diamond buckles [in England] is thus an unintended consequence of the Crusades, just as the desire for them results in the unintended consequence of the loss of baronial power" (p. 55). The further unintended consequence of Robertson's position, Berry states, is that the merchants who were transporting luxury goods throughout Europe also carried with them "more liberal ideas concerning justice and order" (Robertson's words), which led to cities gaining more freedom and autonomy. Berry shows how Millar, Steuart, and Hume engaged in this same historical moment, and he repeats this method of representation throughout the book.

Thus, this book re-contextualizes a number of Scottish Enlightenment debates over concepts like history, slavery, public and private liberty, luxury and poverty, and military defense under the aegis of the idea of commercial society. This practice of historical revisioning may be susceptible to the criticism that well-known concepts are simply being shuffled and re-categorized under an umbrella or catch-all term, or that the idea of commercial society is a convenient description within which a variety of disparate thinkers are encapsulated. But in the spirit of the Scots project, isn't this what Smith himself attempts to do in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* with his system of systems? This, in fact, is the tensile strength of this book: Berry weaves together a thick cable of discursive threads in order to show how the idea appeared in varying forms, and the point isn't that the Scots came to a consensus about the idea or its implementation, but that their debates themselves were enabled and informed by the distinctiveness of the idea of commercial society—that "the core of the idea of commercial society is that it is a 'society', not a polity or a clan" in which discourse among citizens is either unknown or restricted. Thus the concepts through which the Scots debated the idea were themselves both the composite and the product of commercial society.

Here is how the scholarly apparatus is handled. A list of abbreviations for primary Scottish texts, placed at the beginning of the book, is consistently referenced in the text by interlinear parenthetical citations that include chapter and page numbers from those primary texts. A manageable number of chapter endnotes provide additional information. As Berry draws on a vast amount of sources (the overview in chapter 1 alone is astounding in this respect), the bibliography is impressive, and is helpfully divided into "Primary: Scottish," "Primary: Other," and "Secondary." The index is concise yet accurate.

While Berry's research is thorough and meticulous, the same cannot be said for the editing of this volume. Missing verbs and articles abound, and prepositions exist where they should not. I eventually reached a point beyond distraction where I simply stopped circling proofreading errors. The interlinear references to Scottish primary texts, though necessary in a book of this kind, have the potential to whelm the reader into simply ignoring them. Similarly, cross-references to other parts of the book, while sometimes useful, are overused and occasionally be-

come repetitively tedious.

This book will appeal to generalists looking to get a better handle on Scottish historiography, the schemas of conjectural history and stadial theory, and the origin of many current debates in the fields of history and economics. Yet this book is not simply for generalists. Berry's strength as a presenter of trajectories of historical ideas is his ability to synthesize a number of varying viewpoints in the same historical moment and allow them to color his story, so that in the end the reader learns that there was much more involved in the development of an idea than meets the eye. We tend to forget that nearly every thinker in the Scottish Enlightenment contributed to the idea of commercial society in some way, shape, or form, and that Hume and Smith were simply two thinkers among many.

Michael C. Amrozowicz, State University of New York at Albany

Wendy Anderson, ed., ***Language in Scotland: Corpus-based Studies.*** Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, volume 19. Rodopi: Amsterdam and New York, 2013. Pp. 299.

John M. Kirk and Iseabail Macleod, eds., ***Scots: Studies in its Literature and Language***. Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature, volume 21. Rodopi: Amsterdam and New York, 2013. Pp. 309.

Although their focus extends beyond any one historical period, these recent volumes of the Scottish Cultural Review of Language and Literature (SCROLL) contain important new research into the linguistic landscape of Scotland during the long eighteenth century. The articles in the first volume, *Language in Scotland*, testify to the depth and breadth of historical linguistic research that has been spawned by new digital resources, some of them created by contributors to this volume. An informative introduction by the editor, Wendy Anderson, outlines the current state of corpus research on Scotland's languages and explains for the non-specialist the significance of the subtitle: the studies within are corpus-based rather than corpus-driven, that is they use textual corpora—digitized archives of texts—to support rather than steer their research.

Three articles are of particular interest, drawing as they do on the rich resources of the Corpus of Modern Scottish Writing (www.scottishcorpus.ac.uk/cmsw): a digital body of texts from 1700 to 1945, ranging from novels to personal correspondence, which has become a key resource for studying the development of Modern Scots and Scottish English. The first article, by Jeremy J. Smith, deftly dissects the letter-writing style of Archibald Campbell, Lord Ilay (1682–1761), showing how Ilay's speech-based punctuation reflects the advice of contemporary letter-writing manuals. Following this, Jennifer Bann explores the language of eighteenth-century administrative documents (seemingly pervasive then as now) from the University of Glasgow, and carefully traces the spread of legal terminology outwith its usual domain; and John Corbett offers a fresh analysis of the spelling of Burns and Ramsay, including a revisionist view of the much-derided "apologetic apostrophe," and suggests that the authors' use of alternate spellings be viewed positively as "part of a single system that allows—or even embraces— variation." Other articles worth highlighting include Christian Kay's account of how a hardy group of kinship terms with roots in Old English survived longer in Scots than in its sister language, English; and Roibeard Ó Maolalaigh's report on the new Corpas na Gàidhlig project, which will provide a vital foundation for the creation of the first historical dictionary of Scottish Gaelic, *Faclair na Gàidhlig*.

The second volume under review, *Scots: Studies in its Literature and Language*, is a Festschrift to mark the retirement of the indefatigable "scholar o pairts" J. Derrick McClure, whose exploration of Scots as a literary language, over an extraordinarily prolific career (the "List of Publications" helpfully provided by the editors extends over twelve pages), sets the theme for the volume. The language under scrutiny includes not only Scots written in Scotland, but that of the Scots-speaking community in Ulster, and of emigrants to North Carolina and Australia, as well as the longstanding (and still flourishing) tradition of literary translation into Scots, to which McClure has made many distinguished additions, including most recently a Doric version of *Alice in Wonderland*.

There are many fine contributions to this volume, but I will single out those of particular relevance. The volume begins in style with an article by Jeremy J. Smith which draws on his extensive research into the afterlives of two key medieval Scottish texts: Barbour's *Bruce* and Hary's *Wallace*. Aiming to show "how the present is always in dynamic dialogue with the past," Smith harnesses the tools of the new discipline of historical pragmatics to trace the subtle shifts in emphasis produced by textual details such as choice of font and punctuation in successive editions of these texts. It is intriguing to learn, for example, that the decision by the Jacobite printer Robert Freebairn to publish his *Wallace* in "traditional" black-letter font may be viewed as "a political act." Christine Robinson's survey of loanwords in Scots highlights one of the most complex issues facing the historical lexicographer: how to establish the most probable etymological route for any given word. The examples she provides from the ongoing revision of the *Concise Scots Dictionary* suggest that the long-awaited new edition will be an indispensable reference work for students of Scottish language and culture. Elsewhere in this volume, Michael B. Montgomery analyzes the personal correspondence of eighteenth-century Scottish emigrants to North Carolina, reveal-

ing a level of Scots influence that has hitherto been underestimated; and Graham Tulloch explores the under-researched area of Australian texts in Scots, dating back to Burnsian imitators published in early Australian newspapers. Drawing on evidence from the *First Statistical Account*—"arguably the first genuine attempt to map language onto space at ground level"—Robert McColl Millar sees foreshadowings of the "kailyard" sentimental attitude to Scots in some of its contributors. Marina Dossena has published widely on the development of Modern Scots and Scottish English, and in her article she turns her attention to R. L. Stevenson's stylistic use of Scots, suggesting that the enduring literary and folk tradition of Scots accounted for its survival (and therefore availability to Stevenson as a writer), "despite the strenuous attempts of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century prescriptivists to eradicate it." Lastly, Caroline Macafee's perceptive study of Gavin Douglas as a translator of Virgil also has resonance for eighteenth-century scholars, given the importance of the influential 1710 edition of that text by Thomas Ruddiman.

This is only a selection of the research on display in these volumes. Anyone with an interest in the historical reach and future direction of the languages of Scotland, especially Scots, will find much of interest in the remaining articles.

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David Purdie, Kirsteen McCue, and Gerard Carruthers, eds, ***Maurice Lindsay's The Burns Encyclopedia***. London: Robert Hale, 2013. Pp. 384.

Maurice Lindsay first compiled and published *The Burns Encyclopedia* in 1959, to coincide with the celebration of the bicentenary of Burns's birth. Since that time, the work has gone through three editions, the most recent in 1980. The encyclopedia continues to be an indispensable resource on the Internet, where the third edition is available for free on the Burns Country website (www.robertburns.org). The appearance of the newly revised and reformatted fourth edition continues Lindsay's fine endeavor to inform readers about the historical, social, and cultural contexts necessary for a fuller understanding of Burns and his body of work.

The new edition begins with a notable appreciation of Lindsay and his accomplishments, where he is rightly described as "a man of diverse literary interests and one of Scotland's distinguished men of letters of the twentieth century" (p. 10). Lindsay passed away in 2009, and his impression on Burns studies in particular has been pronounced and long-lasting. To continue his lifelong efforts to make Burns accessible to a wide range of readers, the editors of this new edition present both additional and revised entries without trimming too much from the original encyclopedia. The editors suggest that the encyclopedia is intended for an "educated reader with an interest in the life and work of Burns in the Age of Enlightenment" (p. 7). The new edition certainly meets the needs of such a reader, offering useful, detailed, and up-to-date entries on all matters relating to Burns.

As with other reference works on the poet, the focus here is largely on supplying biographies of principal figures in Burns's life. Given how deeply imbedded Burns's verse, letters, and songs were in his own political and cultural moment, encyclopedic entries on significant personages continue to be extremely helpful even for specialist readers of the poet. For instance, the entries on Lord Daer and James Cunningham, the Earl of Glencairn reveal their deep significance to Burns, despite the class divide. The treatment of Burns's extensive family is also valuable for new readers of the poet, while the identities of Burns's correspondents and business partners (especially printers such as William Creech) provide much-needed background. Some topic-based entries, such as Burns and Freemasonry, Burns and Religion, and Burns and Politics, offer interesting assessments of the poet's experiences and beliefs in these areas.

A major revision to the encyclopedia is the inclusion of major critics and editors of Burns's works, such as "Honest" Allan Cunningham, Robert Chambers, James Currie, and Alexander Peterkin. Because these figures contributed greatly not only to the critical but also to the popular reception of Burns, it is extremely valuable to have their presence and influence gauged in this edition of the encyclopedia. In addition, Burns's contemporaries and precursors are also discussed, with much attention paid to the other two members of the Scots triumvirate, Allan Ramsay and Robert Fergusson. Lesser-known poets also feature in the encyclopedia, such as Andrew Shirrefs, John Lapraik, and even Alexander "Saunders" Tait, one of Burns's most vocal contemporary critics and rivals. The importance of the various women in Burns's life is also made abundantly clear, with excellent entries on such figures as the poet's wife Jean Armour Burns, his correspondent "Clarinda" (Agnes M'Lehose), and his friend and future biographer Maria Riddell.

In addition, there is a helpful timeline of key dates, as well as an explanation of currency in Burns's day. The most extensive revision within the new edition appears at the end of the encyclopedia, where twenty entries on contemporary observations of Burns are provided. These entries are derived from the writings or observations of key figures in the poet's life, such as his brother Gilbert, his son Robert Burns Junior, his tutor John Murdoch, and his friend and fellow Crochallan Fencible Alexander Smellie, among others. This edition also presents the full text

of Burns's invaluable autobiographical letter to Dr. John Moore, as well as the testimony of Edinburgh literati and fellow writers such as Henry Mackenzie and Walter Scott. As a whole, this new edition updates Lindsay's efforts while underscoring the relevance of *The Burns Encyclopedia* to the next generation of the poet's many readers and admirers.

Corey E. Andrews, Youngstown State University

Katie Barclay and Deborah Simonton, eds., ***Women in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: Intimate, Intellectual and Public Lives***. Farnham, Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013. Pp. xi + 288.

Rosalind Carr, ***Gender and Enlightenment Culture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014. Pp. vii +205.

Until recently, the history of women in eighteenth-century Scotland has lagged considerably behind scholarship on women in eighteenth-century England. These two new books represent some of the most exciting developments in a now flourishing field.

Katie Barclay and Deborah Simonton have edited a collection of essays which seek to move women from the margins to the center of the developments that characterized a century of profound economic, political, and demographic change. Organized into three main sections covering women's intimate, intellectual, and public lives, this multidisciplinary volume explores a wide range of topics, from sex to science to tourism, in order to recover the lives of urban and rural, and of elite and non-elite, Scottish women.

The category of "intimate lives" is meant to avoid the problematic binary of private versus public, while capturing a sense of the "embodied nature" of selfhood and identity. As Anne Cameron shows in her essay on female birthing customs, for eighteenth-century Scottish women the bodily experiences of pregnancy and childbirth were "suffused with social ritual" and organized around communal traditions which persisted into the nineteenth century. Katie Barclay's essay on the "emotional regimes" of love and courtship situates the embodied nature of sexual desire within the broader social contexts of familial expectations and communal norms. The social and cultural contexts of sexual desire are also addressed by Svetla Baloutzova, who relies on the oral culture of balladry to uncover popular views on illegitimacy, and who finds the voices of women reinforcing the official proscriptions on sexual misconduct that are found in the Kirk Session records. Jane Rendall's superb essay on Margaret Cullen's little-known novel *Home* is included in the "intimate lives" section of the volume, but could just as easily have been placed in the "intellectual lives" section. Highlighting Margaret Cullen's immersion in Scottish Enlightenment culture and her reforming Whig political sympathies, Rendall interprets her novel as both a "private history" of the troubled (and litigious) Cullen family, and an intervention in a broader British debate on family reform.

The section on "intellectual lives" addresses the growing importance of female education through the century, while offering new evidence of women's increased (though still circumscribed) participation in eighteenth-century print culture. Lindy Moore offers a fresh perspective on female education with an informative and engaging essay on the female burgh schools, which served the daughters of local gentry and urban merchant and professional classes. While these schools have been dismissed as "dame schools" because of their emphasis on traditional female accomplishments such as sewing and pastry-making, Moore discovers burgh councils taking an active interest in the provision of female schooling (advertising in the Edinburgh newspapers, for example, to recruit qualified schoolmistresses). In her insightful exploration of Scottish women's autobiographical reflections on literacy and education, on the other hand, Betty Haglund finds that most of her subjects had been educated at home. In a fascinating essay on the scientist and translator Margaret Somerville, Margaret Carlyle and James Wallace recover Somerville's role in the making of modern British science. Pam Perkins contributes to a growing body of literature on travel and tourism, to argue that Scottish women played an important role in the construction of a romanticized Scotland as a fashionable tourist destination. Corey Andrews also explores the literature of travel in examining the writings of Janet Schaw and Maria Riddell, two Scottish women travelers to the British West Indies who each used a language of sentiment to articulate their ambivalent responses to colonial slavery.

The section on "public lives" demonstrates the centrality of women to eighteenth-century commercial life and consumer society, while addressing some of the limitations on female agency in the economic and political spheres. Deborah Simonton seeks to "write women into the Scottish economy" through an investigation of female entrepreneurs, who negotiated the limits imposed by a male-dominated economic system to serve as "confident economic actors" in their own right. Louisa Cross's essay on the fashion trade also considers the role of women in the urban economy. If the fashion trade offered employment to some women as milliners and dressmakers, Cross suggests, it also gave its female consumers the chance to participate in polite society through the display of taste and refinement. Significantly, only one contributor to the "public lives" section situates women within a public

realm of politics: in a fine essay which reminds us of the importance of social rank, Rosalind Carr finds that women of the wealthy landed elite were able to maintain their power to exercise patronage throughout the eighteenth century. Finally, Anne-Marie Kilday explores another form of female agency through an investigation of women's participation in criminal life, interpreting the willingness of her female subjects to commit violent assault as a rejoinder to contemporary beliefs about female meekness and passivity.

Rosalind Carr's monograph is an important contribution to a growing body of scholarship on gender and the Scottish Enlightenment. While this scholarship has demonstrated the significance of "woman" to Enlightenment narratives of the progress of society, Carr seeks to examine the participation of actual women in the social spaces and public intellectual life of Enlightenment culture. Carr finds that while women did participate in a sphere of sociability that included the assemblies and the theatre, they were largely absent from the Enlightenment's public intellectual life. In accounting for this exclusion, she makes a valuable contribution to the study of gender and Enlightenment: while gender is too often seen as a, perhaps more theoretically inflected, synonym for *women*, Carr takes seriously the relational aspect of the concept to investigate the gendered dimensions of Enlightenment masculinities. Specifically, Carr focuses on the "performance" of masculinity in the homosocial and associational world of male-only clubs and societies, an urban public sphere from which women were decisively excluded. While Carr relies here on Judith Butler's notion of gender as performativity, she might have discovered a promising analytic in Scottish Enlightenment theories of spectatorial selfhood.

As Carr acknowledges, our understanding of women's participation in Scottish Enlightenment culture has been complicated by Jane Rendall's research on the Millar and Cullen family networks, and by Katharine Glover's work on elite Scottish women's participation in polite society. In her concern to answer the question of why there were no Scottish Bluestockings, however, Carr places a heavy emphasis on the limitations to women's participation in Enlightenment culture. In so doing, she argues persuasively against broad generalizations about women and the European Enlightenment to underscore the particularities of Scottish women's experiences. This is a welcome contribution to the historiography of women and the Scottish Enlightenment, which also offers a fresh perspective on the masculine world of urban Enlightenment culture.

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***Versions of Ossian: Receptions, Responses, Translations*.** Special issue of *Translation and Literature*. Guest Editor Howard Gaskill. Volume 22, Part 3 (Autumn 2013). Pp. 293–440.

For scholars interested in translation studies, the Ossian corpus is a veritable gold mine. To begin with, as Howard Gaskill notes in his introduction to this volume, "Macpherson's Ossianic work presents itself as translation, and as a literal one at that" (p. 294). Translator or author, ethnographer or cultural critic (or all of the above), "Macpherson may be seen to be deliberately pursuing a foreignizing strategy: his Ossianic verse is intended to read like a translation" (p. 295). What it means for the reader to be aware that she is reading a translation—whether it is Macpherson's supposed translation from the Gaelic sources, a German translation from Cesarotti's Italian translation of Macpherson's "translation," or Goethe's translation of Macpherson re-translated into English—is one of the questions raised by the essays in this rich and informative volume. The geographic scope of the essays follows the itinerary of Ossian, who "journeyed through Europe in a bewildering variety of forms, including hendecasyllabic Italian *sciolti*, German hexameters, French poetic prose, Dutch alexandrines, Greek fifteen-syllable lines, Russian four-foot trochees or...the Eddic metre of *fornyrðislag*" (p. 295).

One of the most famous translators of Mapherson is Goethe, or rather Goethe's hero Werther, whose translations of parts of *The Song of Selma* and *Berrathon* for his love, Lotte, constitute more than seven percent of the text of *Die Leiden des jungen Werther* (1774) and play a pivotal role in the tragic climax of the novel. In his essay "'Arise, O magnificent effulgence of Ossian's soul!': Werther the Translator in English Translation," Gaskill examines the way translators of *Werther* into English have dealt with the passages from Macpherson. Most have chosen to simply insert an English text of Macpherson into their English translations, but this approach is problematic for several reasons. First, in ignorance of the fact that Goethe was working from the 1765 two-volume *Works of Ossian,* translators often insert passages from the 1773 *Poems of Ossian*, in which Gaskill has counted at least eighty-five deviations from the 1765 edition. To compound matters, errors of careless transcription from unreliable nineteenth-century editions are sometimes reprinted verbatim. To cite a recent example, Stanley Corngold's *The Sufferings of Young Werther: A New Translation* (2011) reproduces "song of morning," instead of "song of mourning." Gaskill attributes this vexing problem to a cavalier attitude toward the Ossian material itself: "The assumption that any old edition of Macpherson will do perhaps reflects a certain disdain toward James Macpherson and embarrassment at the prominence given to his poetry in Goethe's novel" (p. 305). Second, and perhaps most significantly, returning to a purported "original" text eliminates the changes in style and tone made by Goethe in his

translation, and thus distorts Goethe's interpretation of Ossian. What of the other solution, that of back-translating the Ossianic passages from *Sorrows of Young Werther* into English, as Catherine Hutter (1962), Stanley Appelbaum (2004), and David Constantine (2012) have done? Of these, Gaskill recommends Constantine, both for his elegant English prose and his decision to translate Goethe's German throughout. This approach is most true to Goethe's protagonist Werther's intention in translating Macpherson for Lotte, which as Gaskill righly notes, was not to "foreignize" Macpherson at all, but rather to make Lotte hear his own voice through his translation of the Ossianic material. But re-translating Goethe's German throughout does not necessarily imply an abandonment of Macpherson's sensibility. Gaskill would like to see a hybrid approach which incorporates "bits and pieces of Macpherson's English without it seeming an alien element in the context of Werther's writing" (p. 321). Perhaps Gaskill, whose mastery of German and deep understanding of Goethe's work are apparent in his analysis, could take up the challenge.

Samuel Baudry's essay "Foreignizing Macpherson: Translating Ossian into French after Le Tourneur and Lacaussade" also grapples with the translator's question "to foreignize or not to foreignize" through comparing his own new translation (*James Macpherson: Oeuvres d'Ossian*, 2013) with earlier French translations. Baudry begins by reflecting on translation as cultural mediation: "Macpherson performed consciously...his role of cultural intermediary between a fast-disappearing past and a rapidly encroaching modernity, between isolated, mysterious Highlands and ever-nearer Britain, between foreign idioms and familiar English" (p. 324). The prose translations of Le Tourneur (1777) and Lacaussade (1842) also served as cultural mediators between Macpherson's text and French readers. Their choices were often dictated by taste: "These French translators perfectly understood what Macpherson had in mind, but they refused to write words unfit for French poetry" (p. 326). For Le Tourneur this meant giving Macpherson's text a Racinian cadence tinged with sentimental rhetoric. This "masterpiece of French prose," however, has one major deficiency in Baudry's view: "It does not exactly translate Macpherson" (p. 323). Le Tourneur skipped over entire phrases if they contained words which would connote a different imagery or atmosphere in French, whereas Lacaussade would sometimes translate them literally, adding an explanatory footnote. In general, French translators of Ossian blended their own footnotes into Macpherson's, or else rearranged Macpherson's notes into introductions or prefaces: "the ancient Scotland presented by eighteenth-century translators is subtly altered to fit French literary norms" (p. 325). It is in this sense that Baudry attempts to "foreignize" Macpherson: rather than labor to make Ossian sound French, he has written a French translation which aims to preserve the most "radically innovative" aspect of Macpherson's prose—its obscurity and complexity—even at the risk of "producing bad French prose or gibberish" (p. 337). This he achieves by maintaining as much as possible the repetitions and semantic homogeneity of the works, and by entirely eliminating the explanatory notes provided by the previous French translators, which made the texts easier to read but "suppressed an essential stylistic trait of the poems: their difficulty" (p. 337). Baudry compares his method to that of Macpherson himself: "We are both translators with a foreignizing tendency" (p. 339), and readers of French will be eager to see his new translation, which I suspect is neither gibberish nor bad French prose.

The title of Gerald Bär's essay, "'Ossian fürs Frauenzimmer'? Lengefeld, Günderrode, and the Portuguese Translations of 'Alcipe' and Adelaide Prata," is partly inspired by the German translation of select passages from Ossian by J.M.R. Lenz, a follower of Goethe, which appeared in 1775–76 in the "ladies quarterly" *Iris* under the title *Ossian fürs Frauenzimmer* ("Ossian for Ladies"). Lenz's "pious hopes for the salutary effects of Ossianic reading on German mothers" (p. 344) reveal the extent to which male critics attempted—not always successfully–to guide the literary taste of women readers and translators. Bär himself maintains that "Ossian's presentation of tragic love of epic dimensions, heroism with nationalistic undertones, scenarios of the 'sublime', faithful commitment, passion" were features that appealed to a female audience. But were women drawn to these sorts of fantasies, or did men like to think that they were? Charlotte von Lengefeld (1766–1826) began translating Macpherson only after her future husband, Schiller, had been immersed in Ossianic works for twelve years. Schiller praised Lengefeld's translation *Calthon und Colmal* but urged her to strive for "less irregularity in the word order and a few more conjunctions, to link and merge the short and discreet sentences more pleasingly" (p. 346). Bär states that Lengefeld's translation is "perhaps not very distinguished" (p. 347), but at the same time notes that *Sturm und Drang* poets such as Herder were drawn to Macpherson's text precisely because of its parataxis and abrupt transitions. Perhaps Bär, like Schiller, underestimates Lengefeld's talents as a translator. Bär's discussion of the poet Karoline von Günderrode (1780–1806) reveals "the permeable boundaries for gender" (p. 353) in Macpherson's work. Günderrode had already published two volumes of poetry under a male pseudonym before she was confined to a convent for impoverished aristocratic women. Bär describes the influence of Ossian on Günderrode as a "dangerous liaison" (p. 348), for it may have exacerbated her existing suicidal tendencies. What was undoubtedly considered socially dangerous was Günderrode's penchant for cross-dressing and her rebellion against the social

and physical constraints imposed upon women. Günderrode was not drawn to portrayals of faithful commitment or unrequited love in Ossian, but rather to women warriors such as Darthula, Morna, and Crimora, and was greatly affected by her first reading of *Dar-Thula*: "The old wish to die a hero's death seized me with great vehemence...It became intolerable to continue living...Why was I not born a man? I have no feeling for feminine virtues, for the happiness of women" (p. 351). Indeed, Günderrode's reworking of Macpherson's text depicts a Darthula more fearless and virile than Macpherson's heroine.

The Marquesa de Alorna or 'Alcipe' (1750–1839) was a polyglot who translated Goethe, Homer, Thompson, and Pope. Unlike Lengefeld and Günderrode , she included Macpherson's explanatory comments in her blank verse translation of *Dar-thula,* which was published posthumously in 1844. Maria Adelaide Fernandez Prata (1826 –1881) translated the first complete Portuguese edition of *Fingal*, prefaced by the poet Sousa Viterbo, who found Macpherson's poems perfectly suited to female translators for their "'lyrical' and romantic character, their inherent melancholy, the themes of love and poetry and 'the female figures, so delicately and sensitively outlined'" (p. 357). The women warriors who so inspired Günderrode are not mentioned by Viterbo. The critic Manuel Pinheiro Chagas was favorably impressed by Prata's translation but "was surprised that 'a feminine and peninsular spirit fell in love with the sombre Caledonian bard'" (p. 357). Bär's insightful study makes clear that male readers of women translators and adapters of Ossian were much less receptive to the gender permeability of Macpherson's texts than their female counterparts.

In "Ossian in the North" Gauti Kristmannsson challenges the claim made by some scholars that Ossian's success in Scandinavia was limited and short-lived. Kristmannsson argues to the contrary that the fact that the Scandinavians had their own indigenous myths, such as those written down in the *Prose Eddas* by Iceland's Snorri Sturluson, did not prevent them from taking a great interest in Macpherson's Ossian. Not only did the Ossian material enjoy much attention and popularity in Denmark in the latter part of the eighteenth-century and the early part of the nineteenth, it was even translated by major Icelandic poets such as Bjarni Thorarensen (1786–1841), the pioneer of Romanticism in Iceland, and the poet Jónas Hallgrímsson (1807–45), the Icelandic Robert Burns. Kristmannsson also rightly notes that Elias Lonnröt owed much to Macpherson's method when he embarked on his first trip through the Finnish countryside in the late 1820s to collect material for the *Kalevala,* which eventually became the Finnish national epic and helped establish Finnish as the national language of the Finns, who had endured colonization by Sweden and then Russia. Kristmannsson's essay stresses the importance of both literature and oral history in forging national identity: in this sense, Macpherson's Ossian is on the same level as Sturluson's *Eddas*, classical myths, or even Shakespeare: "The developing nation-states and elites in the 'new North' used these sources...to construct a respectable pedigree for their peoples" (p. 375).

Ossianic material also aided in the development of literary forms, as Gabriella Hartvig demonstrates in "Ossian Translations and Hungarian Versification, 1773–93." In parts of Europe where it was often difficult to find an English version of Macpherson, translators often relied on previous translations in other languages, such as those by Le Tourneur and Cesarotti. In Hungary, János Batsányi (1763–1845) worked from the Viennese Jesuit Michael Denis' *Die Gedichte Ossian, eines alten celtischen Dichters* (1768–69), the first complete translation of Macpherson in any language, which also included *Mors Oscaris*, a Latin translation of the seventh fragment in Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (1760). Denis felt that hexameters were "the most appropriate heroic form of Ossian in German" (p. 384), and Hungarian translators followed his example. When Batsányi undertook to translate Macpherson into Hungarian hexamaters, he did partially so to illustrate the beauty of the Hungarian language and to show that it was capable of the same quality of literary versification as German. Batsányi's choice of hexameters was also influenced by his background as a classicist. His three translations from Ossianic material, which appeared in *Magyar Museum*, the first Hungarian literary journal (of which Batsányi was a founder), follow classical precepts of versification. *Magyar Museum* thus not only introduced Ossian to Hungarian readers in their own language, but launched a lively debate on translation methodology and form.

The final essay in the volume, Sebastian Mitchell's "Celtic Postmodernism: Ossian and Contemporary Art," discusses recent "translations" of Ossian into various media, such as the copperplate etchings of Geoff MacEwan, the sculptures of Alexander Stoddart, the photographic prints of Calum Colvin and Gayle Chong Kwan, and the silkscreen prints of poet Tom Leonard. Mitchell situates his discussion and critique of these artists in both the historical context of British artistic interpretations of Ossianic themes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and twentieth-century theoretical debates over postmodernism. These contemporary visual interpretations of Ossianic material engage with various themes, including Scottish nationalism and cultural identity and concerns about globalization. Mitchell attributes the renewed artistic engagement with Ossian to a number of factors, such as "shifting cultural and political circumstances" in Scotland and the elevation of Macpherson's works to a "higher literary profile" by Fiona Stafford other critics (p. 404), but also to the fact that the Ossian corpus, with its combi-

nation of fragmentary form, epic scope, and universal themes, lends itself to diverse and sometimes conflicting interpretations of postmodernism. On the opposite end of the artistic spectrum are Alexander Stoddart's proposal for a 100-foot long colossal statue representing the death of Oscar (2010)—which Mitchell finds troubling both for its "celebration of a heroic martial death" and for its "intimidating monumentalism" (p. 430) reminiscent of certain neo-classical sculptures produced during the Third Reich—and Calum Colvin's series *Ossian: Fragments of Ancient Poetry* (2002), which is more an exploration of Scottish identity than a glorification of Scottish nationalism. Geoff MacEwan's 1996 *Temora* also highlights the fragmentary nature of the Ossian corpus and deconstructs the very notion of a national epic by interleaving ten very small copperplate prints with facsimile pages taken from a 1796 edition of Macpherson's works, with the result that "the images and texts are themselves a distinctive fragment, as though they were part of an eighteenth-century illustrated edition of the poems which never existed" (p. 434). Mitchell also discusses Gayle Chong Kwan's project *Obsidian Isle* (2011), a series of photographs inspired by Ossian and depicting an imaginary island containing lost Scottish buildings. The fifteen illustrations of the various works analyzed by Mitchell greatly enhance his essay, and combined with his stimulating discussion of the theoretical, aesthetic, and ideological questions inherent in artistic representations of Ossianic material, provide many insights into the art of translation and interpretation. As such, Mitchell's essay is a perfect conclusion to this excellent volume.

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Karen McAulay, ***Our Ancient National Airs: Scottish Song Collecting from the Enlightenment to the Romantic Era***. Farnham, Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013. Pp. 279.

"Our Ancient National Airs" was a key phrase on the title page of James Johnson's *The Scots Musical Museum* (1787–1803), offering four distinct words and concepts that were analyzed in detail in Karen McAulay's 2009 Glasgow University doctoral thesis—that is, identifying the cultural heritage, establishing the antiquity of the repertoire, identifying with a specifically national tradition, and including the "airs" to the songs. This monograph on song collecting and publishing goes beyond the collection of words to the collection of songs with music. The focus is also on the collectors themselves, their motivations and the significant cultural factors which influenced them, set within a chronology defined by significant events in the lives of Patrick MacDonald and James Macpherson in 1760 and the death of the English music collector and publisher William Chappell in 1888.

The author's critical appraisal of the influence of Macpherson's Ossianic poetry on the literati of the time forms an important benchmark for the study, in that the challenge to authenticity and allegations of fakery were less significant components of the *Ossian* controversy in the long term than the quest for authenticity and antiquity of text and music. Pursuit of "folk" origins by collectors such as the "irascible and idiosyncratic" (p. 5) Joseph Ritson drove a growing distinction between "folk" and "art" music. Issues of fakery and "invention" of songs were raised by the late-eighteenth-century "antiquarians" who scrutinized earlier collections such as Allan Ramsay's *Tea Table Miscellany* (1723) and showed how an enthusiastic poet could recreate the tradition. The discourse is sharpened by weighing the evidence against David Harker's *Fakesong* (1985) and Matthew Gelbart's *The Invention of "Folk Music" and "Art Music"* (2007), but McAulay's treatment puts the "fakesong" issue firmly in the intellectual context of the time, to be understood as part of the emergence of "art music." The *Ossian* dynamic was driven not so much by concerns over textual forgery as by a new interest in "native" traditions and by the notions of "primitivism" explored by Rousseau, which idealized an age of innocence that might still be detectable in "primitive" societies.

McAulay describes the prevailing interest in "primitivism" as a form of cultural nationalism and part of a program of conjectural history. Added to this heady mix were perceptions of landscape shaped powerfully by Edmund Burke's *Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757) and a parallel interest in "soundscape." The Highlands and Gaelic society met the eighteenth-century need to identify primitive society or a primitive culture and offered a model for philosophers and historians to speculate on the evolution of human society. Research included speculation on the cultural origins of music and poetry perceived as "primitive" or emanating from "primitive society," leading to an intense interest in provenance and the collection of Highland tunes. This was fired by the urge to collect a fast-disappearing asset and by a prevailing metaphor that "a repertoire was on the verge of extinction" (p. 100). Individual initiatives such as Rev. Patrick MacDonald's grew into more ambitious projects such as the three key collections examined here in detail: by James Johnson (in his *Museum* project in collaboration with Robert Burns), by Joseph Ritson, and by George Thomson—a group whose song collecting was conditioned by the Enlightenment, the literati in Edinburgh, and the social and intellectual life of Scotland's university towns.

The author claims a unique contribution to the literature of Scottish music in highlighting the cultural im-

portance of travel and sense of place in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This was part of the story of early tourism, and it explores a tension between the antiquarian's quest for authenticity and the creative artist's imaginative impulse, as compilers were consciously inventing tradition. The urge to travel to locate musical sources and the quest for inspiration from the locality is exemplified by Alexander Campbell (1764–1824). He made tours to the Highlands and the Borders, both by then irresistible as the "cradle" of Walter Scott's genius and the inspiration behind his novels. As a Highlander in the city, Campbell was motivated by the wish to document his native music, both instrumental and vocal, and his collecting project in 1815 "was considered visionary and by many deemed quite impracticable" (p. 81). His resulting *Albyn's Anthology*, published as an art-music collection with piano accompaniments, prompts further research in now-dispersed manuscript collections of music and song that were seen and partially transcribed by Campbell, such as the Maclean-Clephane sisters' inspirational collection (summarized in Appendix 1, pp. 235–37).

The growing appeal of "national music" saw the improving and inventing of songs in imitation of a folk genre which was effectively manufactured to fit their author's conception of folk tradition or of the music of the Borders, Lowlands or Highlands. This was part of the wider literary movement dubbed by scholars "fakelore" or "fakesong," but "imitation was seen much more as imaginative art in its own right, than as tawdry copy intended to deceive" (p. 108). The canon of Borders music was built on Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802–3) and drew on a network of collectors, including James Hogg. The latter's sense of place and history was widely recognized, and his *Jacobite Relics* (1819–21) was an exercise in text creation. Hogg then supplied extensive commentaries to Robert Archibald Smith for his *Scotish Minstrel* series (1821–24). With lyrics supplied by Hogg, they fit into a concept of "mischievous deception," as opposed to the "wilful and instructive forgery" revealed in the work of others (p. 125), and they form significant parts (examined here in detail) of a contemporary vogue for literary and artistic fakery, shaped for the market. This discourse is exemplified by McAulay in the output of the poet Allan Cunningham, "forger extraordinaire" and creator of a forged corpus in *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Songs* (1810), by the Yorkshireman Robert Hartley Cromek (pp. 10, 123–24, 144).

McAulay identifies a note of cynicism in the new generation of collectors, evident in the "paratextual material" of imagery and metaphor employed as introductory commentary and not hitherto critiqued. The "collectors" could invoke an apparently Celtic-Romantic background and appealed to a demand for minstrelsy-related literature. A Scottish or Border minstrel or Highland bard and harper was perceived as central to the culture, offering compelling imagery and even being drawn into political contention as "champion of liberty against tyranny." Imagery evoked nostalgic regret for a lost past, and metaphors of wild and uncultivated nature and wild flowers and plants stood for the simple, natural, and unaffected to be collected and preserved in a prevailing world of the destruction wreaked by agricultural and industrial "improvement." The book charts how the published Scottish song collections changed in the 1830s and how they were aimed at new and growing audiences. It explores in detail the work of George Farquhar Graham, Finlay Dun, and John Thomson, whose collections remained long in print and, in spite of contemporary market demand, should be judged as much more than "middle-class Victorian art-music compilations" (p. 188). A valuable facet of this research is the identification of a circle of correspondents in early- and mid-nineteenth-century Scotland—including the Dundee dealer and collector Andrew Wighton, the librarian and antiquary David Laing, and the Aberdeen music publisher James Davie—who were fired by questions of songs' "origins" and by arguments over the national musical traditions of England and Scotland and their respective virtues. The focus of their animus was *Popular Music of the Olden Times* (1855–59), which was the venture of the English scholar and publisher William Chappell, suggesting that certain Scottish songs had English origins or that earlier Scottish songs had been "manufactured" by Thomas D'Urfey and John Playford (p. 213).

Although this book has been published in the "Music in Nineteenth-Century Britain" series, it is firmly rooted in eighteenth-century Scotland, with the concept of "Our Ancient National Airs" and a critique of how the concept resonated through the subsequent 130 years. It is a valuable contribution to musicology and, despite a number of minor misprints (including the misdating of the Skene MS, p. 219), it "translates" well from a doctoral thesis to a book for a wider readership.

Hugh Cheape, Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, University of the Highlands & Islands

Claire Grogan, ***Politics and Genre in the Works of Elizabeth Hamilton, 1756–1816***. Farnham, Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2012. Pp. viii + 174.

In what she describes as a "case study," Claire Grogan proposes a new or renewed approach to writers in the British debate on the French Revolution and its aftermath. The case is that of Elizabeth Hamilton, controversialist in several genres, who, Grogan argues, has been seen as an "inconsistent" writer because of modern scholars' inability to fit her into a certain "paradigm" of sympathy with or opposition to the Revolution: "Ironically, the

Jacobin/Anti-Jacobin paradigm, which opened up our understanding of the period in such exciting ways, now curtails our reading of writers from the political middle" (p. 4). Grogan proposes to dismantle this paradigm, contending "that writers of the Revolutionary period did not see politics as rigidly as we suggest they did" (p. 5), and instead to approach Hamilton as representing many other writers of the period, through genre: "rather than looking at partisan politics (Jacobin and Anti-Jacobin) to provide coherence within Hamilton's *oeuvre*, we should instead look to genre as a form of political statement" (p. 18). Such use of genre was, according to Grogan, well understood in Hamilton's day and strictly policed in terms of gender as the modern institution of literature was formulated and formalized, and women marginalized within it.

Since Hamilton's day, however, "inattention to the politics of genre means that Hamilton's participation [in the revolution debate] has been misread, misinterpreted or underestimated" (p. 25). Grogan argues that "Hamilton's feminism" is expressed not through a particular political allegiance or assertion of certain kinds of women's rights but rather "through her use of genre which she employs to battle prevailing ideology on the question of a woman's economic, religious and intellectual capabilities. Her deployment of a variety of genres challenges both prescriptions about female capabilities and also creates new intellectual and publishing opportunities for herself and for later women writers" (p. 18). Citing modern critical observations on "instability" and "mixing" of genres as a feature of the Romantic period, Grogan asserts: "In an attempt to destabilize or deconstruct associations between gender and genre Hamilton both writes on topics normally deemed 'masculine' but also mixes 'masculine' and 'feminine' genres in a single work. Hamilton's feminist contribution lies, I suggest, in how she uses genre to make political inroads and to challenge prescriptions about female intellect" (p. 22).

Grogan illustrates this argument with a chapter on Hamilton's 1796 orientalist novel *Letters of A Hindoo Rajah*, two chapters on her satirical 1800 novel *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers*, a chapter on her 1804 antiquarian-historical novelization *Memoirs of the Life of Agrippina, Wife of Germanicus*, and a chapter on her most widely known work of fiction, the 1808 social critique novella *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*. There are passing references to seven other works by Hamilton. Grogan's discussion in these chapters brings together textual analysis, reference to Hamilton's contemporaries, use of critical and scholarly discussion of the past few decades, general and particular historical context, explanation of references and allusions, and some account of publication history and reception, with illustrations of later editions of *The Cottagers of Glenburnie*. This is the kind of material Grogan has also assembled in her Broadview student editions of Paine's *Rights of Man*, Hamilton's *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers*, and Austen's *Northanger Abbey*, though configured differently from a monograph, because an edition, however fully or lightly annotated, is a monograph with very long quotations.

Politics and Genre is well researched, well documented, and well argued. It will be useful alongside Grogan's Broadview editions for those interested in the period in a variety of ways and from different points of view. The treatment of feminism as always historically particular rather than trans-historical is welcome, if not new. The critical awareness of dangers of presentism in applying political categories to past writers gives the book a broad base. The book is properly argumentative and provokes answers throughout. At times Grogan may overstate her case, however. Her methodological categories are not entirely free from the over-simplification and rigidity with which she charges others, as in her recapitulation of the literature prescribing and policing gender and genre. The commentators whom Grogan claims to be proponents of the "Jacobin/Anti-Jacobin paradigm" sometimes seem to be straw people set up mainly to be knocked down. The politics of genre have been invoked in a number of earlier studies of writers of this period, such as Elizabeth Cook's *Epistolary Bodies* (1996) and Isobel Armstrong's *Women's Poetry, Late Romantic to Late Victorian* (1999). Of more concern may be the apparent acceptance, with some qualifications, of genre as inhering in the text or parts of texts rather than created by readers.

Gary Kelly, University of Alberta

Briefly Noted

William Zachs, ***"Breathes There the Man": Sir Walter Scott 200 Years Since* Waverley**. An Inaugural Exhibition, Blackie House. Edinburgh, 2014. Pp. 72.

Anyone with the least bit of familiarity with Bill Zachs's contributions to eighteenth-century Scottish studies as an author, editor, collector, and philanthropist will understand why the University of Edinburgh presented him with an honorary doctorate in 2013. The exhibition that this volume commemorates brings together all these aspects of Zachs's remarkable thirty years in his adopted city. As the author points out in the Introduction, he moved to Edinburgh from his native America in 1983 to pursue a master's degree on Enlightenment literature in Britain, especially Scott, and his career as a collector of Scottish books began with first editions of the Waverley Novels. As his collection grew over the years, so did the spaces where it was housed, until the library subsumed his flat at Blackie House. The next step was the purchase of the flat below, magnificently transformed into an exhibi-

tion space that looks out onto the Scott monument—pictured through the window in a photograph at the beginning of the volume, flanked by art and artifacts from this exhibition, as well as by the exhibitor himself. Anyone expecting a dry collection of Scott editions will be sorely disappointed. Bill Zachs's trademark as a collector has always been a combination of quirkiness and joyousness that separates him from the typical bibliophile. The three dozen items from his holdings that are pictured in this volume, with Bill's charming accounts of each, range from the commonplace book of the woman who broke Scott's heart to two representations of Scott's favorite dog Maida. It's a delight from start to finish, and we can only imagine what splendid exhibitions, and exhibition volumes, lie in wait for us in the future.

John Chalmers, ed., ***Andrew Duncan Senior: Physician of the Enlightenment***. Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2010. Pp. xvi + 253.

Duncan was a major force in eighteenth-century medicine, and this valuable collection, edited and mostly written by John Chalmers, provides a solid biographical overview and essays on particular institutional and personal themes. It's also well illustrated, with a full bibliography of Duncan's publications and other writings.

Jonathan M. Yeager, ed., **Early Evangelicalism: A Reader**. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. xii + 404.

This wide-ranging transatlantic anthology contains selections—with useful contextual introductions—by many Scots among the sixty-two represented authors, including William McCulloch, James Robe, John Witherspoon, John Erskine, Charles Nisbet.

Richard B. Sher, New Jersey Institute of Technology

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Gioia ANGELETTI, "Negotiating Voices in Romantic Theatre: Scottish Women Playwrights and the Struggle for Assertion," in *Women's Romantic Theatre and Drama: History, Agency, and Performativity*, ed. by Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Elam Keir (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 169–193.

Gioia ANGELETTI, "Debating Colonialism and Black Slavery on the Scottish Stage: Archibald Maclaren's *The Negro Slaves* (1799)," in *Emancipation, Liberation, and Freedom: Romantic Drama and Theatre in Britain (1760-1830)*, ed. Gioia Angeletti (Parma: MUP, 2010), pp. 59–85.

Gioia ANGELETTI, "A Scot in South Africa: Thomas Pringle and the Poetry of Exile," in *Oltre i confini: testi e autori dell'esilio, della diaspora, dell'emigrazione*, ed. Laura Dolfi (Parma: MUP, 2011), pp. 299–340.

Alex BENCHIMOL, "For 'the Prosperity of Scotland': Mediating National Improvement in the *Scots Magazine*, 1739–49," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 39 (2013): 82–103.

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Christopher J. BERRY, "Hume and Hegel," in *Hume and Law*, ed. Ken Mackinnon (Farnam, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2012), pp. 241–52.

Charles Bradford BOW, "In Defence of the Scottish Enlightenment: Dugald Stewart's Role in the 1805 John Leslie Affair," *Scottish Historical Review* 92 (April 2013): 123–46.

M. A. BOX and Michael Silverthorne, "The 'Most Curious & Important of All Questions of Erudition': Hume's Assessment of the Populousness of Ancient Nations," in *DH*, 225–54.

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John W. CAIRNS, "Freeing from Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *Judge and Jurist: Essays in Memory of Lord Rodger of Earlsferry*, ed. Andrew Burrows, David Johnston, and Reinhard Zimmermann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 367–81.

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Rosalind CARR, "Women, Land and Power: A Case for Continuity," in *WECS*, 193–210.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Robert Burns's Inverleaved *Scots Musical Museum*: A Case-Study in the Vagaries of Editors and Owners," *Essays and Studies* 66 (2013): 78–96.

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C. Jan SWEARINGEN, "Adam Smith on Language and Rhetoric: The Ethics of Style, Character, and Propriety," in *OHAS*, 159–74.

Hideo TANAKA, "Adam Smith's View on History: The logic of Progress, Stagnation, and Decline," *Journal of Economics of Kwansei Gakuin University* 67 (2013): 37–64. (in Japanese)

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Jonathan YEAGER, "The John Erskine Letterbook, 1742–45," *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* 14 (2013): 229–61.

Ronnie YOUNG, "James Beattie and the Progress of Genius in the Aberdeen Enlightenment,"*Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 36 (2013): 245–61.

Key to the Abbreviations

DH=David Hume: Historical Thinker, Historical Writer, ed. Mark G. Spencer (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2013).

OHAS=The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith, ed. Christopher J. Berry, Maria Pia Paganelli, and Craig Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

OHBPEC=The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century, ed. James A. Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

WECS=Women in Eighteenth-Century Scotland: Intimate, Intellectual and Public Lives, ed. Katie Barclay and Deborah Simonton (Farnham, Surrey, UK, and Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2013).

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Bank of Scotland Chequing Account
Balance 1 Jan. 2013: £26,211.16
Income: +£1,885.20 (dues, book orders, and donations)
Expenses: –£5,746 (travel: £202; refund: £44; Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund: £5000)
Balance 31 Dec. 2013: £22,350.36

Bank of America Checking Account
Balance 1 Jan. 2013: $7,207.45
Income: +$11,348 (dues, book orders, and donations: $6,348; transfer from PayPal account: $5000)
Expenses: –$4155.55 (newsletter printing & prep: $1,581.01; equipment and supplies: $559.52; Sorbonne conference: $1,411.75 [Board dinner/meeting: $617.57; exec. sec. expenses: $548; award plaque: $70; pictures: $25.07; gifts: $151.11]; partial reimbursement to NJIT History Dept. for newsletter mailing: $506.94 NJ state non-profit society filing for 2014: $25; bank fees: $71.33)
Balance 31 Dec. 2013: $14,399.90

PayPal.com Account
Balance 1 Jan. 2013: $3,763.71
Income: +$2,101.23 (dues, book orders, and contributions)
Expenses: -$70.58 (PayPal fees)
Transfer to Bank of America account: $5000
Balance 31 Dec. 2013: $794.36

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