

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

ROTTERDAM IN VIEW

ECSSS's upcoming conference at the 14th International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies is almost upon us. Although the Congress lasts from 27 to 31 July 2015, ECSSS's "conference within the Congress" takes place within the heart of the Congress, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th. On those days ECSSS will sponsor ten panels on Jacobitism and Union; Markets and the Aesthetic; Women and Patronage; Narratives of Improvement; Print Artefacts and Urban Life; Ideas of Commerce; Seeing Literary Men in New Ways; Managing the Family and Household; Morality and Religion; and Transatlantic Exchanges. As usual, our speakers will be coming from far and wide, including Jean-François Dunyach and Clarisse Godard Desmarest from France, Sandro Jung from Belgium, Laszlo Kontler and Endre Szecsenyi from Hungary, Nicholas Miller from Germany, Jeng-Guo S. Chen from Taiwan, Paul Tonks and Brad Bow from Korea, and Naohito Mori from Japan, in addition to a dozen from Scotland and a few more from England and the USA. As usual, the Society will hold its annual Executive Board meeting at the beginning of the conference and its AGM toward the end, immediately following a casual lunch that will showcase recent books published by ECSSS members. Of course, many other activities are planned by the Congress, including a reception at the medieval Laurens Church on the evening of Monday 27 July and the Congress Dinner on the Spido Boat in Rotterdam Harbor on Wednesday 29 July. Looking forward to seeing many of you in Rotterdam!

MARVELOUS MONTREAL

ECSSS's second conference with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies was held in Montreal, 15–18 October 2014, on the theme of "Revolutions in Eighteenth-Century Sociability." It was a wonderful experience for us, and we hope we helped to provide some enrichment and diversity for CSECS as well.

The panels that ECSSS sponsored covered

much ground. We began on the 16th with panels on "Sociability and Morality in the Works of John Millar and Tobias Smollett" (Juliet Shields, Eugene Heath, Nicholas Miller); "Scotland, Scottish Travelers and Travel Writers" (Pam Perkins, Minakshi Menon, Jean-François Dunyach, and JoEllen DeLucia); "Robert Burns" (Alexander Dick, Elizabeth Kraft, and Joshua Swidzinski); "History of Science and Medicine" (Erich Weidenhammer, John M. Dixon, and Catherine Jones); and "The Scottish Enlightenment and Sociability" (C. Jan Swearingen, Jane Rendall, and Lorne Falkenstein). That evening past-president James Moore delivered a plenary address on "Francis Hutcheson and the Changing Face of Natural Sociability." The following day we had panels on "Authorship, Literary Property and Values" (Richard B. Sher, Barbara M. Benedict, Adam Budd, and David McNeil); "Scottish Sociability, Urban Culture and Songs" (Toni Vogel Carey, Ralph McLean, William Donaldson, and Ruth Perry); "Adam Ferguson" (Ala Alryyes and Jack A. Hill); and "James Boswell" (Marie-Jeanne Colombani, Denys Van Renen, and Katie Gemmill). On the final day, there were ECSSS panels on "Adam Smith" (Abigail Fagan, Ralph Stewart, and Spyridon Tegos); "Scotland and America" (Roger Fechner and Jay Voss); "Sympathy, Harmony and Benevolence" (Leslie Ellen Brown and Joel Sodano); and "Problems of Writing Biographies" (Henry L. Fulton, Mark G. Spencer, and Regina Janes).

A highlight of the conference occurred on Friday the 17th, when a luncheon was held at the Black Watch Mess Hall as a fundraiser for the Daiches-Manning Memorial Fellowship, co-sponsored by ECSSS and ASECS, and based at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (IASH) at the University of Edinburgh. The guest of honor was the first recipient of the fellowship, Dr. Clarisse Godard Desmarest, direct from IASH. Sponsored with a grant from Earhart Foundation, the event raised approximately \$1000 was raised to support the fellowship.

At the Society's AGM, Catherine Jones (English) of Aberdeen University was elected president and Jack Hill (Religion) of Texas Christian University was elected vice president. John Cairns and Mark Spencer were reelected to the Executive Board, and Clarisse Godard Desmarest and Joel Sodano were elected members-at-large.

ECSSS owes an enormous debt to CSECS and its president (and ECSSS member) Pam Perkins, and particularly to the conference organizer, Pascal Bastien of the University of Quebec at Montreal.

PITTSBURGH WITH ASECS IN 2016

ECSSS has been an affiliate society of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies for almost thirty years, and in 2016 we will join ASECS at its annual meeting, in Pittsburgh, 29 March–3 April. ECSSS will have a dedicated room with panels throughout the meeting, as well as a plenary talk by Gordon Turnbull, General Editor of the Yale Boswell Editions. Because this is an early spring conference, and the ASECS program goes to press at the beginning of the preceding October, those wishing to deliver papers or organize panels under the ECSSS banner must submit their proposals directly to the ECSSS Executive Secretary by **10 September 2015** (note: this will bypass the standard ASECS process for proposing panels and papers). For more details, see the Call for Papers that is enclosed with this issue and posted on the ECSSS website at www.ecsss.org.

AND COMING UP...

ECSSS was going to hold its annual meeting at the University of Glasgow in 2017, but plans have changed: we will now be meeting with the World Congress of Scottish Literatures in Vancouver, BC, on 22–25 June 2017, hosted by Simon Fraser University. The World Congress, coming off its enormously successful first gathering at Glasgow in 2014, meets every three years in different locations, and we expect this to be a large and exciting meeting. Then in July 2018 we will meet at the University of Glasgow. If the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies wins its bid to host the 15th International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Edinburgh in July 2019, we will be part of that event (thanks largely to the efforts of Mark Towsey and Adam Budd).

ECSSS WEBSITE REDESIGNED

We knew we needed a facelift, and we recently got it. At the ECSSS conference at the University of South Carolina in 2012, Jodi Campbell, a doctoral candidate in Scottish history at the University of Guelph in Ontario, kindly volunteered to renovate the ECSSS website. It turned out to be a much bigger job than ex-

pected due to technical and other problems, complicated by Jodi taking a position teaching high school in Reno, Nevada. But the combination of Jodi's skillful perseverance and design assistance from Bluehost (which now hosts the site) got us through it. Please check out our new look at www.ecsss.org!

ECSSS AT ASECS & BSECS

ECSSS was once again a major presence at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, this year held in Los Angeles. On Thursday 19 March outgoing ECSSS president Deidre Dawson represented the society at the annual Affiliate Societies Luncheon (formerly breakfast) and chaired a panel she had organized on "Ossian's Legacy," with papers by Alexander Dick, Rebecca Anne Barr and Justin Tonra, Tili Book Cuillé, and Paul Moulton. Two days later Andy Greenwood chaired a panel he had put together on "Performance and Scottish Material Culture," with papers by William Donaldson, Elizabeth Ford, Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, and Sarah Gerk. Thanks to Deidre and Andy and all the contributors.

At the annual meeting of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies at St. Hugh's College, Oxford in January, outgoing vice president Mark Towsey organized a fascinating ECSSS panel on "Experiencing Political Change in Early Eighteenth-Century Scotland," with papers by Alasdair Raffe, Siobhan Talbott, and Adam Budd. Thanks again, Mark.

DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWSHIP NEWS

The first year of the Daiches-Manning Memorial Fellowship, co-sponsored by ASECS and ECSSS and honoring the literary scholars David Daiches and Susan Manning, was a great success. The first recipient of the fellowship, Dr. Clarisse Godard Desmarest of the University of Picardie Jules Verne in Amiens, spent a productive several months in residence at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh in autumn 2014, doing research on "Women and Architecture in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." As noted above, Clarisse flew from Edinburgh to Montreal to be the guest of honor at the society's luncheon at the Black Watch Mess Hall during our 2014 conference, and she treated the luncheon guests to a ten-minute talk on the work she is doing. Besides her own research, Clarisse later found time to be the co-organizer of the Susan Manning Workshop at IASH on "Cultural Mediation: Arts, Minds, and Emotions," which took place on 27 April 2015. ECSSS is grateful to Earhart Foundation for a grant that helped us to fund the first year of the fellowship.

In the second year of the competition, the Daiches-Manning Fellowship has been awarded to Dr. Vivien Williams, who will be in residence at IASH during the last quarter of 2015. Vivien received her PhD from the University of Glasgow in December 2013 with a thesis on "The Cultural History of the Bagpipe in Britain, 1680–1840." During her fellowship, Vivien will continue to explore that subject, with a particular emphasis on the bagpipe's emerging connections with literature and art in late eighteenth-century Scotland. Congratulations, Vivien!

In order to fund the fellowship, ECSSS welcomes donations of all sizes, which may be made to ECSSS by check (payable to ECSSS) or PayPal (funds@ecsss.org), or by credit card donation to the Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund at the University of Edinburgh (<http://www.donate.ed.ac.uk/singlegift?destination=Daiches-Manning-Fell>).

MACPHERSON'S OSSIANIC LEGACY

On 18 and 19 April 2015 the Highland town of Kingussie, in the Cairngorms National Park, held a celebration for native son James Macpherson (www.macphersonsossianiclegacy.wordpress.com).

Best known as the man who made Ossian a household name throughout Britain and Europe during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Macpherson was born at Ruthven, just a mile away, and he later built a castle in the area called Balavil. The gathering featured two days of talks on Macpherson and Ossian. ECSSS stalwart Howard Gaskill delivered a keynote address on "No Mere 'episode in literature': Macpherson's *Ossian* and Its Wider Significance." Other ECSSS members among the participants were Matthew Dziennik, who spoke on Macpherson and the American Revolution; art historian Murdo MacDonald ("Finding Turner's Ossian"); Icelandic Ossian expert Gauti Kristmannson ("Ossian and Translation Theory"); and Vivien Williams ("The Bagpipe: A Romantic Symbol of Ossianic Northernness"). The conference was organized by the Community Engagement Research Project on James Macpherson and Ossianic Collections, which is based at Kingussie and at the University of the Highlands and Islands.

CSSP EVENTS

Under the able direction of Gordon Graham, the Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy in Princeton continues to move forward with an exciting program of conferences and publications. This year's major conference was on "Common Sense and Enlightenment," held from 13 to 15 March 2015. The program of speakers included Colin Heydt on "Scottish Philosophy before the Enlightenment," Alison McIntyre on Hume's opposition to Francis Hutcheson in the *Trea-*

tise of Human Nature, Spyridon Tegos on "Manners and Politics in Adam Smith and the French *Idéologues*," Nicholas Miller on John Millar's philosophy, Mikko Tolonen on the Scottish Enlightenment in regard to quantitative analysis of knowledge production, and Gordon Graham and James Harris on "The Idea of a Scottish Philosophical Tradition."

CSSP has also been sponsoring an ambitious series of books on the history of Scottish philosophy, published by Oxford University Press. In addition to volumes on the periods before and after the Enlightenment, there are two eighteenth-century volumes in the series, co-edited by Aaron Garrett and James A. Harris: one is a volume focused on morals, politics, art, and religion, which was published earlier in 2015 and will be reviewed in the Spring 2016 issue of this newsletter, while the other is a forthcoming volume focused on mind, metaphysics, and science.

HUME AND HIS CRITICS

On September 26 and 27 2014 Central Michigan University hosted "Hume and His 18th-Century Critics: An International Symposium." This event featured eight talks with commentary by such luminaries as Jacqueline Taylor on Hume and Catherine Macaulay, M. A. Stewart on Hume and the critics of his philosophy of religion, and Ryan Hanley on Adam Smith and David Hume on "natural" religion. Among the commentators were ECSSS members Jim Moore, JoEllen DeLucia, and John Wright, the symposium organizer.

COLLOQUIUM ON LITERARY COMMERCE

On 20 and 21 July 2015, Old College, University of Edinburgh will host a colloquium titled "Negotiating Enlightenment: Cultures of Literary Commerce in Eighteenth-Century Britain." Organized by ECSSS member Adam Budd of the University of Edinburgh, with funding from the AHRC and Royal Society of Edinburgh, the colloquium will focus on literary and artistic communication and exchange in Britain, with much attention to Scotland. Many of the participants in the colloquium are also ECSSS members, including Barbara Benedict, Catherine Jones, Pam Perkins, Richard Sher, and Mark Towsey.

ECSSS BACKS MSSSE CONFERENCES

For several years now, ECSSS member Denis Drosos of the Philosophy Department at the University of Ioannina in Greece has been organizing conferences in the Mediterranean area under the banner of the Mediterranean Society for the Study of the Scottish Enlightenment. The most recent conferences were held at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki in Greece, 2–4 June 2015, on "Scotland and the Mediterranean: Translating the Enlightenment," and at Dokuz Eylül

University in Izmir, Turkey, in May 2014, on "Scottish Enlightenment and Freedom." Both conferences featured papers presented by ECSSS members Jean-François Dunyach, Spyros Tegos, and Nathaniel Wolloch, among many others.

In October 2014 the ECSSS Executive Board honored MSSSE by voting unanimously in favor of lending ECSSS's name as an official supporter of its conferences. Congratulations to Denis and MSSSE on their great work on behalf of Scottish Enlightenment studies in the Mediterranean!

UNITED ISLANDS?

In 2008 Michael Brown and Andrew Noble were responsible for initiating at Queen's University Belfast *United Islands?*, now located under Michael Brown's direction at the Institute for Irish and Scottish Studies at Aberdeen University: www.abdn.ac.uk/riiss/about/united-islands-multilingual-radical-poetry-and-folk-song-in-britain-and-ireland-17701820--140.php. The essential concern of *United Islands?* is with multilingual, often interactive, radical and loyalist poetry and song that emanated from the four British nations during the era of the American and French revolutions, 1770–1815. In 2012 the group's work resulted in a multi-author volume of essays, *United Islands? The Languages of Resistance* (Pickering & Chatto), edited by John Kirk, Andrew Noble, and Michael Brown. Anyone, especially postgraduate students, interested in publishing in this area should contact Michael Brown at m.brown@abdn.ac.uk.

ABERDEEN U. PRESS RETURNS

Aberdeen University Press was a private publisher that produced much interesting work on Scottish studies between its founding in 1900 and its demise in 1996. In 2013 the University of Aberdeen re-launched AUP under its management, with a mandate to publish works in Scottish culture and history, including Gaelic studies. Under the direction of ECSSS member Cairns Craig, the new press has recently begun to make its mark. In 2013 it published *Vita Mea: The Autobiography of Sir Herbert J. C. Grierson*, edited by Cairns Craig, on the life of the man who sparked the revival of Sir Walter Scott studies by publishing the first critical edition of Scott's letters, in twelve volumes between 1932 and 1937. The *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, advisor to Peter the Great, has been appearing for the past several years, and the sixth and last volume is expected in 2016. Promising new work has begun to appear under the banner of the Research Institute for Irish and Scottish Studies that Cairns Craig directs, including Ronald Crawford's *The Lost World of John Witherspoon* (2014), which is reviewed in this issue, and older works that the Institute was producing

before the press was formally constituted, including David Allan's *Adam Ferguson* (2007) and Murray Pittock's *James Boswell* (2007), both published in the Introductions to Irish and Scottish Culture series. Best of luck to Cairns and AUP in restoring this well-established Aberdonian tradition!

HUMMING EARTH PERSPECTIVES

Humming Earth was started several years ago by Stuart Johnson as an imprint of Zeticula, Ltd. in order to make available worthy scholarship on Scotland. One of its first authors was Andrew Hook, whose classic 1975 study *Scotland and America* was reprinted by Humming Earth in 2008. Now Andrew Hook is the series editor of *Perspectives: Scottish Studies in the Long Eighteenth Century*. The series is designed to further understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish cultural achievement in the age of the Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish Romanticism. It aims to do this by reprinting important but less familiar works by contemporary Scottish writers, reprinting modern works of lasting value that are no longer in print, and publishing new research and criticism.

For more information on Humming Earth and its publications, go to www.hummingearth.com. To contact Andrew Hook about proposals for new publications in the *Perspectives* series, write to him at nasau@palio2.vianw.co.uk.

ZACHS LECTURES ON BIBLIOGRAPHY

William Zachs delivered the 2015 A.S.W. Rosenbach Lectures in Bibliography at the University of Pennsylvania on "Authenticity and Duplicity: Investigations into Multiple Copies of Books." Named for the famous Philadelphia bookseller and collector, the Rosenbach Lectures have been offered annually since 1931, and recent lecturers include Robert Darnton, Elizabeth Eisenstein, and Alberto Manguel. Zachs's series was divided into three lectures. The first, on 16 March, was titled "Perfection and Imperfection: Stories of Duplicates on a Scholar-Collector's Bookshelves." The second, on the following day, was a case study of first editions of Daniel Defoe's *Moll Flanders*. The third lecture, on 19 March, was called "Transparency and Deception: Discoveries of Hidden Irish and Scottish Reprints." In all the lectures, Zachs drew extensively, and often humorously, on his remarkable library of eighteenth-century Scottish books, and short videos from the library brought his collection to life in order to illustrate particular points.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Thomas Ahnert has been appointed a reader in history at the U. of Edinburgh...Gioia Angeletti is now associate professor of English literature at the U. of

Parma...**Stephen Brown** kicked off the 2014–15 program of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society with a talk on “The Edinburgh Press and the Difference of Opinion in 1745”...a website on the teaching of natural law in Scottish universities from 1625 to 1850 (blogs.sps.edu.ac.uk/naturallawinscotland1625to1850) has been started by **John Cairns** and other ECSSS members, including **Thomas Ahnert** and **Knud Haakonssen**...**Kathy Callahan** has been promoted to associate professor with tenure at Murray State U. in Kentucky...**Dan Carey** is the editor of a new SVEC volume titled *Money and Political Economy in the Enlightenment*...**Gerry Carruthers** and **Colin Kidd**, supported by various other ECSSS members, have organized a two-year program of workshops on the theme “Literature and Union,” funded by the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland...in March **James Caudle** spoke at the U. of Illinois on the libraries of James Boswell and his family, and not long after he received word of his selection as the Fleeman Fellow at the U. of St. Andrews to pursue the same topic in spring 2016...**JoEllen DeLucia** has been promoted to associate professor with tenure at Central Michigan U., where she is also now the director of the Women and Gender Studies program...in May **Clarisse Godard Desmarest** learned that she has been selected as a junior member of the Institut Universitaire de France for the next five years; last December she was awarded the €5000 prize, granted every two years by the Association Franco-Ecossaise and the Fondation Catholique Ecossaise, for the best French doctoral thesis on a Scottish topic over a two-year period, for her 2011 dissertation granted by the U. Paris-Sorbonne...**Anita Guerrini**, the Homing professor in the humanities at Oregon State U., spent the fall 2014 semester as a senior fellow at the Max Plank Institute for the History of Science, working on a new project on bones and skeletons in early modern Europe, in which she promises that Alexander Monro I and William and John Hunter “will definitely have a major role”...**Soren Hammerschmidt**, now an instructor in the English Department at Arizona State U., is editing a special issue of the journal *Authorship* on the problem of professionalism...in April ECSSS president **Catherine Jones** was presented with the 2014 British Association for American Studies Book Prize for her work *Literature and Music in the Atlantic World*...**Sandro Jung** enjoyed a stint as visiting professor at the U. of Gothenburg earlier this year...**Esther Mijers** has moved from the U. of Reading to take up a position as lecturer in Scottish history at the U. of Edinburgh...**Sandra McCallum** received her PhD from the U. of Glasgow in December 2014 with a dissertation on John Moore and the education of his son Sir John, titled “Secondary Education and Parental

Choice in Enlightenment Glasgow”...**Roger Mason** is the co-editor with Stephen J. Reid of *Andrew Melville (1545–1622): Writings, Reception, and Reputation*, published by Ashgate in 2014...**Karen McAulay** is finishing up a three-year part-time post-doc stint doing bibliographical music research for Glasgow and Cambridge U.’s Bass Culture project...**Nicholas Miller** has secured a postdoc at the U. of Göttingen beginning in October 2015...**Alex Murdoch** has retired from his teaching post at the U. of Edinburgh and is now an honorary fellow in the School of History, Classics & Archaeology there...**Robin Nicholson** has left the Virginia Museum of Fine Arts to become the director of the Frick Art & Historical Center in Pittsburgh...**Murray Pittock** convened the first World Congress of Scottish Literatures and took over as pro vice principal (special projects) at the U. of Glasgow, with responsibility for the Kelvin Hall partnership with the National Library of Scotland and Glasgow Museums, Galleries, and Sport...**John B. Radner** has been awarded the Biennial Annibel Jenkins Biography Prize by ASECS for his 2012 book *Johnson and Boswell: A Biography of Friendship*...**Alasdair Raffe** is now chancellor’s fellow in history at the U. of Edinburgh...in Nov 2014 **Ralph McLean** took up a new post as manuscript curator for the long eighteenth century at the National Library of Scotland...**Silvia Sebastiani**’s *The Scottish Enlightenment* was the focus of a half-day symposium at the U. of Sussex Centre for Intellectual History on 3 October 2014...**Craig Smith** has organized a major conference on “Themes from Smith and Rousseau,” to be held at the U. of Glasgow in late July under the auspices of the International Adam Smith Society and the Rousseau Association...in September 2014 **Siobhan Talbott** began a new post as lecturer in early modern history at Keele U., while also serving as co-editor of the *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* and honorary secretary of the Scottish History Society...**Mark Towsey** was awarded a British Academy Mid-Career Fellowship for 2014–15...**Erich Weidenhammer** received his PhD in 2014 from the Institute for the History and Philosophy of Science and Technology at the U. of Toronto with a dissertation titled “Air, Disease, and Improvement in Eighteenth-Century Britain: Sir John Pringle (1707–1782)”...**Paul Wood** has been awarded the Hugh Campbell and Marion Alice Small faculty fellowship in Scottish studies for 2014–17 at the U. of Victoria, where he is professor of history...**John Wright** has taken retirement from Central Michigan U. after many years in the Philosophy Department there...**Ronnie Young** has acquired a permanent post at the U. of Glasgow, where he continues to convene the core Scottish Enlightenment class for the study abroad program.

Moral Education at the End of the Scottish Enlightenment

By Charles Bradford Bow
Yonsei University

Isaiah Berlin's seminal work on counter-Enlightenment in eighteenth-century Germany led others, such as Darrin McMahon in *Enemies of the Enlightenment* (2001) and Graeme Garrard in *Counter-Enlightenments* (2006), to question if similar movements targeted other types of Enlightenment. Intolerance to free public expression and opposition to ideas that questioned the policies of religious and secular governing systems have been identified as shared threads across transnational counter-Enlightenments. Just as there were various, distinct types of Enlightenment (often categorized by national origins), different kinds of counter-Enlightenment also emerged. This article will focus on Dugald Stewart's response to Scotland's counter-Enlightenment as a transitional moment in the intellectual culture of the Scottish Enlightenment.

In the final decades of the eighteenth century, men of letters praised enlightened Scotland's culture of "polite" taste and high intellectual standards. Benjamin Rush remarked that "perhaps there is at present no spot upon the earth where religion, science, and literature combine more to produce moral and intellectual pleasures than in the metropolis of Scotland" (quoted in David Hawke, *Benjamin Rush* [1971], p. 63). The diffusion of Moderate values at Edinburgh University that Rush admired was a prominent feature of Scottish Enlightenment thought. In *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1985), Richard B. Sher showed that Moderate beliefs were "dedicated to propagating many of the leading values of the Enlightenment, especially religious tolerance and freedom of expression, reasonableness and moderation, polite learning and literature, humanitarianism and cosmopolitanism, virtue and happiness" (p. 328). At the turn of the nineteenth century, these Moderate values were expressed at Edinburgh through common sense philosophy.

As the Edinburgh University professor of moral philosophy from 1785 to 1810, Dugald Stewart was considered one of the most influential educators of his time. Reflecting on early nineteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment intellectual culture, the author and jurist Henry Cockburn wrote in his *Memorials* (1856) that "in an age which requires all the dignity of morals to counteract the tendencies of physical pursuits and political convulsion, [Stewart] has exalted the character of his country and his generation" (p. 26). While Stewart is often understood as an intellectual disciple of Thomas Reid's version of common sense philosophy, he conceived an exceptional program of moral education. In doing so, his system modernized earlier Scottish ideas and Moderate values of cultivating the mind and morals for a new generation of public figures. The broader question this essay addresses is how the diffusion and fate of Scottish Enlightenment moral thought was affected by the different institutional and, above all, religious contexts in which it was taught. In adapting Scottish philosophy to new political and cultural circumstances that followed the British reception of French revolutionary principles, Stewart sought to defend late eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment thought and Moderate values from counter-Enlightenment policies.

At a time when counter-Enlightenment factions of clergymen and politicians—clustered around Henry Dundas—were increasingly hostile toward free expression, particularly ideas promoting natural liberties, the education of impressionable young men was the subject of fierce debate. As Biancamaria Fontana has shown in *Rethinking the Politics of Commercial Society* (1985), these counter-Enlightenment interests resulted "in the virtual paralysis of political and intellectual life in Edinburgh" (p. 11). Counter-Enlightenment policies targeted many of the circumstances that the Moderate literati such as William Robertson, Hugh Blair, and Adam Ferguson had labored to establish at Edinburgh University. John Veitch remarked in his *Memoir of Sir William Hamilton* (1869) that "the political spirit which in other times had issued in civil war, found outlet and relief in bitter personalities, social hatred, and exclusion [and] such was the state of things, that Dugald Stewart confessed to despair for his country" (p. 76). Responding to this situation, Stewart made one of his greatest contributions to Scottish Enlightenment moral philosophy and Moderate values: a modern system of moral education. But to what extent should Stewart's program of moral education be seen as a reaction to counter-Enlightenment policies, and should Stewart be considered a representative of the earlier generation of Scottish literati?

In his introductory lecture on moral philosophy in 1793, Stewart claimed that "I shall follow the footsteps of those illustrious men who have gone before me on this subject, Hutcheson, Reid, Smith and Ferguson; adapting at the same time as the professor of this science should always do my lessons to the time I live in and the situation in which I am placed" (Special Collections, Edinburgh University Library). Of the various philosophical themes taught in the three branches of Stewart's moral philosophy course, the treatment of the "active and moral powers of the mind" best portrays how Stewart sought to combat counter-Enlightenment policies while upholding central Moderate beliefs. The exercise of these faculties gradually cultivated virtuous habits within "real life" situations.

Despite enduring early tensions over the political nature of his lectures and his favorable discussion of Condorcet, Stewart positioned his moral system as a formidable defense against philosophical skepticism, political radicalism, and the counter-Enlightenment censorship of the science of mind.

The popularity of his lectures had a considerable influence on prominent figures of the new Scottish Whig party. According to Robert Gillies's *Memoirs of a Literary Veteran* (1851), "his class-room was usually so crowded that without going before the hour it was not possible to find a seat; and so desirous it were noble families to obtain his direct advice and guidance for youth, that it was said he had refused the sum of [£] 2000, as annual pension, for one pupil" (p. 283). As the so-called "Scotian Plato," Stewart's "didactic eloquence" was celebrated for diffusing useful knowledge in "polite" society and illustrating virtuous habits of conduct. His treatment of the "moral faculty" and the branches of duty, in particular, demonstrated that exercising the innate faculties of the mind improved morals and the state of society while refining "polite" manners. Stewart's treatment of the "auxiliary principles of the moral faculty" supported this ambition. He taught that "in order to secure still more completely the good order of society, and to facilitate the acquisition of virtuous habits, nature has superadded to our moral constitution a variety of auxiliary principles, which sometimes give rise to a conduct agreeable to the rules of morality and highly useful to mankind" (*Outline of Moral Philosophy* [1793], p. 154). These "auxiliary principles" consisted of "regarding character," "sensing the ridiculous," "sympathy," and "moral taste." Each depended on the others for its exercise toward perfection and, at the same time, drew heavily from elements of Scottish "polite" culture as a central factor of its development.

In treating these principles, Stewart distanced himself in significant ways from earlier Scottish moralists such as Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith while building upon Reid's philosophical system in a new way. Although Stewart's use of these principles represented an original part of his program, it has received little attention. According to Stewart, "where they all maintain their due place, in subordination to the moral faculty, they tend at once to fortify virtuous habits, and to recommend them, by the influence of amiable example, to the imitation of others" (*Philosophy of the Active and Moral Powers of Mind* [1828], p. 324). While practical for securing refined manners in "polite" society, the "auxiliary principles" strengthened attachments to the branches of duty. Through reinforcing the innate obligations to God, others, and oneself, Stewart sought to encourage the principle of universal benevolence at a time when counter-Enlightenment policies bred prejudices toward metaphysics and natural religion. For these reasons, Stewart remarked that "at present, I must content myself with recommending it to the serious attention of moralists, as one of the most important topics of *practical ethics* which the actual circumstances of this part of the world point out as an object of philosophical discussion" (ibid.).

The persistence of counter-Enlightenment policies at the turn of the nineteenth century did not prevent Stewart's program of moral education from flourishing through the success of his students. James Mackintosh commented that "he lived to see among the lights and ornaments of the Council and the Senate; and without derogation from his writings it may be said, that his disciples were among his best works" (quoted in the preface to Stewart's *Lectures on Political Economy*, 1877). Thomas Brown, Sydney Smith, Francis Horner, Thomas Carlyle, Henry Brougham, and Henry Cockburn, among others, demonstrated their unwavering support for Stewart's moral thought by advancing its ideals in the influential *Edinburgh Review* (est. 1802). Biancamaria Fontana has argued in her previously cited book that "the reviewers thought, with Stewart, that all scientific disciplines ultimately had their foundation in the philosophy of the mind" (p. 96). Contributors to the *Edinburgh Review* revitalized the Moderate values of the Scottish literati, several of whom had contributed to the journal's forerunner of the same name in 1755–56. These emerging leaders of the Scottish Whig party, like their predecessors in the earlier *Edinburgh Review*, promoted Moderate values such as tolerance for controversial scientific, literary, and philosophic innovations. At the heart of the *Edinburgh Review*'s diverse essays was the realization of Stewart's educational system that groomed virtuous citizens, who in turn would gradually elevate the moral and intellectual standards of their community. In league with the broader ambitions of Stewart's program, the *Edinburgh Review* supported his campaign against counter-Enlightenment policies as they encroached upon practices of "Moderatism" at Edinburgh University.

After William Robertson retired from ecclesiastical politics in 1780, the new Moderate party of the Church of Scotland, led by George Hill of St. Andrews University, jeopardized the continuation of Stewart's system of moral education and secularism in the Edinburgh University Faculty of Arts. These new Moderates attempted to secure professorial chairs in order to censor theories that they believed encouraged dangerous philosophical skepticism and irreligion. In an 1806 issue of the *Edinburgh Review*, Francis Horner wrote: "For some years past, it has been perfectly well known, to those who take an interest in the prosperity of our University, that certain Ministers of Edinburgh entertained a systematic design of distributing as many of the Professorships as possible among themselves; and that, besides the professional chairs [and] Theology, those of several profane sciences were allotted as very convenient appendages to the benefices of the city."

While plural appointments within the Kirk and the Faculty of Divinity existed without opposition, the clergymen of Edinburgh sought to expand their influence beyond divinity studies. By demanding that their candidate for a chair retain his ministerial office if elected, the new Moderates under Hill's leadership ensured that their ecclesiastical interests and theological views would be represented in the university curriculum and in university affairs as members of the *Senatus Academicus*. Of this practice, Stewart wrote "that our Theological Professorships should be held by Ministers of Edinburgh, has been always my opinion and my wish...but in no other case whatever, am I able to conceive an argument which can be urged in favour of such a measure" (Stewart to William Fettes, 12 Feb. 1805). Contrary to Stewart's opinion on the extent of pluralism, the clergymen of Edinburgh exercised this practice in their 1805 endorsement of Thomas McKnight's candidacy for the Edinburgh chair of mathematics.

The circumstances of the chair canvass turned controversial when Edinburgh clergymen attacked John Leslie, a well-respected mathematician and natural philosopher with no affiliation to the Church of Scotland, for his questionable religious convictions. They were offended by Leslie's Whiggish ideas of liberal scientific progress and promotion of Humean thought expressed in Note Sixteen attached to his *Inquiry into the Nature and Propagation of Heat* (1804). The clergymen of Edinburgh, therefore, attempted to secure McKnight's appointment by tarnishing Leslie's academic reputation and circulating their concerns regarding his character and religious principles. As J. B. Morrell has shown, the so-called "Hill junto" had previously obstructed Leslie's earlier ambitions for professorships on similar grounds ("The Leslie Affair" *Scottish Historical Review*, 1975). The 1805 philosophical debate over "causation," which stemmed from Leslie's praise of Hume, furnished the new Moderates with what they saw as evidence of Leslie's philosophical skepticism. But, as Ian D. L. Clark argues in his 1962 article "The Leslie Controversy," which appeared in *Records of the Scottish Church History Society*. "what was really at stake was 'moderation' as a theological and ecclesiological system" (p. 179).

The Leslie Affair of 1805 was inextricably linked with earlier conservative policies in the 1790s, and as such should not be treated as an isolated episode. Stewart and his former students recognized that if they permitted the Moderates to manipulate this election to a chair, as they had done in past competitions, the new Moderates would undermine secularism in the Faculty of Arts at Edinburgh University. For this reason, Stewart argued in *A Short Statement* (1805) that "interests of a higher nature than those of any individual were now at stake" (p. 97). The elections at St. Andrews University during the 1790s exemplified the political nature of "Moderate" candidates. George Hill, who emerged as the leader of the Moderate party in the early 1790s, followed the conservative policies of his chief patron, Henry Dundas. Considering that Hill's Moderates criticized Leslie for a central theory that Stewart had publically endorsed, Stewart believed that his system of moral education was under attack too. He remarked that "insult after insult had been offered to the University...concerning the foundations of those essential principles which it is my professional duty to illustrate, and which it has been the great object of my life to defend" (ibid.). If the Moderates acquired the majority of professorships, Stewart believed they would overturn the intellectual environment that Principal William Robertson had labored to establish between 1762 and 1793. In opposition to the new Moderates' campaign, Stewart rallied his former students to join him in defending secularism at Edinburgh University. According to Stewart, "the ruin of the University was threatened by the measures which were avowedly in contemplation among a party of the Edinburgh clergy...I enjoy the comfort in reflecting that I did all in my power to avert them"(ibid., p. 7). In doing so, Stewart's defense of Leslie embodied his broader support for his system of moral education as a way to sustain the Scottish Enlightenment and his pedagogical commitment to diffusing earlier Moderate values. Furthermore, his treatment of "causation," which the new Moderates opposed, appealed to Reid's philosophy among other Scottish philosophers in an effort to justify the social necessity of properly understanding the science of the mind.

The 1805 John Leslie case represented the culmination of political, ecclesiastical, philosophical, and educational disputes between Scottish Enlightenment thought and values and counter-Enlightenment interests since the French Revolution. Although the controversy emerged from John Leslie's election to the chair of mathematics and the religious implications of his Note Sixteen, Dugald Stewart interpreted the Moderate party's campaign to censor secular education at Edinburgh University as part of the counter-Enlightenment movement. Stewart's former students joined him in combating the new Moderates with superior philosophical argument, exposing the dangers of expanding ecclesiastical and professorial pluralism beyond divinity studies. Although a faction of the Moderate party defended the Presbytery of Edinburgh's conduct toward Leslie, other Moderates, such as Sir David Brewster (a natural philosopher), distanced themselves from their conduct while supporting the merits of pluralism. According to Brewster, Stewart's circle, particularly John Playfair, failed to make a convincing argument for the "incompatibility between the habits of clergymen and professors" (*Examination of the Letter addressed to Principal Hill* [1806], p. 6). The defeat of the campaign for pluralism advanced by the new Moderate clergymen of Edinburgh did not end its practice within the Moderate party, but it certainly prevented its use as a condition of future

appointments in the Edinburgh University Faculty of Arts.

Stewart's role in the Leslie case represented larger concerns than his defense of one individual who happened to be a former student. In justifying the intellectual and moral benefits of his program of moral education, Stewart upheld traditional Moderate values for fostering an enlightened and benevolent state of society. The considerable support for this ambition from men of letters and clergymen associated with the Popular party testified to a rekindled commitment to enlightened thought and promotion of the circumstances where it could thrive. In the year following the Leslie affair, an anonymous author wrote in *Strictures on Mr. Duncan MacFarlan's Short Vindication* (1806) that "the voice of the enlightened and generous nation hath been lifted up to give to their names all the attractions by which wickedness can be distinguished; and that voice should be regarded as the voice of justice" (p. 9). At the birth of a new century, Stewart's victory in the Leslie affair symbolized a resurgence of the Scottish Enlightenment in defiance of counter-Enlightenment policies. But did this victory safeguard the continuation of Stewart's system after his retirement?

After retiring as the active professor of moral philosophy in 1810, Stewart endorsed the election of Thomas Brown. Brown, however, did not strictly follow Stewart's moral philosophy. Brown's promising career at Edinburgh was cut short by his untimely death in 1820 at the age of forty-two. Despite the competition of a more qualified candidate in William Hamilton, John Wilson (also known by the pseudonym "Christopher North" as a frequent contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*) was elected to Stewart's former chair through the support of powerful Tory allies, including Sir Walter Scott. During this politically controversial election, Wilson's wife, Jane Penny, wrote: "The Whigs hitherto have had everything their own way; and the late Professor was one, as well as the well known Dugald Stewart, who resigned the situation from bad health, and who has it in his power to resume lecturing if he chooses, and which I fear he will do from party spirit, if he thinks there is any chance of Mr. Wilson's success" (*Memoir of John Wilson* [1862], pp. 306-7).

Following Stewart's resignation, Wilson's passion for Romantic literature ushered in the age of Romanticism in the teaching of moral philosophy at Edinburgh University between 1820 and 1851, which, in turn, sealed the fate of Stewart's moral system. Nineteenth-century Romanticism, therefore, was connected with the earlier counter-Enlightenment policies that opposed the science of the mind as well as prominent Moderate values. Following Stewart's death in 1828, Thomas Carlyle wrote that "Dugald Stewart is dead, and British Philosophy with him" (Thomas Carlyle to John Carlyle, 25 Aug. 1828). The later writings of nineteenth-century Scottish moralists, including Carlyle, Sir William Hamilton, James Ferrier, and John Stuart Mill, suggest that Scottish philosophy did not completely fade into obscurity. But no one rivaled the heights of Stewart's earlier system of moral education and its final service in attempting to sustain the Scottish Enlightenment.

Tensions between late eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment thought and counter-Enlightenment policies existed in other parts of the Atlantic world. For example, Samuel Stanhope Smith, who taught contemporaneously with Stewart as professor of moral philosophy and president of the College of New Jersey from 1795 to 1812, drew from traditional Moderate values and adapted Scottish philosophy in creating a distinct system of moral education at Princeton. His program encountered a different type of counter-Enlightenment while sharing many of the same objectives. Smith believed that two separate counter-Enlightenment factions converged in opposition to his system of moral education and the Enlightenment that it created. Despite harboring different objectives, unruly students (known by Federalists and Smith as "Jacobins") and religious revivalists led by Ashbel Green wrought havoc on the Princeton Enlightenment. The radical nature of the "Jacobin" attempts to secure further student liberties by protesting, vandalizing, and later rebelling against the college's authority demonstrated a dismissal of Smith's so-called rules of duty and his traditional Moderate beliefs. Meanwhile, Smith's mingling of metaphysics and "true religion" generated hostility among religious revivalist clergymen. Ashbel Green led a campaign within the college's Board of Trustees to remove Smith's system and revive Christian principles. The appointment of trustees who joined Green's campaign between 1805 and 1807 shifted the board's interests, leading to the gradual decline of Smith's system of moral education and Enlightenment at Princeton. At the time of Smith's retirement in 1812, the Princeton Enlightenment was entirely dismantled, and in its place Green rekindled a more rigid evangelical interpretation of John Witherspoon's earlier "republican Christian Enlightenment," as shown in Mark Noll, *Princeton and the Republic* (1989). The subsequent administrations of James Carnahan (1823-1854) and John Maclean, Jr. (1854-1868) did not follow in Green's footsteps, nor did they attempt to recreate the distant memory of Smith's system of moral education.

The historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment has turned its sights on its transnational reception. Investigating the diffusion of these ideas across national borders and across time has shown the adaptability of Scottish common sense philosophy as well as its historical significance in shaping notions of "progress" and modernity. Comparative case studies of figures such as Reid, Witherspoon, Stewart, and Smith demonstrate how different circumstances and interests across generations and national cultures altered the prominent ideas and values of the

Scottish Enlightenment. This approach also makes it possible to trace intellectual connections between Scotland and the United States as well as the existence of counter-Enlightenments that targeted Enlightenment ideas on both sides of the Atlantic. Although the many reasons why Scottish Enlightenment thought and values flourished and declined in Scottish and early American pedagogical contexts have yet to be fully revealed, the tensions that existed between eighteenth-century Scottish moral philosophy and counter-Enlightenment interests in the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Atlantic world constitute an important part of that story.

Charles Bradford Bow (bradford.bow@yonsei.ac.kr) has recently held post-doctoral fellowships at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, the Huntington Library, and the University of Edinburgh, and is now assistant professor of history at Yonsei University in Seoul, South Korea. This article is drawn from his 2012 PhD thesis at the University of Edinburgh, "The End of the Scottish Enlightenment in Its Transatlantic Contexts: Moral Education in the Thought of Dugald Stewart and Samuel Stanhope Smith, 1790–1812."

IN MEMORIAM: THOMAS CRAWFORD (1920–2014)

Tom Crawford, a major and pioneering figure in the study of eighteenth-century Scottish literature and second recipient of the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award, died last March at the age of 93. Unfortunately, his closing years were not of the kind that he and all of us would have wished. Having retired from Aberdeen University's English Department in 1985, he remained an active and productive scholar well into the 1990s. Thereafter he began to suffer from Alzheimer's disease and, in a nursing home for the last ten years of his life, he was no longer able to communicate with former colleagues and friends. Volume 1 of his superb edition of *The Correspondence of James Boswell and William Johnson Temple 1756–1795*, covering the years 1756–1777, was published in 1997 in the Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell series, but tragically he was too ill to finish volume 2 (it is now being edited by Nigel Aston).

Born in Dundee in 1920, Tom was educated at Dunfermline High School, Edinburgh University, and the University of Auckland. Auckland too was where his academic career began: he was lecturer in English there from 1953 to 1960, senior lecturer 1960–62, and associate professor 1963–65. His first major book, *Burns: A Study of the Poems and Songs* (1960; reprinted in 1965, and available in a 2009 edition published by Humming Earth), established his reputation as a fine critic and scholar. It was perhaps this success that persuaded him to leave New Zealand and pursue his career back home in Scotland. In 1965 he accepted a lectureship in English at the University of Edinburgh, where we first met. However, he did not stay long in Edinburgh, traveling instead in 1966 as a Commonwealth Research Fellow to Hamilton in Ontario, Canada. The remainder of his academic career, from 1967 until 1985, was spent in Aberdeen University as senior lecturer, and finally reader, in English Literature. From today's perspective, it is striking that, despite his established reputation as a very productive scholar of Scottish literature, Tom was never appointed to a chair in Scottish literature. The harsh truth is that for academics of Tom Crawford's generation, choosing to work on Scottish literature was something of a career gamble. Scottish literature was still regarded as a minor offshoot of English literature, and the field offered few opportunities for advancement. When I had the honor of presenting Tom with ECSSS's Lifetime Achievement Award in Philadelphia in 1992, I reminded members of that historical reality.

After his Burns book, Tom's critical focus moved from Scotland's most famous poet to Scotland's most famous novelist. In 1965 he published a short study of Sir Walter Scott in Oliver and Boyd's Writers and Critics series, titled simply *Scott*. This "vigorous and tough-minded" little book undoubtedly contributed to the revival of Scott's reputation as a major literary figure. A well-annotated edition of Scott's *Selected Poems* followed in 1972. (When the Association of Scottish Literary Studies published a bicentenary edition of *The Lady of the Lake* in 2010, Tom's 1972 text and notes were used.) Two further books on eighteenth-century Scottish poetry and song appeared in the 1970s: *Love, Labour, and Liberty: The Eighteenth-Century Scottish Lyric* (1976) and *Society and the Lyric: A Study of the Song Culture of Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (1979). Both remain classic accounts of their subjects.

In 1990 the Saltire Society in Edinburgh published a pamphlet called *Boswell, Burns and the French Revolution*, but by then Tom's major commitment was to his previously mentioned edition of the Boswell-Temple correspondence, which turned out to be his final scholarly publication. The scale of last summer's World Congress of Scottish Literatures in Glasgow is a perfect illustration of just how greatly the study and status of Scottish literature have developed in recent years. All the more reason then why the career-long, pioneering work in the field by Tom Crawford should never go unrecognized.

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow

IN MEMORIAM: DAVID FATE NORTON (1937–2014)

David Fate Norton, a distinguished historian of philosophy best known for his work on David Hume, died on 8 November 2014 at the age of 77. The cause was complications from multiple sclerosis, a disease that greatly complicated his life from the time it was diagnosed in 1976, and kept him from participating in conferences sponsored by ECSSS and other societies as much as he would have liked. Nevertheless, David was among those who joined ECSSS immediately after its founding in 1986 (having previously been a leader in a precursor group that sponsored a panel and a luncheon at the Fourth International Congress on the Enlightenment at Yale in 1975, where I made his acquaintance), and he remained

an enthusiastic member until his death. He was also a charter member and early leading light of the Hume Society, which charged him to undertake what would become the biggest and most important project of his life: a scholarly, annotated edition of Hume's *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40).

David Norton was born into a farming family in southern Michigan on 7 February 1937. Intending a career in the ministry, he attended Bethel College, an evangelical Christian school in Indiana. There he met and wed his soulmate and eventual editorial collaborator, Mary Cook—a union he would later describe as the happiest circumstance of his life. Deviating from his planned career path, David earned an MA in philosophy at Claremont University in California in 1963 and a PhD from the University of California at San Diego three years later. In the mid-1960s, by then using his mother's maiden name as his middle name, he produced his first significant publication, *David Hume: Philosophical Historian* (1965), a volume of Humean excerpts co-edited with his UCSD professor, Richard H. Popkin. Prefiguring the chief concerns of his career, he contributed to that book an introductory essay titled "History and Philosophy in Hume's Thought," which argued that "history and philosophy are inextricably connected in all of Hume's works" (p. xxxiii). Here "history" referred not only to the *History of England* but also to Hume's other historically significant writings, as well as to the sources Hume consulted and other bibliographical aspects of his works, all of which were at that time seriously neglected in the philosophical literature on Hume. David was then a lecturer at UCSD, and he quickly moved up the ranks, earning promotion to associate professor with tenure in 1970. Soon after that he accepted a position in the Philosophy Department at McGill University in Montreal, where he established himself as a leading Hume scholar. Following publication of his *David Hume: Common-Sense Moralist, Sceptical Metaphysician* (1982)—which announced its thesis in its subtitle, against those who viewed Hume either as a thoroughgoing skeptic or as a thoroughgoing naturalist who always subordinated reason to the passions—he began receiving notable honors, including prestigious fellowships at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton (1985–86) and the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh (1986–87); election as a fellow of the Royal Society of Canada (1990); and appointment as the Macdonald Professor of Moral Philosophy at McGill (1990). He was by all accounts a dedicated and caring teacher, mentor, and colleague, whose contributions to academic life included service as executive editor/editor of the *Journal of the History of Philosophy* (1975–83), director of the McGill-Queen's University Press (1981–85), and chair of his department (1996–98). Among other publications from his Montreal years were *The Cambridge Companion to Hume* (1993; 2nd edn. co-edited with Jacqueline Taylor, 2007) and, with Mary J. Norton, *The David Hume Library* (1996).

After David's retirement from McGill in 1999, the Nortons moved to Victoria, British Columbia, where the climate was more agreeable. There they completed the Herculean task of editing Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*. A heavily annotated student edition of the *Treatise*, published in 2000, was followed in 2007 by a critical edition in two volumes, in the Clarendon Edition of the Works of David Hume that David undertook with Tom Beauchamp and M. A. Stewart. Although some decisions regarding the text and format of the critical edition have been challenged by Hume scholars, the work as a whole, and in particular the comprehensive "Historical Account of *A Treatise of Human Nature* from its Beginnings to the Time of Hume's Death" in volume 2, must be ranked among the most impressively erudite works of historical philosophical editing and annotation ever to appear in print.

ECSSS extends its heartfelt condolences to Mary Norton.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers University, Newark

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2014–31 Dec. 2014

Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2014: £22,350.36

Income: +£790.80 (dues, book orders, and donations)

Expenses: -£2800 (Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund)

Balance 31 Dec. 2014: £20,341.16

Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2014: \$14,399.90

Income: +\$9459.04 (dues, book orders, and donations: \$3455; transfer from PayPal account: \$2500; Earhart Foundation grant: \$2000; ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship: \$1500; Staples adjustment: \$4.04)

Expenses: -\$5900.66 (newsletter printing & prep: \$1,452; website renovation: \$1998.56; equipment and supplies: \$306.03; Montreal conference: \$1452.41 [Board dinner/meeting: \$369.04; exec. sec. expenses: \$788.18; U. of Quebec at Montreal: \$200; gifts: \$95.19]; partial reimbursement to NJIT History Dept. for newsletter mailing: \$631.94; NJ state non-profit society filing for 2015: \$25; bank fee: \$34.72)

Balance 31 Dec. 2014: \$17,958.28

PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2014: \$794.36

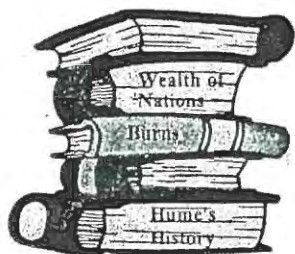
Income: +\$3062.89 (dues, book orders, and contributions)

Expenses: -\$89.12 (PayPal fees)

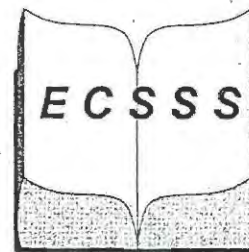
Transfer to Bank of America account: -\$2500

Balance 31 Dec. 2014: \$1268.13

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2014 [vs. 31 Dec. 2013]: £20,341.16 [£22,350.36] + \$19,226.41 [\$15,194.26]



BOOKS in REVIEW



Review Essay: Zachary Macaulay: Enslaved to Abolition

By Andrew Noble, Leverhulme Emeritus Fellow

In his diligent and committed biography, *Zachary Macaulay 1768–1838: The Steadfast Scot in the British Anti-Slavery Movement* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011. Pp. xiv + 263), Iain Whyte seeks, if not wholly to redeem Zachary Macaulay, to present a more balanced view of this deeply repressed yet spiritually and materially aspirant child of a Highland Manse. Best known for his efforts to establish a colony for freed black slaves in Sierra Leone, Macaulay was initially the object of near hagiography. This derived from a combination of biased, familiarly sourced material and a relentless process of mutual sanctification indulged in by the elitist evangelical Anglican world in which he came to move. Thus, in a language that seemed to come early and easily to him, Macaulay described his brother-in-law Thomas Babington thus: “Surely there are few souls on which lineaments of the divine character are more fairly or more deeply drawn.” No allusion to William Blake was intended! Macaulay is now, however, perceived much more in terms of his significant number of contemporary detractors, and as a proto-Victorian who was politically and theologically confused, perhaps even corrupted by his near life-long, highly diverse involvement with British slavery.

As well as bringing Macaulay into clearer focus, Whyte anticipates that Macaulay’s Scottishness will also clarify his nation’s political and practical involvement in slavery. In this respect he is, arguably, a representative if not exemplary man. For Thomas Babington, however, he was an instrument of God. As Whyte notes:

Babington’s letter of 9 April (1793) responded eagerly to Zachary’s New Year communication. He expressed his delight at the ‘remarkable coincidence of events which carried you out with a sincere Christian so peculiarly fitted to win your affections as Mr Gilbert; and continued to claim a divine guiding hand that took him through childhood, Glasgow days, Jamaica and thence to Sierra Leone. It was even to be seen in the disappointment you experienced in your attempts to fix yourself in England, which left you at liberty to accept the offer of the Sierra Leone company.’ Some might have ventured to think that the hand was a little shaky in its grip at times, but such a profane gesture would have shocked both men. (p. 29)

On a personal level, the danger of such beliefs is that they establish a delusory sense of divine self-rectitude. On an interactive, political level, such certitude of divine validation leads, at best, to authoritarian theocratic government. Christ’s mission, then, becomes not to save the world but to impose rigid order, defined by a hierarchical elite. Evangelical Anglicanism was to pursue such a policy both at home and even more rigorously in the colonies. With regard to the question of Africa, such a state of mind led, as Catherine Hall has perceptively remarked in *Macaulay and Son, Architects of Imperial Britain* (2012), to sinister contradiction: “They claimed universalism and their work was premised on the pressing need to rescue benighted souls, equal in the eyes of God. In practice, however, he understood the world in terms of racial hierarchies and contributed substantively to the constitution and reconstitution of such hierarchies, while fashioning themselves as white men and sometimes women with agency and power.” (p. 19) Essentially, Macaulay’s extraordinary career is, I think, to be seen as such self-fashioning. He is not, however, so much a hypocritical monster as partly himself a victim of historical forces, ideological and materi-

al, which, like others of his generation, he failed to comprehend.

Born in an Inverary manse, Macaulay was one of twelve children. Blind in one eye, with a chronic arm injury, he was not marked for eminence in the burgeoning British Empire. The significant fame he did achieve was at least matched by his older brother General Colin Macaulay, who not only served Wellington in India and against Napoleon but became his intimate friend. An insatiable and seemingly lonely child reader, Zachary was partly abandoned to Glasgow commercial society. Here he fell into the bibulous company of some Glasgow undergraduates and their intellectual world of Humean skepticism. As a raw, sixteen-year-old adolescent, he then acquired a position in 1784 as a bookkeeper on a Jamaican plantation, achieving the sort of position that Robert Burns so fortunately escaped. The title was probably an intentional misnomer. Rather than a minor clerical/statistical position, the bookkeeper was the cutting edge at the bottom of the demonic hierarchy of violence which drove the sugar economy.

To his credit, and despite his argument that Zachary had a Christian faith that integrated all that he did, Whyte does not spare the details of Jamaican slavery. A third of the white plantocracy was Scottish, and it was universally recognized as employing the worst forms of slavery. Reproduction among slaves was minimized. Average life expectancy after landing from the slave ships was seven years, and a constant supply of fresh blood came from West Africa. "It was," Whyte writes, "a human factory production of the like seen in the twentieth-century prison camps in Germany or Russia." (p. 12) Initially Macaulay tried to stay aloof from it, given his superior intelligence and sensitivity, but in order to survive he was sucked into it. As he wrote to a friend in 1797:

The air of this island must have some peculiar quality in it for no sooner does a person set foot on it than his former ways of thinking are entirely changed. The contagion of universal example must indeed have its effect. You would hardly know your friend with whom you have spent so many hours in more peaceful and pleasant scenes, were you to view me in a field of canes, cursing and bawling with the noise of the whip resounding on their shoulders and the cries of the poor wretches would make you imagine that some unlucky accident had carried you to the doleful shades. (pp. 12–13)

It may have been a case of adapt or die, but it left Macaulay with what we might term traumatic stress disorder. Without understanding the contradictory nature of his principles or the misguided nature of his methods, he did slavishly devote his life after Sierra Leone, in a confused state of awareness of evil and personal guilt, to bringing about abolition by means of endless pamphleteering and a constant stream of statistics. In this he was to become a principal enemy of the plantocracy's British representatives. Such men, criminalized by money, sought his destruction by publicizing his past.

The maniac, who late, "Negro Slave" wrote
For his gentleness has brother Braham's kind vote;
But Jamaica good folks universally know
That many a lash, and a kick and a blow
Undeserved, he dealt out, to many a slave
When he carried a cow-skin, on his side of the wave. (p. 15)

Macaulay was to be privately and publicly haunted in his later career by this disclosure of his youthful Jamaican malpractices. In the public domain, the vicious, deep-pocketed, pro-slavery group in and around Parliament employed character assassination in order to silence the enemies of slavery. Personally, even traumatically, guilty over his Jamaican conduct, Macaulay seems to have consciously believed that his Anglican evangelical conversion, like a little water, had cleansed him of his sinful deeds. Subconsciously, the repressive, near masochistic life he led, rising at 4 AM every day to pursue his endless written and statistical anti-slavery labors, tells another story. Nor, though he had by then escaped whipping, did he realize that he embodied in Sierra Leone more covert forms of keeping the Africans in their terrible place than the physical brutality of Jamaica. Jamaica put iron in his soul but it made him unable or unwilling to articulate the political and economic context in which those terrible multiple forms of sadism took place. Paraphrasing Macaulay's near contemporary—ironically another Scot, James Ramsay, who turned Episcopal priest and was also a doctor who served the slaves in St. Kitts for nineteen years—Whyte clarifies the political heart of what drove the inflicting white terror: "It reflected the constant terror in the heads of the greatly outnumbered whites of slave rebellions which might destroy their property and their lives. The only way to avoid that, it was commonly held, was to suppress through terror and extreme cruelty any will to resist." (p. 13)

For Macaulay, leaving Jamaica in 1789 must have seemed like escaping a dark nightmare and awakening in a good green place. His brother Aulay, an Anglican curate in Leicestershire, was a friend of Thomas Babington. Aulay took Thomas on holiday to the family home in Cardross, where Thomas fell in love with Zachary's sister, Jean. Babington's mother was less than pleased. Jean had to spend the first six months *after* her marriage in her mother-in-law's home, being raised to English behavioral standards and relinquishing her "Scoticisms." Zachary's entry in his sister's home at Rothley was also the prelude to Anglo-Scottish matrimony. He fell in love with Selina, the ward of Hannah More and her three spinster sisters, and overcame that formidable quartet's disapproval of their marriage. In a life marked by sheer persistence, this might be counted Zachary's ultimate achievement. Given the Clapham Sect's manifest anxieties about intermarrying with uncouth Scots, one might have anticipated the sect having some deep misgivings about emancipating Africa. It was, however, the sect's confused sense of the compatibility of the Book of Genesis with the Kamesian concept of polygenesis which led them to the allegedly God-given mission to Christianize not only Africa but the whole empire. It was intended, writes Helen Thomas in *Romanticism and Slave Narratives* (2000), that Sierra Leone was to be the "embryonic prototype of both a revised colonial plan and the means of establishing civilisation in Africa: those who were to settle there were to 'endeavour to establish a new species of commerce and to promote cultivation in its neighbourhood by free labour.'" (p. 42) Such a policy was the product of philanthropic vision and government colonial economic policy. While Macaulay may have provided better, more human leadership, he was powerless to prevent the extended catastrophe that followed. The basic philanthropic impulse was eroded by the necessity to make profits, not for the imported colored "farmers" but for the London shareholders. Sierra Leone was a prototype for Abraham Lincoln's notion that America's race problem might be solved by returning black Americans to Liberia. The "Colony of Sierra Leone or the Land of Freedom" reveals all the vices and horrors that America was saved.

The London authorities were keen to sweep their streets clean of the numerous black Africans living on them. In November 1786 only 259 of the allotted 700 places were taken on the repatriation ship. A third of this group died of disease and hardship on the way to their promised land, where they found nothing but a wet climate and thin soil. The mountainous jungle had romantically appealed to the British, who gave no thought to ecological reality. Worse was to follow. In 1792 there arrived a second tranche of Africans who had fought for the British in the American War of Independence and then been transferred to the hostile climate of Nova Scotia. Promised as much arable land as they desired so they could be independent farmers, they found the promises quite empty.

Macaulay, because of his Jamaican experiences and as a coming, evangelical man, was sent in his mid-twenties to Sierra Leone as acting governor. In that capacity he endured a French attack and sacking of Freetown. The physical damage sustained could be turned to ideological advantage: the chronic disaffection among the imported black population was said to be due not only to their non-conversion to evangelical Anglicanism but, worse, to their atheistic radicalism from the French Revolution. In this spirit, William Wilberforce wrote privately to Henry Dundas that the black Nova Scotians "have made the worst possible subjects as thorough Jacobins as if they had been trained and educated in Paris." (Hall, *Macaulay and Son*, p. 49)

In reality the fundamental problem, never resolved and indeed inflamed by the company's subsequent rent demands, was the broken promise of free farm land. Macaulay's attempts at medical and educational assistance, when he returned as governor in 1792, had many of the aspects of the Potemkin village. His own antislavery authoritarian style of government only increased tension. The underlying force in Sierra Leone was corrupt fiscal dealings. Ironically, the slave-selling African kings were much keener to do business with the Scots who ran a major slave enclave on nearby Bance Island (allegedly housing a mini-golf course with black tartan-bedecked caddies), which Macaulay was never able to shut down. The real cause of Sierra Leone's implosion, arguably the key to the whole British imperial project, was that the intended anti-slavery utopia was simultaneously intended to be a profit-making chartered company. These ideas were totally incompatible, as was recognized in 1801 when the company reposted the failure of its imperial scheme.

Macaulay returned home in 1799 but remained secretary to the Sierra Leone Company until 1807. In that period he amassed, in association with his ship-owning brother Alexander and his nephew Kenneth, a colossal personal fortune of £100,000. Initial service to God the Father culminated in Macaulay as The Godfather. Macaulay's complex, suspect fiscal connections were revealed by a former judge, Robert Thorpe, in the form of a pamphlet derived from a letter to Wilberforce. He accused Macaulay of leeching for money based on his monopolistic control. But beyond mere greed, he also claimed that Sierra Leone was perpetuating slavery by means of the indenturing of captured slaves to work in the colony or elsewhere, or enforced service in the army or navy.

Whyte tends to accept Macaulay's reservations about Thorpe's veracity. I am of the opinion that Thorpe was an honest whistleblower (always a self-endangering species) and that he had formidable forensic skill combined with a significant political intelligence. He also wrote a masterly analysis of the Clapham Sect's covert, sinister infiltration into many aspects of British public life.

These revelations were, of course, grist to the mills of the pro-slavery lobby, especially its heavily subsidized magazines. This was particularly true of the aptly titled *John Bull*, edited by James MacQueen, a former manager of a sugar plantation in Granada who also edited the *Glasgow Courier*. Glasgow had, in fact, significant slave interests, as Stephen Mullen acutely observes in *It Wisnae Use: The Truth about Glasgow and Slavery* (2009). Macaulay threatened to sue but did not. His friends pulled round the wagons and he survived. He retained his positions but, mysteriously, lost his fortune, ending not in his original sumptuous London townhouse but, after a sojourn in France, in rented rooms. The slave trade was abolished. Certainly Macaulay and the anti-abolitionist groups had an important role in this. It was also the case, however, that the government stuffed the mouths of the plantocracy with sixteen billion pounds of gold, in today's values.

Whyte is successful in removing the veil which he rightly believes has been long drawn over Scottish involvement in the slave trade. His book forms a significant part of a contemporary trend in Scottish history to revalue the nature and complex consequences of that involvement. That such a trend has been deeply retarded is verified by T. M. Devine, who has recently pled guilty ("mea maxima culpa") for not, earlier in his career, proceeding from his rigorous work on the tobacco trade to analyze the infernal conditions prevailing in the Scottish Jamaican sugar plantations and their socioeconomic, political, and cultural consequences for Scotland. In fact, the last chapter in Devine's *To the Ends of the Earth: Scotland's Global Diaspora 1750–2010* (2011) deals perceptively with Scotland's complicity in the slave trade. More complex than revealing the barbarism of the slave plantations is the assessment of the vast wealth that flooded back across the Atlantic. How much did the growth of Scottish population and wealth depend on this? The estates in Ayrshire for example, were almost all heavily subsidized by the sugar trade. Were the great houses in Edinburgh's New Town founded on this wealth? Was the licentious degenerate luxury that Adam Ferguson feared also based on it? Did the slave money filter down to all ranks of Scottish society, or did it only enhance the power and status of the land-owning and merchant class, hence only increasing social discontent in an age replete with revolutionary tendencies?

It is also certainly true that the slave question caused significant conflict within Scottish society, in its philosophical, theological, and political writing and, occasionally, in its creative literature. We are now aware and condemnatory of the nineteenth-century Scottish racial theories of Thomas Carlyle and Robert Knox. We see them as profoundly unenlightened. We should not assume, however, that the Scottish Enlightenment, that allegedly golden age of Scottish harmony, has clean hands in the matter. Colin Kidd argues in *The Forging of Races: Race and Scripture in the Protestant Atlantic World 1600–2000* (2006): "All mankind, so the leading Scottish moral philosophers taught, shares the same human potential for development, thus abuses of the slave trade were readily understood as inconsistent with respect for fellow human beings." (p. 93) Readings of John Hunter, Lord Kames and, especially, David Hume do not justify this.

Whyte's book provokes in me oscillation between condemnation and sorrow. What had this man destructively repressed in himself in order to act, at times automaton-like, as he did? He seems an extreme form of the Puritan-evolved, divided, Anglicised Scottish self, quite devoid of poetry. However, his prodigious son Tom declared him to be highly proud of his Scottish heritage, and I was surprised to find, in Glasgow University Library Special Collections, two Gaelic poems in a rough little book of eight pages published at Inverary in 1816 with Zachary Macaulay's name on it. My friend Peter Mackay, who generously translated them, considers them significant works in the Gaelic panegyric tradition. The first, "The Rowing Song of the Wretched," is a lament, with Christian elements, for a dead chief. Even more surprisingly, the second poem is "Song of a woman to her Lover." For example:

You are my soul and desire
Who was the courtier of the kilt
You, the steep climber of peaks
Swift-stepped throughout the hills;
How much I praised you
Until it left my eyes blind
So that I would bend to you
Though I would reject a thousand lowlanders

If Zachary Macaulay had not buried his clan loyalty so deep, he might have seen the African problem in a clearer, if not whiter, light.

Note: Andrew Noble (dandrewnoble@gmail.com) would be happy to provide copies of these Gaelic poems and Peter Mackay's translations to anyone who might be interested.

Christopher J. Berry, Maria Pia Paganelli, Craig Smith, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. xxii + 622.

This massive volume of over six hundred pages collects twenty-eight essays and an introductory chapter. Without doubt, it marks the peak of the resurgence of Smith studies in the West over the past several decades. We have already had two excellent collections of a similar kind: *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith* edited by Knud Haakonssen (2006) and the *Elgar Companion to Adam Smith* edited by Jeffrey T. Young (2009). While using a similar format, they show significant differences in content and character. Haakonssen's volume provides a concise and reliable overview of Smith's thought, covering areas between philosophy and economics. Young's volume is written predominantly by scholars in economics. By contrast, the present volume is divided into as many as seven parts, and each part evenly comprises four thematically related essays. The contributors are also evenly balanced between scholars specializing in economics, politics, history, philosophy, and literature. The wide-ranging and well-balanced organization gives the volume an exceptional sense of structure and order as a book of this kind.

Part I provides the historical and biographical background of Smith's intellectual development. Nicholas Phillipson's biographical reflections carefully trace Smith's continuous attempts from the earliest years to improve and complete Hume's unfinished project of the science of man. Leonidas Montes points out the essential similarity between Smith's economics and his understanding of Newtonianism as "a distinctively Scottish Enlightenment's approach" (p. 50). Dennis C. Rasmussen's essay on Rousseau and Smith reconfirms Smith's systematic project to reject and demolish Rousseau's counter-Enlightenment strategy. Christopher Berry's masterly account of early modern European thought from Bacon to Hutcheson gives a panoramic but exquisitely nuanced picture of the intellectual background of aspects of Smith's thought.

The essays in Part II focus on Smith's aesthetics and criticism. Catherine Labio confirms "the centrality of aesthetics to his philosophical system" and points out "the connection between aesthetics, ethics, and economics" (p. 121). James Chandler's essay on Smith as critic emphasizes the degree to which Smith's moral and political works "rely heavily on the figures of the critic and spectator, and on the tropes of harmony and mimesis" (p. 141). Michael C. Amrozowicz's essay on history and poetics highlights Smith's linguistic theory and traces its methodological repercussions throughout his works. C. Jan Swearingen's essay on language and rhetoric discusses the methodological role played by Smith's concept of sympathy and emphasizes the "the centrality of moral philosophy" as "the cradle of the Scottish Enlightenment" (p. 172).

Part III collects essays on the most familiar themes related to moral philosophy and ethics. Christel Fricke's essay on sympathy and conscience provides an excellent overview of Smith's theory of moral judgment and particularly focuses on the non-Kantian nature of Smith's idea of conscience. As she argues, "the wise and virtuous depend on their natural sympathy—just like everybody else" (p. 199). Duncan Kelly's subtle treatment of the limits of Smith's sympathy claims that "a major limiting condition for sympathy is provided by history" (p. 207). Kelly discusses sympathy's logical relation to situational propriety and critically examines the foundations on which Smith's conjectural history of law and government can stand. Ryan Patrick Hanley gives a general account of Smith's idea of virtue. He persuasively argues that Smith's ethical position should not be characterized exclusively either as virtue ethics or utilitarian or pro-Kantian. Smith simply believed that "an attachment to virtue is needed to mitigate commercial society's most deleterious effects" (p. 220). Eugenc Heath's essay examines Smith's idea of self-interest in various contexts, and gives a balanced interpretation to bridge the interpretive gap between Smith's idea of self-interest and the other social virtues.

Part IV presents essays on Smith's economics. Tony Aspromourgos's essay on labor and capital emphasizes the vital role of history throughout Smith's judgments on economic questions, and characterizes Smith as "a much more moderate economic liberal" (p. 282). Nerio Naldi's essay on value and price addresses the most complicated issue relating to Smith's views on value and price, famously oscillating between embodied labor and commanded labor. While admitting the unfinished nature of Smith's theory, Naldi presents a reliable historical interpretation of Smith's complicated theory as a whole. The vital importance of history is once again confirmed by Hugh Rockoff's essay on money and banking. He concludes his valuable contribution to this relatively understudied subject by remarking that "Smith's remarkable willingness to learn from the historical evidence, both when it supported *laissez faire*, and when it called for regulation, still sets an admirable example" (p. 330). Maria Pia Paganelli's essay on experimental economics argues for Smith's positive views of the market and points out its logical affinity with what experimental economics discovers and reveals to us now.

Part V covers themes on history and politics. Spiros Tegos's essay focuses on Smith's views of moral corruption, arguing that Smith's early engagement with Rousseau's criticism of corruption in civilized society remained intact as a deep-seated concern with the corrupt admiration for the rich and powerful in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. This was serious for Smith because it meant Smith's "ambiguous assessment of luxury and conspic-

uous consumption” (p. 354) as the engine of modern commercial society. A highly original essay on the state, language, and reform by David M. Levy and Sandra J. Peart highlights Smith’s challenge of “combining the motivational power of system without succumbing to the temptation to use a system to justify breaking our fellow humans” (p. 374). Fabrizio Simon’s essay on Smith and the law makes a valuable attempt to clarify the fundamental relation in Smith’s thought between justice, resentment, and the impartial spectator as the foundation of legal rules and regulations. Edwin van de Haar’s essay on empire and international relations warns against stereotypical views of Smith’s international relations as utopian liberal and quasi-pacifist. It confirms Smith’s position as political realism in the tradition of Hutcheson and Hume, who also believed that commerce could easily be a cause of war.

The essays in Part VI address questions related to “social” relations as a gray zone of Smith’s thought. Richard Boyd presents a highly useful overview of the genealogy of the concept of civil society and clarifies Smith’s own idea as vitally different from the ordinary interpretations. Gavin Kennedy’s essay on religion is a fascinating attempt to define Smith’s religious position in clearer terms than in past interpretations. By tracing Smith’s careful amendments in wording and expressions to six editions of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and by pointing to the critical importance of the death of his beloved and deeply devout mother in 1784, Kennedy concludes that Smith at the last moment of his life was “no longer the Christian believer of his youth” (p. 481). Samuel Fleischacker defines Smith’s view of equality and cautions against any anachronistic characterization of him as a modern egalitarian. Smith was certainly a moral egalitarian, but he “did not expressly defend equality in civil and political rights, much less any sort of socio-economic equality” (p. 498). Maureen Harkin’s essay on women traces Smith’s curious lack of attention to women as positive social agents, and finds that the example of women in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* shows “a serious problem with the workings of sympathy” to be prone to excess (p. 518). For Smith, sympathy was a characteristically feminine mentality, and as such, should be regulated by the masculine virtues of prudence, self-command, and generosity.

Finally, Part VII traces Smith’s legacy and influence in the twenty-first century. Spencer J. Pack’s essay on Smith and Marx is a balanced account of continuity and gap between the two thinkers, and confirms the difference between backward-looking Smith and forward-looking Marx. Craig Smith gives a critical and negative assessment of the widely accepted belief that Smith was the origin of contemporary New Right thinkers including Friedman, Buchanan, and Hayek. Tom Campbell’s reflective and serious re-examination of Smith’s thought in methods, morals, and markets criticizes any opportunistic use of Smith for contemporary purposes, and indicates the historical limitations of Smith’s thought itself in the age of global capitalism. Amartya Sen concludes the entire volume by discussing the twenty-first century relevance of Smith’s philosophy and, in particular, explores the possibility that Smith’s theory of sympathy and the impartial spectator could transcend the limitation of the sovereign nation-state for solving issues involving global justice and equality.

The present volume not only quantitatively surpasses the other collections mentioned earlier but also is substantially more diversified and wide-ranging in terms of the discussed subjects and the contributors’ backgrounds and generations. It is not a matter of qualitative superiority among the three collections. Each has its own distinctive merits, and they are mutually supportive in this respect. Still, there is no denying that the *Oxford Handbook* is a wider and more up-to-date representation of contemporary Smith studies around the world. In addition, the bibliographies attached to each chapter are extremely helpful for both specialists and non-specialists. Berry’s confident claim in the introduction that this book “aims to reflect, and embody, the depth and width of Smith’s work” is fully justified and admirably carried out.

Tatsuya Sakamoto, Keio University

Mike Hill and Warren Montag, *The Other Adam Smith*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2015. Pp. xi + 397.

Although a generation of revisionist specialist scholarship has recently dedicated itself to reclaiming Adam Smith from certain of his self-appointed heirs, the authors of this book have something else in mind when they refer to the “other” Adam Smith. As they explain, “our use of the term ‘other’ is designed not to reconvene a discussion of him as *either* commercially *or* morally oriented.” Rather, “we use the term ‘other’ before the proper name Adam Smith in the same way we refer to popular contention: a kind of conceptual shorthand for the ways in which difference and plurality remain irreducible and lead to revealing points of impasse that disrupt accepted forms of coherence as history (his as much as ours) continues to change” (p. 9).

The book proceeds to develop this claim in four chapters. The first, “‘The Pleasing Wonder of Ignorance’: Adam Smith’s Divisions of Knowledge,” argues that “Smith’s theory of moral sentiment rests upon an analytic that promises to ensure a peaceful *socius* through increased disciplinary specialization,” and that the gaps described in Smith’s science essays “stand in as epistemic analogues to the risks of mass agency and popular reading” (p. 24). One point emphasized here is that “the management of ‘multitudes’—implicitly the great majority of (labouring) men and women; the lower ranks—occurs at this moment of epistemic change through a cultivation

and peaceable dividing of the kind of knowledge that places new stakes on how tasteful reading and writing align" (p. 103).

Chapter Two, "'Tumultuous Combinations': The Transindividual from Adam Smith to Spinoza," examines Smith's concept of sympathy in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* to show how it "resists the transindividual dimension of human interaction, and does so by means of the very vocabulary of transindividuality," arguing on such grounds that "the objective of the TMS is not so much to refute or disprove the idea of a transindividual dimension as it is to render it unimaginable" (p. 24). One of the chapter's central claims is that Smith's theory suggests how "our inescapable interiority, the internal exile that marks the condition of our own person, becomes both a refuge and the site of our irreducible freedom" (p. 122).

Chapter Three, "'Numbers, Noise, and Power': Insurrection as a Problem of Historical Method," covers wide ground, providing detailed discussions of popular Jacobitism, insurrection in eighteenth-century historiography, the relationship between the novel and multiplicity and history, and an analysis of how martial virtue was conceived by certain eighteenth-century thinkers as "a way of canalizing insurgency on behalf of the state monopoly of violence" (p. 25). Among the other claims developed in this chapter is a means of understanding the crowd via engagement with the work of Nicholas Rogers, by which the crowd "becomes as much a problem of historical method as it is one of historical analysis—less an object ripe for diachronic anatomical description over linear trajectories of time than a unique temporal-spatial enigma in its own epistemological right" (p. 151).

Chapter Four, "'Immunity, the Necessary Complement of Liberty': The Birth of Necro-Economics," concludes the book by providing a study of Smith's theological and economic concepts in a way that illuminates what is here called his necro-economics, a concept, that, as the authors explain, "might be understood as the corollary of the indirect sovereign violence that does not take life but requires that life be exposed to the risk of death" (p. 263).

The analyses contained in these four chapters distinguish *The Other Adam Smith* as a book that will challenge its readers to grapple with a host of problems that have not been central to the concerns of Smith scholars. It also challenges us to bring to bear on both Smith and Enlightenment political thought more generally the claims of thinkers from Foucault to Agamben. Take, for example, the book's conclusion, which asserts that Smith's "object is to submit the body, its forces and its movements, to the greatest possible degree of control, to minimize those determinations that might interfere with the pace of production, and hence the process of capital accumulation, and maximize those determinations that increase the body's productive or useful movements"—an image that recalls to the authors' minds "those, both slave and 'free'—from Jamaica to the Belgian Congo to Auschwitz – for whom mass production and mass extermination were not antithetical processes but one and the same thing" (p. 342). I confess that I have not often been led, in my own readings of Smith, to think along such lines. But those who harbor such or similar misgivings will surely find much with which to engage in *The Other Adam Smith*.

Ryan Patrick Hanley, Marquette University

Paul Oslington, ed., *Adam Smith as Theologian*. New York and London: Routledge, 2011. Pp. ix + 146.

This slim volume collects papers presented at a conference convened in 2009. Inspired by Jacob Viner's claim that "Adam Smith's system of thought, including his economics, is not intelligible if one disregards the role he assigns in it to the teleological elements" and by A.M.C. Waterman's 2002 essay, "Economics as Theology: Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations," the conference brought together political economists, philosophers, theologians and historians to discuss theological themes and influences in Smith's work, especially as these appear in Smith's *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Wealth of Nations*.

The uneven quality of papers at a conference is often compensated for by the interactions of the conferees. Over a pint or two one begins to see the point of a paper or why someone thought such and such a topic worth exploring. One can press and receive a clarification that by the third pint does not seem so far-fetched at all. Not so with a volume of essays, and this collection could very much use some ameliorating tincture. Most of the essays are too brief, though in several cases that is not unwelcome. And the audience for this volume in the Routledge Studies in Religion series is, it would appear, more interested in the engagement of theology and Smith's legacy than with Smith himself.

The volume opens with A.M.C. Waterman's reminder that Adam Smith was neither a "theologian" nor an "economist." Paul Oslington and others, in particular John Haldane and Brendan Long, are careful to note that although we can say something about Smith's Christian faith, we can't say much. It is much more profitable to identify the implicit and explicit theological claims and assumptions in Smith's theorizing than to speculate much about Smith's religious belief. If we are to talk about God in Smith's thought, then we can expect discussions of the invisible hand and the impartial spectator to be prominent.

Following an introduction by Oslington, the essays are organized as exploring Smith in Context (Part I) and Analysis and Assessment of Adam Smith's Theology (Part II). The strongest essay in the volume, Peter Harri-

son's "Adam Smith, Natural Theology and the Natural Sciences," oddly enough is not placed in the section on Smith in context. Harrison approaches Smith through the lenses of the history of science and the correlation of the history of science with the history of moral philosophy. He helpfully explores how aspects of natural theology, including an early modern revival of Augustinian anthropology and a sense of original sin, were essential components in the Baconian project. Harrison notes, as well, the reinterpretation in the late seventeenth century of what had previously been understood as evidence of original sin and the fallen condition of nature as evidence of God's providential design, one prominent example of which is the reinterpretation of self-love as a means by which God providentially orders and achieves universal benevolence, rather than self-love as a vice of turning away from the happiness God intends for all.

Paul Oslington discusses Isaac Newton's views of divine action and providence and suggests that Newton's understanding is especially illuminative for Smith's account of the invisible hand as it appears in Smith's "History of Astronomy" essay, the *Theory of the Moral Sentiments*, and the *Wealth of Nations*. Oslington argues that Newton follows the theological tradition (although he does not identify which theological tradition) in distinguishing between God's general providence and God's special providence. As Newton wrote, "[God is] constantly cooperating with all things in accordance with accurate laws, as being the foundation and cause of the whole of nature, except where it is good to act otherwise" (p. 66). Oslington maintains that the invisible hand is an expression of God's special providence, acting irregularly to maintain the stability of the economic system while restraining inequality.

Discussions in this volume of the impartial spectator and Smith's moral theory are less provocative. John Haldane helpfully speculates about Smith's ethical naturalism, or the sense in which Smith might be read as a type of natural law theorist. Several authors allude to Smith as a virtue theorist, though what that might mean for Smith or for his historical context is left untouched. And one will have to turn elsewhere for real insight into Smith's impartial spectator, although James Otteson's short essay, "How High Does the Impartial Spectator Go?," is not at all a bad place to start (unlike Ross B. Emmett's "Man and Society in Adam Smith's Natural Morality: The Impartial Spectator, the Man of System and the Invisible Hand").

Adrian Pabst's contribution, "From Civil to Political Economy: Adam Smith's Theological Debt," is a very rich and demanding theological analysis of Smith with a valuable discussion of Smith's indebtedness to Newtonian natural theology, nicely complementing the earlier discussion of Oslington, and constituting a welcome engagement with John Robertson's *The Case for Enlightenment: Scotland and Naples, 1680-1760*.

A longer review would comment on the atrocious copy-editing of this volume.

Thomas D. Kennedy, Berry College

Brian Bonnyman, *The Third Duke of Buccleuch and Adam Smith: Estate Management and Improvement in Enlightenment Scotland*. Scottish Historical Review Monograph 24. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014. Pp. x + 218.

Brian Bonnyman's study of the contributions of Henry Scott, third Duke of Buccleuch to Scotland's agricultural revolution is a welcome addition to the growing field of "improvement" studies. Though built around Buccleuch's education and career, this is not a conventional biography. Although Bonnyman agrees with Nicholas Phillipson and Roger Emerson that improvement was largely orchestrated by a coterie of wealthy landowners, he also shows how dependent the duke was on a network of professional gentlemen who shaped the improvements and landscape of his massive estates.

Buccleuch's stepfather Charles Townshend, who married the duke's mother after his father died of smallpox in 1751, is a prominent figure in Bonnyman's early chapters. For instance, he arranged for the duke to attend Eton and introduced the Norfolk farming method, first developed by his grandfather "Turnip Townshend," to the family seat at Dalkeith (p. 24). In Bonnyman's estimation, the most important thing that Townshend did was to hire the philosopher Adam Smith to tutor the duke and his younger brother Campbell on their Grand Tour. Smith scholars have long known that his meetings with Quesnay and other economists during his travels with Buccleuch prompted many of his theories of government and economy. Bonnyman's scrupulous research shows that these encounters influenced the young duke as well. After his marriage and return to Scotland, Buccleuch continued to rely on Smith to help him navigate Edinburgh society and to draw up plans for the improvements to his estates, which Smith likely did during a two-month residence at Dalkeith House in 1768. Although there is a hint of conjecture on these points, Bonnyman's archival research is superb, and there is little reason to doubt the claim for Smith's "direct involvement" in the improvements' initial stages.

Bonnyman's summary of Smith's views on agriculture, which were at the heart of Buccleuch's improvement program, is a high point of the book. Long and popularly revered as an advocate of commerce, manufacturing, and trade, Smith actually claimed that a secure commercial state could only emerge from an agriculturally

progressive one. Because nature was productive without human interference, farming requires much less investment of labor and time than other industries, as long as the farms are sufficiently improved. Smith despised feudal pretensions and scorned the efforts of the *nouveau riche* to emulate them. For Smith, the most efficient estate was one where farmers holding long, multi-generational leases at reasonable rents were encouraged to modernize their lands for their families' "interests" as well as for those of their landlords. This was precisely the program undertaken by Buccleuch's estate agents, most notably William Keir, who joined the duke's retinue in 1772 and, over the course of thirty-eight years, implemented many progressive reforms. The two informative chapters on Keir and his fellow agents engineering tenant relations, soil restoration, crop management, and husbandry provide a detailed and surprisingly gripping account of improvement in action.

Other topics covered in this book will be of particular interest to economic and political historians. Bonnyman provides a useful synopsis of the Ayr Bank crisis of 1772, in which Buccleuch, a partner in the firm of Douglas, Heron, and Company, and for a brief time Smith, were implicated, and which compelled the duke to be far more financially scrupulous in his estate planning. In a final, enlightening chapter, Bonnyman considers how the duke reconciled his improvement ambitions with aristocratic duties and traditions. Buccleuch became something of a patron to Edinburgh's burgeoning intellectual culture. He was also a crucial ally to Henry Dundas, who over the course of a long career as Scotland's "prime minister" modernized the bureaucracy while retaining aristocratic tradition. Buccleuch also took an active interest in the efforts to establish a militia in Scotland, sometimes in the face of loud criticism. Bonnyman acknowledges, though does not consider at length, that improvement was also something that *happened* to a huge population of country people, some of whom were set firmly against it for social and theological reasons. This opposition is admittedly difficult to assess because of a relative paucity of textual evidence. Still, Bonnyman's careful analysis of the Buccleuch archive provides a convincing account of the aristocratic contribution to Scotland's agricultural improvement, and it will prove an invaluable tool for anyone interested in the subject.

Alexander Dick, University of British Columbia

Bob Harris and Charles McKean, *The Scottish Town in the Age of the Enlightenment 1740–1820*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014. Pp xx + 604.

This book is a pleasure to read, and I recommend it to anyone with an interest in Scottish history. It is well worth buying for its references, research, and ideas, and it should inspire future scholarship and publications. In light of the unfortunate death of Charles McKean, formerly of the University of Dundee, this volume also represents a fitting reflection on his huge contribution to Scottish architectural history. It is rewarding to find Dundee's architect, Samuel Bell, receiving attention, a fitting tribute to McKean's research on that city, Tayside, and Angus.

The book studies Scottish cities, towns, and burghs through history, architecture, and geography, especially in Angus, Perthshire, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, and Lanarkshire, and provides related thematic narratives on political, economic, and social history. These narratives contain references to many useful facts and figures concerning architecture, church, craft, Freemasonry, gender, landownership, markets, and a myriad of other topics. Chapter 4 provides case studies of five Scottish towns, but many others are discussed in the book. There is a refreshing review of hitherto overlooked and unpublished sources from local Scottish council archives and museums, complementing those in national repositories.

Although the authors conclude that their aim is to show a qualitative change in Scottish town life from the 1760s to 1830s, they do so using much valuable quantitative data. This is not a book about abstract aesthetic analyses of what buildings look like. The impressive appendices, tables, and distribution maps show facts at a glance. Statistics, figures, maps, plans, and wonderful color plates are presented throughout the text, as tides of data sweep the reader from theme to theme and from town to town.

The authors argue that the Georgians both inherited social and political structures for improvements from the previous generation and laid the foundations for the growth and fame of the better-known Victorian towns. This point has been overlooked not only in the smaller Scottish towns and burghs but also in the major cities such as Glasgow. The book reaches beyond a chronological narrative. It asserts a certain positivist power of prediction, based on its statistical tables, but also admits the influences of accident and opportunity. This blend gives the arguments and causes of change greater credibility.

It is especially comforting to see that primary sources such as stent taxes and court processes have been consulted. The book also cites references to leading published scholars in their fields of expertise, such as print and material culture. The book has been designed to host a generous allowance for illustrations —186 in all, including 37 in color, together with 8 maps. Many were until now relatively unknown and unpublished. The sheer size of the book also represents the scale of its ambitions to review Scottish towns throughout the country and raise questions about their Scottish and British qualities. The question of identity is examined throughout the text, not only

through architecture but also through people. The great urban professions of banker, doctor, lawyer, merchant, and minister are all accounted for and are used to show the rise of the “middling sort,” and attention is also given to the specialist crafts such as architect, and other free tradesmen working with and sometimes against the local trade incorporations. The rise of professional middle classes is also placed in the context of the prevalent patronage systems of the day, which included the concerns of the local landed aristocracy and town councils.

The “public good” was assessed and administered by magistrates, churchmen, and local landowners, and thereafter improvements were made locally or placed before the higher tiers of political figures in the Scottish Convention of Royal Burghs, Houses of Parliament, and royal court. The book correctly identifies common forms of improvements ranging from paving and lighting (early forms of policing) to new streets and squares, sometimes built up to a uniform plan but commonly piecemeal, with affordable flats appearing to be more expensive houses.

The book provokes many questions beyond its own terms of reference and aims. The conclusion states that Scottish town development reflects convergence and difference as if two sides of one coin. The binary of this currency of change perhaps undoes the “dynamism” the rich text presents through its many sources. Similarly, clearly defining national traits remains mysterious. Being “British” means following matters of taste and fashions set in London, via Edinburgh, while being “Scottish” is to adhere to the Presbyterian Church and trade incorporations. The concept of the “Enlightenment” is confined to a set of influential ideas that encouraged a mentality to improve, without too much more elaboration.

The Enlightenment Zeitgeist is as ephemeral as ever and perhaps overlooks Scottish links with other countries which affected the country. Leaving weighty philosophy alone begs the question of the usefulness of the term in the book’s title, when one pattern of development to be traced involves town councils reacting to matters beyond their control, such as war and economic crises. The authors admit there are many more ways to understand urban development, and it would indeed be splendid to have books about the impact of the British Empire on Scottish cities and towns. Glasgow is a clear example of a major city which benefited from this relationship. The impact of the book remains to be seen, but it should have a large effect on setting the course for deeper studies of Scottish urban history, including more biographical studies of people involved in Scottish towns and examples of the locally made products which remain in public or private collections.

The authors examine relationships between tradesmen, merchants, and their town councils, providing a cohesive structure with which to follow the developments of Scottish towns, and complementary studies in the country’s urban and labor history should follow from it. They point readers to the Scottish craftsmen working in their towns via their incorporation as the indented trademark of their country’s progress in this period. Increased scholarship of local court records (Bailie Court Processes), Sheriff Court processes, and sequestrations could reveal much more about the lives of such tradesmen and show that they too worked with merchants and industries well beyond their home towns.

Anthony Lewis, Glasgow Museums

Anthony Lewis, *The Builders of Edinburgh New Town 1767–1795*. With a Foreword by Richard Rodger. Reading, UK: Spire Books Ltd, 2014. Pp. 192.

Fiona Hayes, Anthony Lewis and Isobel McDonald, *Introducing Georgian Glasgow: How Glasgow Flourished*. Edited by Fiona MacLeod. Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2014. Pp. iv + 68.

These two publications reflect different aspects of the work of Anthony Lewis, but both also relate to the idea of eighteenth-century Scottish studies. They also share an aspiration to bring aspects of the subject to a wider readership. Lewis is Curator of Scottish History for Glasgow Museums. His research, focused on the architectural history of the Edinburgh New Town, was first published in contributions to the 1995 collection of essays titled *James Craig 1744–1795: The Ingenious Architect of the New Town of Edinburgh*, edited by Kitty Cruft and Andrew Fraser, and it now appears in a book on the first New Town itself. The book contains a foreword by Richard Rodger, author of *The Transformation of Edinburgh: Land, Property and Trust in the Nineteenth Century* (2001), which is appropriate given that A. J. Youngson, author of the classic study *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (1966), was like Rodger a professor of economic/social history at the University of Edinburgh.

Lewis’s research challenges many of the assumptions behind Youngson’s book. Although Lewis’s volume bears the same title as Lewis’s 2006 PhD thesis in the Department of Architecture at the University of Edinburgh, it is quite a different work because it is directed at a general reading audience. The book focuses on a narrative of the progress of the construction of Edinburgh’s first New Town built around what the author has been able to recover from his extensive research in Edinburgh Council Archives and other relevant archives regarding the careers and lives of the masons, wrights, and other craftsmen who literally “made” the New Town. Surviving evidence relating to the lives and careers of these men is uneven and incomplete, but Lewis succeeds in presenting a

new perspective on the subject. Whereas the dissertation was divided into sections of chapters on “The Edinburgh Town Council’s Administration of the New Town,” “Building Houses,” and “The Building Business,” the more modest parameters of the book contain chapters identified by the names of the leading builders (as they began to call themselves) active in Edinburgh during the eighteenth century. They included men who could be seen as successful and able to compete with high-end architects, such as James Nisbet and John Young (after whom Edinburgh’s Young Street is named), as well as craftsmen who first flourished and then declined in a challenging and competitive market for house building, such as John Brough, Robert Burn, and Duncan Drummond.

Inevitably, the surviving record of commercial and legal transactions with the Edinburgh council and with some private clients whose archives survive can tell us only so much about the broader cultural, political, and social influences upon these men. The brief treatment of John Young’s career highlights his involvement with political opposition to vested interests on the burgh council as well as his political and social networking in search of patronage to further his career. A very strong feature of the book (as well as of the thesis) is the use of extensive illustrations, particularly plans and drawings retrieved from Edinburgh Council Archives, Dean of Guild processes, and other legal records. There are also full color photographs taken for the book that allow for fascinating comparisons with contemporary drawings and other visual images. The book represents a model for what might be attempted on a more ambitious scale in the future. Architects such as Robert Adam are remembered for their vision, but as Lewis points out, they could be matched by self-taught craftsmen such as James Nisbet, whose origins as a plasterer led on to his practice as an architect as well as a builder. He could beat upmarket architects on price as well. The Edinburgh Town Council never had the money to build a New Town on its own. It had to rely on encouraging the creation of a housing market in which private builders paid the council for lots which they then developed at their own financial risk. Like all building booms, it had to come to an end, and it did so in the nineteenth century.

Introducing Georgian Glasgow is the publication produced by Glasgow Museums to coincide with the *How Glasgow Flourished, 1714–1837* exhibition at the Kelvingrove Art Gallery, curated by Anthony Lewis in 2014 to mark the 2014 Commonwealth Games held in the city. It is a wee book with wonderful illustrations. The exhibition was far from limited to architecture, bringing together a rich collection of visual images and objects to present several perspectives on cultural, economic, and social change in Scotland’s most dynamic urban environment before rapid population growth and postwar economic instability brought challenges that were unforeseen by the elite groups who reaped so many benefits from these developments. Sections of text and illustrations by Isobel McDonald on “Industry” and Fiona Hayes on “Daily Life” complement the introduction and initial section on the “Merchant System” by Anthony Lewis. Those fortunate enough to have viewed the exhibition will know that it was an unforgettable experience, and plans to make aspects of the exhibition available via the Internet hold promise that the results of the hard research and work to mount it may become more widely available in the future.

Alexander Murdoch, University of Edinburgh

Allan Maccinnes, Kieran German, and Lesley Graham, eds., *Living with Jacobitism, 1690–1788: The Three Kingdoms and Beyond*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014. Pp. xv + 288.

Living with Jacobitism is a welcome contribution to the emerging field of Jacobite studies, and the editors have done an admirable job of compiling a solid, wide-ranging collection of essays. Through their judicious selection from authors representing various disciplines, the editors have demonstrated the potential scope and outlined the future trajectory of the field.

There is much to praise about the careful thought given to the title, selection, and organization of the book. The title represents both an apt description of the content of the collection and a timely commentary on the state of Jacobite studies. Ranging in subject from fraternal associations to the female figure in anti-Jacobite propaganda, most of the chapters provide fascinating examples of individuals, religious communities, and the British state wrestling for legitimacy and a sense of identity amidst a persistent presence of Jacobitism in politics, society, print, and the public sphere.

Historians of eighteenth-century England, Scotland, and Ireland have become more comfortable with the historiographical significance of Jacobitism and have increasingly welcomed contributions made by scholars pursuing Jacobite studies—a fact reflected in the content and style of this collection. In large part (though not entirely) eschewing the combative tone which featured prominently in another recent volume of essays on Jacobitism—*Loyalty and Identity: Jacobites at Home and Abroad*, ed. Paul Monod, Murray Pittock, and Daniel Szechi (2010)—the editors have succeeded in assembling a collection that furthers our understanding of Jacobitism while also “injecting a note of skepticism” (p. 2) and ambivalence, a tone not often associated with older works on the topic. Although occasionally lacking in the punch and argument of preceding collections, the book more than compensates for this lack of energy with its mature, balanced approach. In fact, by incorporating several essays examining

anti-Jacobitism, the editors have taken an important step toward reconciliation of disparate, and often antagonistic, historiographies.

As is often the case, some chapters are much stronger than others. Edward Corp's careful examination of the Scottish Jacobite community at Saint-Germain is worth noting, as it provides a series of interesting, anecdotal insights regarding how Scottish exiles and expatriates came to terms with a small, shrinking, and often isolated community of fellow travelers through associational activities or assimilation. Similarly, Christopher Whatley's study of anti-Jacobitism is particularly valuable because it explains rather than assumes the "ideological basis upon which many of Scotland's anti-Jacobites mobilized in support of a regime for which in the first post-Union decades there was little enthusiasm" (p. 68).

Three essays in particular deserve praise and should prove engaging to scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland. Carine Martin's analysis of the "female rebel" as an anti-Jacobite trope used to undermine Jacobite imagery in the wake of the '45 is especially worthwhile, providing a thoroughly engaging revelation about the "social imagination of the period" (p. 97). Siobhan Talbot's detailed account of Scottish merchant networks exemplifies the ambivalence and skepticism extolled by the editors. Talbot provides compelling evidence that the pursuit of profit among merchants was often of greater importance than political allegiance in determining the involvement with Scottish networks abroad, noting that the Stuart court was only one institution providing support to Scots abroad. In so doing, she adds a fair bit of complexity and nuance to our knowledge of the Scottish community in France in the eighteenth century. Jen Novotny's discussion of how material artifacts were "the backdrop to social machinations, the waging of war and the negotiation of peace," and how they served as an "ambient environment of both rule and rebellion" (p. 169), is a helpful reminder that politics and war were ubiquitous features of a polite society.

Although Alastair Mann's chapter—the first in the book—suffers from a series of unfortunate typographical errors, this collection contains many interesting essays relating to eighteenth-century Scotland and should therefore prove an engaging and useful book for readers of this periodical.

David Parrish, College of the Ozarks

Jeffrey Stephen, *Defending the Revolution: The Church of Scotland, 1689–1716*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2013. Pp. 348.

This is Jeffrey Stephen's second monograph, building on his 2007 Edinburgh University Press book on *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707*, which made an important contribution to the "new" historiography on the Union of 1707. The title of his second book is of interest, emphasizing the defense of the Revolution of 1688–90 in Scotland and the institutional role of the Church of Scotland, re-established as a Presbyterian church at the Revolution and confirmed by the Act of Union, with chronological coverage to the aftermath of the large-scale, but failed, Jacobite Rising of 1715. In this sense, key historical themes and events fall within the remit of the book: the Revolution, the Union, and Jacobitism—all within the lens of the Church of Scotland. For many years, the history and role of the Church of Scotland was out of fashion because it was regarded as antiquarian, triumphalist, sectarian and, quite often, simply boring. Stephen's two books collectively rectify that situation, and we now have a greater understanding of the Church of Scotland from the Revolution to the post-1715 Jacobite Rebellion.

The primary emphasis of the book is on religious politics and a political history of the church. The text itself consists of six chapters: "Presbyterianism's Glorious Revolution;" "The Kirk, by Law Established;" "Purging and Planting: The Commissions for the North and South;" "Coping with Union;" "Anti-Jacobite and Anti-Union: The Presbyterian Dilemma;" and "Home and Foreign Mission." In addition, there is an introductory chapter titled "Prelude to Revolution: The Reckless Reign of James VII and II," as well as a brief conclusion. Unlike the 2007 book, no detailed appendices are provided (these have been very useful to scholars for the 1707 period). In common with the 2007 book, there is too little background material, and the book dives into action with the reign of James. This will make it difficult for non-experts and especially students to connect with the historical terrain and key issues in a wider context. This is the case with the last chapter, with its emphasis on missionary work in the Highlands and in the Americas: there is good and interesting material here, but it does not fit into the chapter structure of what is essentially a study in religious politics.

The research portfolio is impressive. The author has plowed through a range of manuscript church records as well as the manuscript Privy Council records and the invaluable Wodrow collection. The coverage of contemporary pamphlet literature is impressive too. The same cannot be said about the level of engagement with secondary literature. No monographs after 2009 are cited in the bibliography, and only one journal article published after 2007 is included. This is unfortunate, as important scholarship is thereby excluded. It may be the case that Alasdair Raffé's 2012 book *The Culture of Controversy: Religious Arguments in Scotland 1660–1714* appeared too late for inclusion, but two of his articles published in 2010 (in the *English Historical Review* and the *Historical Journal*)

should have been consulted. Remarkably, the blockbuster by Steve Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (2009), is excluded. This is a real shame, as there could have been more meaningful engagement with some of the key issues that Pincus raises. For example, what does the author think about the issue of the Church of Scotland and “modernity” in the context of contemporary religious politics? And what does he think of Pincus’s argument that the Revolution in England was more violent than has been previously thought? In turn, this raises the issue of sectarian violence and the Revolution in Scotland, with regard to anti-Catholic riots, especially the Edinburgh riot of December 1688, and the violent rabbling of Episcopalian curates in the west and southwest of Scotland during the winter of 1688–89. These issues are discussed by the author, but there is a bigger historical canvas within which the Scottish events should be viewed.

Conceptually, it is fair to say that more could be made of the role of religion in a transatlantic context and the Atlantic world. This would be a very interesting approach to take, putting the institutional history of the post-revolution Church of Scotland into the growing historiography of the Atlantic world. With regard to conceptual approaches of three-kingdom British and Irish history, some discussion of the Pocockian model(s) would also be interesting. In recent years, there has been a greater interest in the Second War of the Three Kingdoms, c.1688–91 (for example, in the work of Pincus, Tim Harris, and Scott Sowerby). Scottish history has lagged behind in this, but surely this is where the religious politics of the church can be placed, especially given the book’s title. Likewise, there is no mention of Daniel Szechi’s book, *1715: The Great Jacobite Rebellion* (2006).

Defending the Revolution does what it sets out to do in the context of a traditional but detailed approach to the religious politics of the post-Revolution Church of Scotland, in an institutional context, and with reference to the key events of the period. With regard to conceptual approaches and an expanding historiography, however, this is not the full picture. Despite these limitations, Stephen has produced an impressive book that makes a significant contribution to the historiography of the Church of Scotland. In combination with his 2007 work, we now know so much more about Scottish Presbyterians and the Church of Scotland in the post-1688 period.

John R. Young, University of Strathclyde

Ronald Lyndsay Crawford, *The Lost World of John Witherspoon: Unravelling the Snodgrass Affair, 1762 to 1776*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 2014. Pp. xix + 389.

What is this book about? The author begins by telling us that the “duality of Witherspoon’s life and career is well documented: both his formative years in Scotland and his subsequent flowering as an American.” But that, he insists, is not the whole story. There is “another, hitherto largely forgotten and infinitely darker side to Witherspoon’s life. This book tells for the first time the full story of that darker episode—Witherspoon’s ‘lost world’.” (p. 2) The phrases “infinitely darker” and “lost world” are disturbingly ominous. What on earth is unravelling the Snodgrass affair about to reveal about the Scottish Presbyterian minister who left the Laigh Church in Paisley in 1768 to become president of the College of New Jersey and thereafter a founding father of the United States of America?

In truth the story the book tells, while not always to Witherspoon’s credit, in no way amounts to a scandalous ruining of his reputation. Here, in his “Concluding Essay,” is Ronald Crawford’s more sober summary of what he has written: “It has been the aim of this book to narrate the full story of John Witherspoon and the successive Snodgrass affairs, as revealed in the mass of unpublished church and legal documentation published here in extract for the first time.” (p. 287) This aim has undeniably been achieved. In almost four hundred pages, Witherspoon’s protracted dispute with John Snodgrass, a Paisley lawyer, is explored and analyzed in exhaustive detail. Earlier Witherspoon biographers have been aware of the existence of this long drawn-out legal case, originating in 1762 and finally resolved in 1776, but have not seen it as of great significance. Crawford is the first to argue that the Snodgrass affair is a defining aspect of Witherspoon’s life and career—and crucial to his decision to leave Scotland for New Jersey.

What was the case about? On the evening of Saturday 6 February 1762, John Snodgrass with a group of friends engaged in what was described at the time as “riotous” behavior, involving a great deal of noise, drinking, swearing, and allegedly mock praying and preaching. All of this took place within shouting distance of Witherspoon’s Laigh Church. A week later Witherspoon reported this scandalous behavior to Paisley’s Kirk Session, and two weeks later preached a sermon to his congregation entitled “Seasonable Advice to Young Persons” in which he denounced “the late atrocious and flagrant offence” committed in the near neighborhood. Three months later Witherspoon published his sermon in pamphlet form in Glasgow, adding a preface “To the Public,” detailing the events of the Saturday night in question and naming all seven young men involved. Snodgrass and his fellows were broadly speaking educated, middle-class men who soon responded by accusing Witherspoon of deliberately destroying their reputations. The legal case was set in motion that would drag on until 1776.

In the body of his book Crawford follows every twist and turn of the case, choosing to deconstruct it formally as a tragedy in five acts with two interludes. How much actual drama there is in this story is an open question, but what is not in doubt is the author's success in setting the case in the wider context of the Church of Scotland's eighteenth-century theological history. By 1762 Witherspoon was of course a well-known figure on the popular, traditional Calvinist side of the divided Church, while the Paisley Presbytery included quite a number of Moderate opponents not inclined to support him over the Snodgrass case. Throughout the entire episode Witherspoon's position was that in denouncing the "rioters" he was simply performing his ministerial duty. In Crawford's words: "In bringing the matter expeditiously before the Session, and in subsequently preaching his sermon, Witherspoon believed he was acting according to the strict requirements of his duties as a Christian minister and in keeping with the accepted 'fidelity' of his calling." (p. 84) Nonetheless, Crawford's conclusion is that "after Snodgrass 1 and 2, the authority of the Church of Scotland to exercise its former self-acknowledged role as advocate, judge, jury and executioner would never be the same again." (p. 11)

"Snodgrass 2" is a reference to the second occasion on which the lawyer was the subject of a report to the Kirk Session and the Presbytery of Paisley. In March 1764 he was accused of scandalous conduct in a public place, involving a known prostitute. Witherspoon once again was responsible for leading the charges against Snodgrass. The outcome this time, however, was a disastrous defeat for the minister: Snodgrass was cleared of all charges against him, and the suspicion remained that Witherspoon's ill-judged actions had been motivated only by personal malice and vindictiveness. Then in November of the same year the Court of Session ruled that Witherspoon's preaching of his sermon "Seasonable Advice to Young Persons" had been "fully justified," but that its printing and publishing was "illegal, unwarrantable, and injurious to the pursuers." Damages of £100 per person were awarded against the Paisley minister. In the years that followed, incompetence by the pursuers' lawyers led to the case, in Scottish rhetorical legalese, "falling asleep" and being "awakened" several times. Act V was finally reached in the judgment of 1776 (not very different from that of 1764), but in Crawford's view the pursuers must have been "utterly dismayed" (p. 272) by the very modest costs they were then awarded.

So should this immensely detailed account of the Snodgrass affair be seen as throwing entirely new light on Witherspoon's character and life? In my view, probably not. In relation to the legal case, there is clear evidence of widespread support in Paisley for Witherspoon's actions. He was offered and received financial support from different quarters, and it emerges that David Dale (of New Lanark fame) provided the necessary financial surety that left the designated president of the College of New Jersey free to leave Scotland for America in 1768. Of course by 1776 Witherspoon's position was dramatically different. His prominent role in supporting wholeheartedly the American side in the dispute with the mother country was well known in Scotland. As time passed, that role appeared more and more culpable. In some quarters at least the formerly highly respected anti-Moderate clergyman was seen as a traitor and turncoat. In 1779 James Beattie would accuse Witherspoon—who had been, he said, "very active in fomenting the American disturbances"—of making members of the Popular party in the Church of Scotland "favourers of the American rebellion." In the court hearing of January 1776, Andrew Crosbie, the pursuers' advocate, felt free to deliver a virulent ad hominem attack on the defendant: "Dr. Witherspoon, it is well known, was a man of a most violent and over-bearing disposition." The use of the past tense is interesting here (leaving Scotland, he no longer existed?), but it seems highly unlikely that an advocate would have presumed to use such language in 1764 or 1768. On the other hand, in the years after the end of a war which, particularly in the west of Scotland, for a time damaged the economic prospects of many ordinary Scots, such a view of Witherspoon's character became deeply entrenched—as confirmed by Andro Crawford's stories, in the "Cairn of Lochwinyoch" manuscript, about the young minister's behavior in Beith.

In the final paragraph of the "Concluding Essay" of his book, Crawford waxes unusually eloquent in making a case for his view that it was the unresolved Snodgrass case that finally determined Witherspoon's decision to abandon Paisley in favor of Princeton. Tormented and humiliated by John Snodgrass, in the years leading up to the Princeton invitation, Witherspoon, it is suggested, found it "all simply too much." The call from New Jersey "was a heaven-sent opportunity to put all that behind him. The opportunity of a new beginning was literally irresistible." (p. 300) Well perhaps, but my own view is that claiming that the verdict in the Snodgrass affair was the decisive factor in Witherspoon's decision to accept the American invitation is not proven. On the other hand, the verdict one can be certain of is that *The Lost World of John Witherspoon* will remain the definitive account of the Snodgrass affair. The industry, perseverance, and scholarly commitment that the writing of this book must have required are beyond praise. The Scottish rhetorical tradition in its grandiose legal guise is a stumbling block that most of us would have failed to overcome. All future Witherspoon scholarship will permanently remain in debt to Ronald Crawford's achievement.

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow

James A. Harris, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. vii + 670.

The first thing a reader may notice about this substantial volume is that its table of contents neither looks nor feels like that of a typical “companion” collection. In such a book, one might expect chapters on major figures (Newton, Locke, Berkeley, Hume) focusing on how those figures shaped our understanding of major philosophical themes (empiricism, epistemology, metaphysics, etc.), with additional chapters on related, but secondary, concerns such as morals, rhetoric, and possibly aesthetic theory. Surely, a reader interested in Eighteenth-century Scotland would do a quick scan for an obligatory chapter on The Scottish Enlightenment. James Harris’s text rather well disappoints these expectations.

Harris and the other contributing authors, instead, aim to paint “a portrait of philosophy in the age from Locke to [Dugald] Stewart,” under headings that writers of the period would have recognized as practical concerns of philosophy (p. 15). The book is arranged into seven conceptual “parts;” its core divisions (Parts II-VI) are derived from the original plan of Hume’s *Treatise* and so cover the understanding, the passions, morals, criticism, and politics. Part I, “The Languages of Philosophy in Eighteenth-century Britain,” establishes the Lockean and Newtonian foundations for eighteenth-century inquiries. Part VII offers a concluding section on “Philosophy and Religion,” addressing the overlapping concerns of theology and philosophy that are crucial to a distinctly British brand of Enlightenment. Harris’s introduction does well to set up the historical and theoretical parameters for defining philosophy in the eighteenth century, and, most importantly, it directly addresses how *British* philosophy can be seen as distinct from English, Scottish, or Welsh iterations. With regard to the Scottish/English question, Harris decides that while one might comfortably separate them in terms of national Enlightenments the broader concerns of “philosophy” are less exclusive. Thus, “it makes sense,” he argues, “to resist the fragmentation of Great Britain into its constituent parts” (p. 5). It is my intention here to briefly outline two consequences of Harris’s editorial act of union, as it were.

First, readers looking for Scottish content will do well to start by surveying the book’s excellent and thorough index rather than its table of contents, for Scots abound in nearly every chapter. Not only are the major writers (Hutcheson, Hume, Smith) covered thoroughly, secondary and tertiary figures are also well represented, and the student who reads broadly within the text will, no doubt, be rewarded with a strong sense of the virtuosity that is characteristic of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers: Adam Ferguson, Thomas Reid, Lord Kames, Hugh Blair, Alexander Gerard, Archibald Alison, Gershom Carmichael, and quite a few others are portrayed in a variety of contexts. Of particular note are the treatments of Kames in essays by Paddy Bullard (chap. 4), Paul Guyer (chap. 17) and Alexander Broadie (chap. 26) that combine to present an intricate view of his commentaries on rhetoric and eloquence, aesthetics and emotion, and the relationship between morality and revealed religion. Reid is another figure who seems to pop up everywhere, both in places where he is most expected (e.g., in Rebecca Copenhaver’s discussion of critiques of the Lockean “way of ideas” in chap. 5) and in treatments that run counter to commonly accepted interpretations (e.g., in Terence Cuneo’s argument for blurring the line between Reid’s moral rationalism and Hutcheson’s affective moral sense in chap. 10). Not only is commentary on Scottish writers extensive and adroit, but nuanced interpretation of their work is often woven into the fabric of the volume’s arguments.

As such, the second consequence of not separating English from Scottish thought follows naturally from the first, and the volume’s organic structure implicitly demonstrates how the Scottish Enlightenment shaped the development of British philosophy. For instance, Craig Smith’s essay on “Forms of Government” (chap. 22) traces a history through which modern political science is “the legacy of the Scottish attempt to introduce ‘science’ into constitutional theories” (p. 552). In Christian Maurer’s essay on “Self-interest and Sociability” (chap. 13) there is a palpable subtext at work: it would be impossible to accurately depict how the debate over the value of private vs. public interest forged quintessentially British ideas of morality, of commerce, and of piety without factoring in how Scottish theories of sympathy, justice and benevolence influenced both sides of the argument. Certainly, one doesn’t get the sense of an overt political agenda, and I intend no such claims. I would suggest, however, that a strong Scottish presence in a text of such general import bodes well for those of us who look to the Scottish Enlightenment as a means of interpreting an array of historical and theoretical questions whose relevance extends beyond Scotland and, indeed, beyond the eighteenth century as well.

The volume’s well organized chapters with bold sub-headings make it easy for the reader to isolate content relevant to his/her interest, but unlike most companion texts, this one is perhaps best taken as a whole, for one of the book’s greatest strengths is that the parts and chapters develop ongoing and recursive conversations on its major themes. In this sense, its function as a “handbook” is best suited to graduate students and professional scholars who are already familiar with the contextual background of its subject matter. While some essays manage to strike the difficult balance between scholarly rigor and explanatory content, most seem to have a specialist, rather than a student, audience in mind. Harris does not provide the pedagogical supplements that one might expect in a

companion volume (a chronology, a glossary, a bibliography of suggested further reading), but such omissions are probably less a shortcoming of this book than another indication of its target audience.

Joel P. Sodano, University at Albany SUNY

Thomas Ahnert *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment 1690–1805*. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2014. Pp viii + 216.

I am inclined to think that history at its best takes some widely believed and long-accepted opinions and, by patient assembly and careful interpretation of the evidence, subverts and refutes them, casting fresh light on important and interesting questions as it does so. If this is true, then Thomas Ahnert's book is history at its best.

We all know, do we not, that though many of the leading figures in the Scottish Enlightenment were clergy, their Christian affiliation was powerfully tempered by their preference for "rational religion" over the anti-rational dogmatism of their orthodox Presbyterian opponents. This combination of reason and religion, however, was necessarily unstable, and ironically laid the foundation for the rise of secular learning and the marginalization of religion that marks the history of the modern academy, including, of course, the near demise of the Christianity that the "enlightened" clergy meant to defend.

Ahnert demonstrates that we do not know any of this, because it is all false. The truth is almost exactly the opposite. Both the heterodox Presbyterians in the first half of the eighteenth century (of whom Francis Hutcheson was a leading light), and the "Moderates" of the second half (led by the historian William Robertson) were deeply skeptical about the power of reason to promote Christian faith, and inclined to the view, indeed, that disputes about the truth of theological doctrines were a distraction from true religion. It was the orthodox Presbyterians who thought that natural reason offered a rational basis for Protestant Christianity, and was essential to the advocacy of the Gospel. The heterodox looked to conduct, not doctrine, as the heart of religion, and placed their faith in biblical revelation. The orthodox thought that natural theology was a necessary precursor to revealed truth.

Ahnert develops this assault on established opinion as he unfolds Scottish religious history over the course of the long eighteenth century, beginning with a description of the relative insecurity of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, despite its establishment as the national church by William I in the settlement of 1690. By placing the emphasis on moral conduct and natural virtues, heterodox voices like John Simson and Hutcheson, among others, were not only effectively siding with Episcopalian-minded thinkers such as Henry Scougal and George Garden, they were also questioning the importance and even relevance of the Westminster Confession of Faith, to which, ardent Calvinists held, it was essential for both the clergy and their teachers to subscribe. The reaction they prompted, including accusations of heresy (which resulted in a formal trial in Simson's, though not Hutcheson's, case) came from those who thought that reason could demonstrate their errors.

One of the related issues on which Ahnert throws relevant light is the question of patronage. The usual story holds that the Moderates revealed their Latitudinarian tendency by favoring patronage, while the Popular party revealed its evangelical fervor by resisting it. Ahnert shows that the issue between them was not patronage at all, which both parties accepted, but the relative importance of church authority and individual conscience. He also shows that the celebrated "Leslie affair" in 1805 is not properly interpreted as the Moderate party having switched sides—from liberal to conservative. In a disagreement that was actually more complex, it served one side to represent it in this way, and so successful were they, that representation has been taken as the truth ever since.

Perhaps the most interesting related issue, though Ahnert does not dwell on it at any great length, is the matter of David Hume's attitude to religion. It has long puzzled interpreters that the posthumously published *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* closes with an affirmation of the world's divine origins, despite the weakness of the arguments for God's existence that the same work has just exposed. If Ahnert is right, this is not so puzzling. Though Hume's clerical friends could find much to disagree with him about, in opposition to the orthodox Presbyterians of the day, they were of one mind on the matter of natural theology. No less than Hume they held that reason could accomplish very little when it came to knowledge of God. They were thus unlikely to be much shocked by his demonstration that this was indeed so. More intriguing, however, is the conclusion to the essay on miracles, where Hume appeals to the necessity of revelation. Most commentators take this to be irony, and Ahnert says that this is the "most likely" interpretation. Yet what Hume actually wrote could have been said by the "enlightened" clergy without any implication of religious skepticism. Must it be irony on Hume's part?

This is a very fine book, with a beautiful reproduction of Henry Raeburn's portrait of Principal Robertson on the cover. I have only one, tiny, complaint. Ahnert has a tendency to repeat in later chapters what he has told us in earlier ones, sometimes in the very same phrases. This leaves a faint impression that the book is a set of essays instead of a unified whole. A little more editorial attention would have fixed this, admittedly very minor, blemish.

Gordon Graham, Princeton Theological Seminary

Matthew Arbo, *Political Vanity: Adam Ferguson on the Moral Tensions of Early Capitalism*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2014. Pp. vii + 149.

Matthew Arbo's *Political Vanity* is primarily a theological lament on what the author terms "the ascendancy of natural authority"—over and against divine authority—in eighteenth-century Scotland. It is secondarily a moralistic treatise which utilizes Ferguson to argue that "the modern commercial state has succumbed to vanity." Hence, the book's subtitle is somewhat misleading. While Arbo does focus on Ferguson's delineation of such tensions in the last part of the volume, the thrust of the book centers on the author's use of Ferguson to espouse his own vision of "Christian metaphysics." This use is problematic from the outset.

One of the main difficulties is that the author does not carefully articulate Ferguson's own philosophical and social scientific methods. Although Arbo states that Ferguson "has been enlisted as a conversation partner and guide" in order to "prevent entanglement in overly complex methodologies," he proceeds to read Ferguson through the lenses of an eclectic array of modern thinkers, including Heidegger, Oliver O'Donovan, Robert Spaemann, and Reinhart Koselleck. Consequently, because all sorts of complex methodologies are actually brought to bear in Arbo's analysis of Ferguson's positions, it is difficult for the reader to assess the overall strength and weakness of what is being argued. In any event, there is a disconnect between Arbo's theological questions (e.g., "How can one act in today's economy *for* God and his kingdom?") and Ferguson's more naturalistic queries (e.g., "What should man wish for himself, his country and mankind?").

What can be assessed is the author's construal of Ferguson's religious identity. Clearly, Ferguson pursued divinity studies, underwent ordination exams, served as a chaplain, and attended several General Assembly meetings of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland. But what is less clear, especially in the latter half of his life, is that Ferguson otherwise provided, in Arbo's words, "faithful service to the church." Curiously, Professor Ferguson is not listed in the official digest of ordained ministers of Scotland (Scott, *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae*), and his signature appears to be missing from the list of those ordained by the Dunkeld Presbytery which examined him. But the main difficulty with portraying Ferguson as an exponent of Christocentric thinking is that he simply never self-identified as a Christian or explicitly employed Christocentric language in any of his major works. While Arbo suggests that Ferguson would have rejected the enlightened deism of "isolated figures like Samuel Clarke," a good case could be made that Ferguson was an exponent of the very deism that Arbo employs him to rebuke.

The book is divided into five chapters and a brief Introduction. There is an index and occasional footnotes, but no bibliography. Chapter 1, "Ferguson's Political Theology," aims, in Arbo's words, "to better define the Christian character of Ferguson's moral and political thought" by delineating three themes—determinacy, universality and romanticism—*against* which the author believes Ferguson was most critical. Chapter 2, "The Meaning of History," focuses on eighteenth-century Scottish understandings of history, while providing a dubious gloss of Ferguson's view of progress and an incomplete account of the notion of "conjectural history." Chapter 3, "Action and Human Nature," presents an original and potentially seminal reflection on Ferguson's understanding of action, but misconstrues the professor's vision of the relation of art to nature. Chapter 4, "The Peril of Commercial Society," draws on Ferguson's writings on the militia controversy and excerpts from the *Essay*. It is undoubtedly the strongest chapter in the book. The brief chapter 5, "Frappings of Liberal Democratic Capitalism," is essentially an epilogue in which Arbo contends that Ferguson's thought "hints" that "secularization" is the *modus operandi* of political slavery in the twenty-first century.

Unfortunately, the book was not carefully edited. The numbering of chapters in the Introduction is not consistent with the actual numbers of the five chapters in the book. Sometimes there are questionable analogies, such as Arbo's linking of the Apostle Paul's metaphor of "putting on the new man" with Ferguson's vision for active being. Nevertheless, given the author's express aim of characterizing Ferguson as a defender of Christian metaphysics, the book may be of interest to those who share the author's presuppositions about natural and revealed theology. Moreover, Arbo's distillation of Ferguson's understandings of commercial arts and the problematical character of property law (in chapter 4), represents a generally sound introduction for those unfamiliar with Ferguson's writings on political economy.

Jack Hill, Texas Christian University

Clotilde Prunier, ed., *Autour de l'Essay on the History of Civil Society d'Adam Ferguson*. Paris: Press Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2014. Pp. 189.

In a short but substantive introduction, Clotilde Prunier places this edition in the context of the inclusion of the *Essay on the History of Civil Society* in the curriculum of the departments of *études anglophones* in France. This edition is designed to be a "manual" for introducing Adam Ferguson's thought in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment. The book is comprised of two parts. The first part offers five original contributions on Adam Ferguson scholarship. The second part is a selection of classical texts, indispensable for the apprehension of the intel-

lectual context in which Ferguson's ideas developed. The selected texts are parts of the works of Hobbes, Montesquieu, Hume, Rousseau, Buffon, Home, Smith, Millar, Robertson, and Dugald Stewart.

Alexander Broadie, "Why Should We Read Adam Ferguson Today?" explores the sources of Ferguson's commitment to classical republicanism and his polemic against corruption. Both his Kirk experience and his Highlander's sense of community taught Ferguson to be strongly sympathetic to "bottom-up" rather than "top-down" forms of governance. Drawing inspiration from the civic life of Sparta and Roman Republic, Ferguson, unlike many of his contemporaries, stressed the importance of an active, "disputative, turbulent citizenry" inspired by zeal for the public, as an antidote to the selfish spirit prevailing in commercial societies, leading to a permanent division between rulers and ruled, corrupting both and leading eventually to despotism. Broadie convincingly argues that this is a warning that can be addressed to our societies today.

Katherine Nicolai, "The Role of Ancient Philosophy in An Essay of the History of Civil Society" focuses on the way Ferguson draws on ancient philosophy in order to better understand modern civil society. Ferguson's belief in "human universals" and in the continuity of human nature is the basis of his view that studying ancient Greece and Rome would prove profitable for modern citizenry. Modern people can learn from ancient experience not only through book studying but also by engaging themselves in active civic life. Under this condition, even conjectural history is most instructive for the moral sentiments binding a political community.

Bernard Binoche, "Montesquieu, Rousseau dans l'Essai sur l'histoire de la société civile" argues that Ferguson embraced in principle the anti-contractarianism of Montesquieu's *Esprit des lois* against the Rousseauist hypothesis of the unsocial origins of humanity. But Ferguson transformed Montesquieu's static analysis of civil society into a historical one, where despotism is seen not as a form of governance of the oriental past but as an imminent danger for a modern commercial society, corrupted by political disengagement and selfishness. Interestingly Ferguson comes to conclusions akin to those of Rousseau's *Second Discours*, although via a radically different methodology.

Norbert Waszek, "Progrès et déclin chez Ferguson 'a long, cool look at both sides of the medal of modern civilization' (Duncan Forbes)" focuses on the ambivalence of progress for Ferguson. Cautious toward the "bel optimism" of Condorcet, Ferguson warns about the double face of the effects of the division of labor; along with the growth of prosperity, the separation of professions may lead to social fragmentation, with the result that none of its members is animated by the spirit of society. Nevertheless, Ferguson did not hold a defeatist stance and, besides being one of the founders of sociology, he was also a political moralist whose ideas can activate civic virtues in the modern world.

Michel Faure, "Adam Ferguson ou les ambiguïtés d'une nostalgie écossaise dans *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*" stresses the nostalgic character of Ferguson's misgivings on the issue of progress. Ferguson's eclectic and idiosyncratic writings should be placed in this context, instead of being understood just as a precursor of later theoretical developments (such as sociology and Marxism). He was a Highlander, a "priest-soldier" philosopher, regretting the loss of old virtues from an idealized past.

This book offers a stimulating introduction to the problems and perspectives associated with discussing Adam Ferguson, the most Machiavellian of eighteenth-century Scottish thinkers.

Denis Drosos, University of Ioannina

Henry L. Fulton, *Dr. John Moore, 1729–1802: A Life in Medicine, Travel, and Revolution*. Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 2015. Pp. xxi + 788.

"Are there any novel-readers, in this age of novel-writers, who read 'Zeluco'?" wondered a mid-nineteenth-century American periodical writer in an 1868 article on the Scottish physician, traveler, and novelist John Moore (p. 465). This article, which appeared in *Putnam's* rather unflatteringly titled series "Out-of-the-Way Books and Authors," indicates how rapidly Moore had vanished from public consciousness in the decades following his death in 1802. As late as 1820 there was still sufficient interest in Moore to justify the publication of a seven-volume collection of his work (edited and prefaced, with a long biographical essay, by Moore's countryman Robert Anderson), but since then Moore and his writing have remained little more than footnotes in literary history.

Henry Fulton sets out to change that in this substantial, deeply researched, and very enjoyable biography, the first full-length account of Moore's life ever to be published. This book is the work of a lifetime, and it shows. Fulton's aim is not simply to re-evaluate Moore as a writer; far more ambitiously, he presents Moore as a "representative of the Scottish Enlightenment" (p. xii), and the book is as much the picture of an age as it is of an individual man. Immensely capable, sociable, and ambitious, Moore moved from the Presbyterian Glasgow of his boyhood through the battlefields of Flanders during the War of the Austrian Succession and then on to the surgical lecture halls of Paris and London. Following some years of medical practice in Glasgow, he abandoned Scotland

for the courts of continental Europe while accompanying the young Duke of Hamilton on one of the eighteenth century's grandest Grand Tours, after which, in his late forties, he launched a new career as a writer. Aside from a five-month visit to France during the violent summer and autumn of 1792, Moore spent the rest of his life based in and around London, where he mingled with both the Whiggish political set surrounding the Duchess of Devonshire and some of the most notorious and influential writers of the era, including both Thomas Paine and William Godwin. Fulton extends this eighteenth-century panorama even further through his attention to Moore's role in fostering the careers of his remarkably successful sons: Frank, who joined the civil service, eventually becoming deputy secretary of war; James, who followed his father into medicine and worked with Edward Jenner in establishing the smallpox vaccine; Graham, who entered the navy and earned both a knighthood and the rank of admiral; and, most famously, Moore's namesake Sir John, who became a national hero following his death in action during the Peninsular War. To put it mildly, Moore lived in interesting times and befriended interesting people, and Fulton does full justice to his complicated range of intellectual pursuits and social connections. One of the great strengths of the book is Fulton's detailed attention to the varied social and intellectual circles in which Moore and his sons moved: reading it is a bit like making a virtual grand tour across the intellectual history of the eighteenth century.

That said, Moore is not simply a hook on which to hang a study of the ideas and places that fascinated Enlightenment Scots. For those who do still read *Zeluco*, or Moore's semi-fictionalized accounts of his travels through France, Germany, and Italy with the Duke of Hamilton, it can be both tempting and easy to assume that the affable, curious, wittily detached narrator of those books is more or less continuous with Moore himself. What Fulton provides is a picture of a far more complicated man, one who was both tormented by financial insecurity and troubled by what he saw as the emotional price he had to pay to enable his children to achieve professional and financial independence. Granted, many aspects of Moore's interior world remain elusive, but Fulton provides new insights into his subject by drawing upon previously unused manuscript sources, including financial ledgers, letters by Moore's eldest surviving child and only daughter, and an extraordinary document that Moore wrote to justify his actions and choices to his family after a financial dispute with his wife resulted in all of his children siding with their mother against him. As he wrote sadly, despite his constant endeavours to inspire his children with "energy & honourable Sentiments & ambition," his "temper or some other cause" had led to "differences" with them that meant that they "love their Mother better than they Love Me" (p. 679). This new research allows Fulton to present a more fully integrated picture of Moore's life and work than has ever before been available. As Fulton notes, this deeply personal document, written near the end of Moore's life, echoes the main philosophical concepts driving *Zeluco*: that is, the vital importance of moral and intellectual education. Likewise, Moore's complicated late-life relationships with his children both illuminate and add some poignancy to the quiet tributes to his sons John and Graham worked into his final novel, *Mordaunt* (1800).

Fulton makes clear from the beginning that he does not "pretend to offer extended commentary on any" of Moore's books (p. xii), but the close integration of Moore's life and work means that literary readers will find a great deal to interest them here, especially in the comments on *Mordaunt* (a flawed but engaging novel for which Fulton seems to have a soft spot) and in the thorough discussion of the unaccountably neglected *Journal During a Residence in France*, Moore's (mainly) first-hand account of life and politics in Paris in 1792. Indeed, Fulton makes a significant contribution to the study of British debates on the French Revolution debates by highlighting Moore's complicated and increasingly troubled response to the Revolution that he initially enthusiastically welcomed. Whether or not Fulton's biography encourages people to start reading *Zeluco* again, it does make very clear why Moore merits, however belatedly, such detailed scholarly attention.

Pam Perkins, University of Manitoba

The Travel Writings of John Moore. Edited by Ben P. Robertson. 4 vols. London: Pickering and Chatto, 2014.

John Moore (1729–1802) was a well-known author during his years in London but was forgotten for almost three hundred years, his fame eclipsed by the achievements of his eldest son, General Sir John Moore of Corunna. But Moore is experiencing a revival, thanks to a new edition of his most famous novel, *Zeluco* (1789), edited by Pam Perkins in 2008; Sandra McCallum's 2014 doctoral dissertation at the University of Glasgow on Sir John's education; a biography (reviewed elsewhere in this issue); and this attractive four-volume reprint edition of Moore's travel journals and analysis of the causes and development of the French Revolution.

This work is a welcome addition to studies of national manners and characteristics in European cities and courts, and it will also interest scholars seeking first-hand evidence of the messy conflicts of French politics in the early years of the revolution. The texts are based on the 1820 edition of his *Works*. In each volume the editor, Ben Robertson, comments on selected highlights and the publication history. He also supplies exhaustive identifications of persons and events, as well as translations of foreign quotations.

In his introduction to the first volume, *A View of Society and Manners in France, Switzerland, and Ger-*

many (1779), which covers Moore's weeks in Paris, his two years with the Duke of Hamilton in Geneva, and their tour of German courts, Robertson observes that "the fluidity with which Moore was able to move between classes adds to the immediacy and authentic 'feel' of the narrative" (p. xv). Moore was aided by his fluency in French as well as his relationship with the duke. The experience in Italy that generated a sequel, *A View of Society and Manners in Italy* (1781), reproduced in volume 2, was entirely different because Moore and the duke had no access to nobility, as they did in northern Europe. The result is more of a guide to the usual sites and antiquities, with comments on the Roman Catholic Church and the seemingly ambiguous status of married women, which were popular topics among British readers.

A Journal during a Residence in France, from the Beginning of August to the Middle of December 1792 (1794), which constitutes volume 3, is a narrative of the political chaos in 1792, when the residence of the king in the Tuileries was stormed; political prisoners by the hundreds were pulled from their cells to be hacked and mutilated; the national assembly was abrogated and replaced by a new body charged to draft a new constitution; the Girondists were ousted by the Jacobins; and the Commune took control of Paris. Robertson states that Moore's thoughts on the French Revolution "offer unique insights into the groupthink that gripped much of the French populace at that time." Being an outsider, Moore "could observe the French with perhaps more objectivity than they could view themselves" (p. xi). One of the puzzling curiosities about this work is Moore's decision to hold up the second volume. Moore wanted to carry his narrative beyond his personal experience, to add material on the trial of the king. He sought more information about General Dillon's military campaign. In the event, this vivid narrative did not sell well and never achieved the fame it deserves.

The same could be said about the fourth volume in this collection, *A View of the Causes and Progress of the French Revolution* (1795), which also sold poorly. Robertson highlights two villains in Moore's analysis, Danton and Robespierre, but Moore was more concerned with explaining the fiscal mismanagement of the last hundred years, which resulted in the crisis of 1789.

There are minor editorial errors. In the first volume, for example, Moore is cited as seeking a doctorate as "partial compensation" for his service to the Duchess of Argyll. Actually, he did not want to become "physician" because he believed that would compromise his medical partnership in Glasgow, but his employers rightly insisted on it. Robertson cites Moore's military experience as a soldier, though Moore served only as a surgeon's mate. Nevertheless, Robertson's thorough editorial work has resulted in handsome, fully annotated reprints of four largely forgotten publications by a Scottish Enlightenment figure who is finally beginning to attract the attention he deserves.

H. L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

László Kontler, *Translations, Histories, Enlightenments: William Robertson in Germany, 1760–1795*. Palgrave Studies in Cultural and Intellectual History. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Pp. x + 261.

László Kontler's book opens a new phase in the study of William Robertson and in our understanding of the dissemination of Scottish Enlightenment ideas across Europe. Kontler's choice of Robertson for such a "contextualized case study" (p. 7) serves well as a model because Robertson's histories were very widely read in other cultural contexts on the Continent and in America. But in Germany, as Kontler notes: "An impressively broad array of men of letters participated in producing the several thousands of pages of written text in the German language that can be associated with the name and work of Robertson" (p. 179). He examines the eleven German translations and editions of Robertson's four histories plus his only published sermon while at the same time carefully contextualizing both author and translators in terms of their own specific intellectual biographies. The intellectual contexts he provides are detailed and well informed, and the book's bibliography of Robertson criticism makes a fine hand list of recent work. In Kontler's reading, Robertson "must be regarded as a Christian historian who was at the same time one of the outstanding masters of enriching the 'enlightened narrative' with the perspective of 'stadial history,' most commonly associated with Adam Smith and the French physiocrats" (pp. 42–43). The translators are, of course, treated in less detail, though such figures as Georg Forster (1754–94), Theodor Christoph Mittelstedt (1712–77), and Julius August Remer (1738–1803), usually only names to the Anglophone reader, are very persuasively analyzed as interpreters who saw Robertson's work in rather different frameworks from the one in which he originally wrote.

Thus, Kontler's book is both about Robertson himself and about the process of the transfer of Scottish ideas into the German cultural milieu. More particularly, the book "aims to contribute to the study of cultural and ideological unity versus diversity in the European Enlightenment by assessing the limits and possibilities of intellectual transfer through the translation and commentary of the works of one of the central figures of the Scottish Enlightenment in contemporary Germany" (p. 2). What marks the complexity of Kontler's analysis is his awareness that the Scottish and German historians may have shared questions but in the course of translation the Ger-

mans arrived at different answers than did Robertson in his British context. Those different answers were created not only by the conscious disagreement of the translators with Robertson's arguments but also—and perhaps more profoundly—by “the differences of the linguistic and conceptual tools at their disposal” (p. 8). By the same token, however, the process of translation also tells us something about Robertson in *his* British context because Kontler sees the Enlightenment as an “echo chamber” filled with a “plurality of voices in a reciprocal, even if asymmetric relationship with one another” (p. 15). Kontler explains how this concept applies to the process of translation: “My premise is a simple one: whatever aspect in the work of an author or in a concept, or whatever thread in a text, is overlooked, set aside, or redescribed in order to better suit the peculiarities of the target language, the purposes of the translator and/or the (actual or presumed) cultural sensibilities of the recipient environment must be regarded as peculiar to and distinctive of the ‘original.’” In short, the process of translation shows not only how Robertson was understood in a German context but also how he was distinctive in his own context.

Kontler's conclusions are nuanced, and a short review can only suggest their directions. Robertson emerges as a rather more avant-garde figure than has been claimed by some recent critics. To be sure, Kontler stresses that Robertson was part of a Christian Enlightenment, but Kontler tips the scale so that Robertson might be said to adapt his religious views to fit the human sciences that are part of his historical study rather than the other way around, a stance adopted by some recent critics. (This reviewer confesses to be one of them and believes that greater attention to Robertson's clerical career might alter this balance in Kontler's study and introduce its own complications.) For Kontler, it was deployment of the human sciences that distinguished Robertson's historical approach from that of his German translators. Kontler points to a number of factors that influenced German responses to Robertson between the 1760s and the 1780s, including a number of different traditions of historical discourse, an academic emphasis on philological skills rather than literary narrative, German political fragmentation and, perhaps most interestingly, the lack in Germany of a broad reading public for literary history. One of the great hallmarks of Robertson's work was that it was seen and sold as literature, and Robertson's works both helped to create and certainly benefited from a developed literary marketplace. But, while Robertson could be marketed aggressively in Britain as an icon of literary and enlightened history, no one in Germany achieved that status during the time when Robertson's histories were being translated. Consequently, the task of the German translators was to situate Robertson's literary, enlightened narratives in a context that was not entirely congenial and certainly quite different. Kontler's thoroughly developed analysis is an important test case showing persuasively how the Enlightenment is simultaneously a unitary (shared questions) and plural (diverse answers) phenomenon, and as such it shows the way toward an increasingly sophisticated sense of how the different cultures of Europe and America interconnected to form the Enlightenment.

Jeffrey Smitten, Utah State University

JoEllen DeLucia, *A Feminine Enlightenment: British Women Writers and the Philosophy of Progress, 1759–1820*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. viii + 208.

This is a bold and challenging reinterpretation of eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century women's writing, which takes the poetry of Ossian as its starting point. It succeeds triumphantly, partly because of JoEllen DeLucia's readiness to cross the boundaries which constrain so many approaches to this period. She ranges across Scottish, English, and Irish literature, explores the complex connections between genres, and confronts contemporary interpretations of the Enlightenment in Britain, including feminist interpretations. *A Feminine Enlightenment* argues that the literary, philosophical and historical narratives of James Macpherson, Adam Smith, Lord Kames, John Millar and others—narratives investigating the place of women in the progressive development of societies—deeply engaged women writers across Britain. These writers themselves contributed to the exploration of such themes and especially to the understanding of the place of emotion in the civilizing process, often through genres regarded as conventionally feminine, including sentimental poetry and the gothic novel.

DeLucia argues that overemphasis on debates about the authenticity of Ossian's poems have overshadowed their wider influence on contemporary historical writing. In her first chapter, the poetry is read alongside an analysis of Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and his theory of history. In his lectures Smith wrote of the four stages marked by economic and social growth, though his account of women's progress was inconsistent. His ambivalence about commercial progress is more evident in the history of feeling found in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, in which the virtue of self-command is located within primitive society and the modern age has something of a feminine character. Ideally, though impossibly, for Smith these characteristics would be united within the impartial spectator. DeLucia suggests that the poems of Ossian also complicate progressive narratives because they represent the refinement of a primitive society. Ossianic women reveal both a sensibility of feeling and a stoic and masculine aspect through their bardic and warrior-like actions.

Ossian was of particular interest to the English group of Bluestockings, who like other women writers

“embraced [his] inauthenticity and hybridity” (p. 191). Elizabeth Montagu hosted Ossianic-inspired gatherings which she called “the feasts of shells,” during which guests drank out of a nautilus shell to the memory of Ossian. Like Kames and Millar, and in dialogue with them, the Bluestockings explored and discussed the exceptional nature of women’s refinement in the distant Caledonian past. Montagu corresponded with Kames on his *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774), helped to secure subscriptions for Macpherson, and commented on his manuscripts. Catherine Talbot’s early Ossianic poems, written between 1760 and 1763, use references to Ossian for a critique of British imperial expansion. The poet and literary critic Anna Seward also drew extensively on Ossianic poetry and antiquarian and Scottish Enlightenment historiography in her correspondence and in her own poetry. DeLucia uses queer theory to interpret Seward’s long poem *Llangollen Vale* (1796), suggesting that this representation of the sentimental friendship of the Ladies of Llangollen within their rural retreat could be read against past episodes—bardic, epic, and romantic—in the history of the Vale, in a historical poem that created links between those normally outside the boundaries of national historical narratives.

For DeLucia, Ann Radcliffe’s gothic novels also need to be read in relation to contemporary histories of progress, especially those of the Scottish Enlightenment. For evidence, in addition to Radcliffe’s first work, *The Castle of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789), she draws on the paratextual apparatus of the novels, especially *The Mysteries of Udolpho* (1794). The epigraphs Radcliffe found in Scottish progress poems, particularly James Thomson’s *The Castle of Indolence* (1748) and James Beattie’s *The Minstrel* (1771–74), expressed ambivalence toward the complexities of commercial life and suggested possible alternatives—pastoral, bardic, or gothic. In a detailed reading of the *Mysteries of Udolpho*, to which this review cannot do justice, the heroine, Emily, is shown to combine the refined sensibility of the commercial world and the stoicism and self-command of pre-modern periods; it is suggested that she finds no satisfactory resolution in this novel, which repeatedly shows women’s history “in dialogue with sympathetic portrayals of the ‘underdeveloped’ Celtic peripheries” (p. 147).

In her final chapter, DeLucia coins a term which will arouse considerable interest, in a discussion of “stadial fiction,” or fiction which reflects on the progress of taste in a variety of environments. She juxtaposes the little-known work of the Irish novelist Regina Maria Roche, and in particular her *Children of the Abbey* (1796), with Maria Edgeworth’s *Patronage* (1814). In both, the standards of perfection represented by the respective heroines—the Ossianically inspired Amanda Malvina Fitzalan and Caroline Percy—are measured against the different regional and national sensibilities they experience within the British archipelago, and sometimes within the larger empire, in comparisons growing out of Scottish stadial history. It is suggested that the inclusive term stadial fiction may encompass the overlapping genres of the gothic novel, the historical novel, and the national tale.

In her continuing challenge to progressive narratives, DeLucia may sometimes seem relentless, but she is never less than stimulating in calling our attention to the wider significance of Ossianic thinking for eighteenth-century British literature and history. This is a very rich and well-researched study, and specialists will find much to interest them in the notes. It will also prompt many further questions, for instance concerning the interaction of Ossianic strands with other modes of women’s writing. It should also prompt, perhaps, more reflection on the absence of such a legacy in Scotland itself.

Jane Rendall, University of York

Alex Broadhead, *The Language of Robert Burns: Style, Ideology, and Identity*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2013. Pp. vii + 237.

Carol McQuirk, *Reading Robert Burns: Texts, Contexts, Transformations*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014. Pp. vii + 255.

The resurgence in Burns Studies that began in the early twenty-first century has persisted, with the publication of many book-length studies since the 250th anniversary of the poet’s birth in 2009. The steady stream in publishing reflects the serious critical attention that Burns continues to garner, both as a poet and a cultural figure; given his ongoing importance as a national icon (and touristic commodity), it is salutary that he is also receiving notable attention as a distinctive and vital literary figure. In this respect, the books under review offer significant contributions to the analysis of Burns’s poetics, highlighting both his innovations and his influences. Although they differ in their methodologies, both books provide much-needed elucidation of the critical principles and elements that guided Burns’s creative practice.

Alex Broadhead’s *The Language of Robert Burns: Style, Ideology, and Identity* offers the first book-length analysis of Burns’s language use, a topic much deserving of detailed critical scrutiny. While many critics have examined this issue, few have applied such rigorous linguistic methodology in order to better assess Burns’s poetic motives and strategies. As Broadhead observes, “twenty-first-century sociolinguistic theory is uniquely situated to help readers of Burns to develop a heightened appreciation of the creative dimensions of his approach to

language" (p. ix). Accordingly, he evaluates Burns's language use in the poems (chap. 1), prose and paratexts (chapter two), use of stereotypes (chap. 3), instances of transformative language contact called "transmugrifications" (chap. 4), and use of code-switching (chap. 5). Broadhead rightly notes that "Burns's poetry is truly multilingual, comprising different registers of English, Broad Scots, Scottish Standard English, and local dialects of Scots, not to mention words and idioms from French and Latin" (p. 142). An appreciation of these multiple linguistic registers enlivens Broadhead's analysis by allowing Burns's language use to be situated outside the traditional Scots/English binary that has historically dominated discussion of this topic in Burns studies. Indeed, he notes that "Robert Burns was as much a child of Anglicization as an heir of the vernacular revival" (p. 20). Interrogating the influence of Anglicization upon Burns's language use considerably enriches our understanding of the complexity of his poetics, in which Scots and English are not always (or only) seen in direct opposition and linked to vague forces of nationalism or cultural assimilation. In fact, by envisioning Burns's linguistic variability as the result of purposeful and innovative design, Broadhead enhances our appreciation of the polysemous challenges placed on the poet's readers: he states that "when Burns alternates between or juxtaposes linguistic varieties, he demands an act of creativity from his readers, not an automatic ideological reflex" (p. 148). By focusing on such challenges to Burns's readers (both then and now), Broadhead offers compelling interpretations of both familiar and unfamiliar poems in the Burns oeuvre. For example, his analysis of poetic metalanguage in chapter one yields fascinating results, particularly in his discussion of Burns's little-known work "The Vowels." Burns's varying poetic epistles are also examined in depth, with attention usefully placed on the nature of the linguistic exchange between writer and recipient.

Broadhead also provides nuanced and insightful explications of other forms employed in Burns's poetry, as well as convincing discussion of the paratexts and prose. In both cases, Broadhead suggests that "language, for Burns, held out to its users the means to escape restrictive and deadening ways of thinking" (p. 34), an interpretive lens that corrects simplistic assertions of the "vitality" of Burns's Scots usage when opposed to his "imitative" use of Scottish Standard English. The chapters on stereotyping, "transmugrifications," and code-switching provide equally captivating assessments of Burns's language use. Stereotyping in particular is helpfully examined in reference to both linguistics and national culture: as Broadhead rightly comments, "Burns's use of linguistic stereotypes in his songs was one of the building blocks on which the nineteenth-century construction of Scots as a national language was built" (p. 33). Opening his study to such macro-level concerns allows Broadhead to contextualize Burns's language use in a clear and convincing fashion.

As a whole, the book presents a cohesive argument about the roles and functions of Burns's multilingualism by using the methods of contemporary sociolinguistics, though there is a slight tendency in the later chapters to reify linguistic difference—for instance, when Broadhead asserts that "Burns sought to carve a space for Scots in his poetry in which it could be conceptualized without reference to English" (p. 71). Part of Burns's great achievement as a poet derived from his abilities to synthesize all the languages at his disposal and create challenging, multilingual literature; as Broadhead notes, "Burns's writing is a crucible in which existing languages and ideas about language are alchemized" (p. 4). Broadhead's interest in analyzing and interpreting this linguistic crucible results in an important and timely new investigation of an often misunderstood element of Burns's poetics.

Carol McGuirk's *Reading Robert Burns: Texts, Contexts, Transformations* takes a different tack by examining how Burns was "read" by various literary figures over time; it also presents an interpretive matrix which divides Burns's poetic output into the work of two personæ dubbed "Rob Burness" and "Poet Burns." About the former, McGuirk claims that "the poet's default or original voice I call 'Rob Burness'...a bard whose writings invite readers' full immersion in the here-and-now of the character(s) speaking up" (p. 3). Of the latter, she states that "Poet Burns speaks more urgently and far more personally. If bardic Burness speaks for and as Scotland as it was and is, Poet Burns speaks for himself and for a Scotland yet to be, a nation more equitable and free" (p. 3). Both of these cognomens derive from Burns's signatory habits, dating back to his earliest efforts in prose and verse, and this matrix runs throughout *Reading Robert Burns*. At times this interpretive framework threatens to limit our appreciation of the poet's achievement by constricting his linguistic options into the voices of only two separate personality types. That said, McGuirk contextualizes the framework with close attention to the biography, finding that "Poet Burns was born in the same months that Rob Burness was undergoing a kind of social death in Mauchline" (p. 5).

This far-ranging approach makes the book diverse but less cohesive than might be desired, while the tendency to assert without qualification is sometimes problematic—for instance, "whether female or male, Burns's speakers are always counter-hegemonic" (p. 22). Such formulations occasion some critical resistance; for example, describing the speaker of "The Cottar's Saturday Night" as "counter-hegemonic" seems to run counter to the spirit of a poem which enshrines conservative / "hegemonic" values. Burns's influence on later poets like Wordsworth

and MacDiarmid is more compellingly argued, and McGuirk makes a strong case for seeing in Burns “an extraordinary instance of class-anger, class-denial and class-bargaining on a grand scale” (p. 26). The second chapter explores Wordsworth’s relationship to Burns—about which McGuirk remarks, “in some of his poems Wordsworth echoes Burns so closely that I think of the speaker as ‘Burnsworth’” (p. 75)—while the differing contributions to Jacobite song of Burns and Lady Naine are compared in chapter three. About this last, McGuirk argues that “Burns’s songs do not support Jacobitism per se; he repurposes this material to address current events in an indirect way” (p. 110). In the fourth chapter, varying representations of drinking in the works of Burns, Robert Fergusson, and Hugh MacDiarmid are assessed, with reference in particular to “Tam O’Shanter” and MacDiarmid’s “A Drunk Man Looks at the Thistle.” The book concludes with a brief examination of the role that Burns’s poems have played as aphorisms. Overall, *Reading Robert Burns* is a thoughtful examination of Burns’s continuing influence and relevance in the present day.

Corey E. Andrews, Youngstown State University

Facts and Inventions: Selections from the Journalism of James Boswell. Edited by Paul Tankard. New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2014. Pp. xviii + 442.

This engaging—even entertaining—anthology presents a body of journalistic writings by James Boswell first published more than two centuries ago in periodicals, newspapers, and magazines—work often overlooked since then even by specialists in eighteenth-century British literary culture. Mostly only bibliographers have made use of these items, but primarily for ancillary and technical tasks. Never before, since first appearance, have they been published as a separate book, a self-contained reading experience, under Boswell’s name. Hence the volume performs a valuable service to Boswellian scholarship in its substantial addition to those varied texts—travel books, diaries, letters, etc.—that *have* already been published (pp. xviii–lii). Essentially it offers an integrated narrative, dovetailed with annotative layers, rather than a mere miscellany of disparate prose texts for reference purposes.

More specifically, the material highlights Boswell’s mastery of the “middle style”—a subtle interplay of vigor, clarity and grace—while providing a vivid textual entrée into what was a uniquely entrepreneurial and innovative phase in Georgian literature and illuminating various critical, ongoing contemporary debates within the public intellectual sphere. To make such diverse material available, in unified comprehensive fashion, for all manner of modern readers, requires a more than conventionally serviceable editorial strategy—one which I am pleased to say, Paul Tankard has successfully deployed.

In a lucid, scene-setting introduction, assimilating the latest research, the editor traces the highlights of Boswell’s life and works, revealing the formative experiences that gave shape to the nature and direction of his overall literary career. From very early, as is demonstrated, Boswell’s interest in politics was very real; leading him, over a twelve-year period, to write an intermittent series of essays, signed *Rampager*, commentaries characterized not by sober party-allegiance or commitment but by an almost playful portraiture. He treated politics as a game, “a realm of personalities, promotion and publicity rather than principles, policies or even parties.” (p. 109). Reprinting this series for the first time is a service to literary and political scholars.

The introduction additionally notes a point often overlooked; despite the bulk of Boswell’s pure literary work, his journalistic contributions to the periodical press were more numerous and figured more prominently in his maturation as an author. Indeed, it was in this capacity, we are reminded, that he was introduced to, and self-consciously reflected on, professional writing, honed his skill as a rhetorician, and acquired sensitivity to the realm and needs of “popular culture.” It became an enduring focal point for his diffuse energies (pp. xx–xxv).

The remaining essays in the anthology, greatly varying in length, genre, and significance, nevertheless have an inner unity, resting on their tone of restraint, elegance, and neoclassical proportion (characteristic of many eighteenth-century magazines), blended with the notion of “rational benevolence”: moderate exhortation designed to make English life and culture—human relations in general—more intelligent and refined. Intuitively collaborating with and giving expression to the nascent humanist aspirations of the age, they have enduring value and interest. Various, they also indicate that Boswell had a deeper understanding and appreciation of Enlightenment learning than is often thought—evidence which confirms Murray Pittock’s earlier, similar conclusion in his 2007 book on Boswell.

Deft editorial intervention throughout this edition has greatly enhanced the utilization and enjoyment of its contents. Each chapter has its own mini-introduction that contextualizes the ensuing material, but many topical-diverse texts (Reports and Interviews, pp. 1–71) have their own headnotes, which are of immense value to the non-specialist.

Tankard has wisely preserved certain eighteenth-century typographical and para-textual practices, such as

the use of small capitals and italics, for these, as Boswell's file copies show, harmonize with Boswell's preferences and expectations. Whenever Boswell has made a manuscript correction to a published version, however, this has been incorporated into the text and the variations from the published text noted in the textual headnote. The editor has not modernized or regularized the varied and occasionally eccentric practice of Boswell (and printers) with regard to capitalization. Non-specialists and general readers will find the "Biographical Notes" and the bibliography of good service.

In sum, this is a book that should be acquired by any library, scholar, or even general reader interested in Boswell and/or the Augustan social and literary scene.

K. W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology/Rutgers University-Newark

Louis Kirk McAuley, *Print Technology in Scotland and America, 1740–1800*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2013. Pp. xv + 327.

A primary objective of this book is "to investigate various points of contact between Scotland and America, with especial attention paid to print's role...as a *mediator* of political tensions lingering in these two zones" (p. 19). To that end, Louis Kirk McAuley brings together materials as diverse as slave and captivity narratives, the preaching of George Whitefield and Glasgow's evangelical press, the unionist romance of Ossian, agricultural technologies, Thomas Jefferson's fascination with the polygraph, and the novels of Charles Brockden Brown. There is an eccentricity in this topical muster roll, however, which leads more often to bewilderment than enlightenment.

Much of this bewilderment arises from the book's Scottish deliberations. For example, while McAuley rightly places considerable emphasis on the magazines and newspapers which directly addressed the "popular-political culture" so crucial to his thesis (p. 1), his selections from that genre are curious. Although he writes at some length about the short-lived *Edinburgh Review* of the mid-1750s and the *Glasgow Weekly History*, there is little mention of the *Scots Magazine*, which was founded in 1739, the year before McAuley's starting date, with the ambition of being the "*publick Echo*" for the "*Caledonian Muse*," intending to bring its countrymen a periodical that was "cheaper and better collected" and dedicated to the "Prosperity of SCOTLAND" (vol. 1, pp. ii–iv). Throughout the period covered in this volume, the *Scots Magazine* addressed the issues that concern the author most (often deliberately attempting to mediate in print between Scotland and America, for example), but it is cited only sparingly.

One of those citations only serves to raise further questions about McAuley's research. His book spends considerable time considering the politics of agricultural technology, and his third chapter draws attention to Peter Williamson's *New Machine for Reaping of Corns* from "An Account and Description of a Reaping Machine," printed in the August 1762 issue of the *Scots Magazine*. When Williamson refers to the blades of his machine as "fingers," McAuley hears the voice of Tom Devine lamenting the "'subordination of the human factor to the needs of productive efficiency'" (pp. 156–57). But in a book about "print technology," it seems an odd oversight to neglect Williamson's influential and controversial role as a printer and publisher in Edinburgh, where he issued two magazines in the 1770s, established Scotland's first penny post, published the city's first directory, introduced the first portable printing presses, and advertised them as a way to make print more accessible to the capital's disenfranchised. McAuley seems equally unaware of Williamson's narrative of his captivity among the Delaware, a work so notorious in America that it roused Benjamin Franklin to visit Williamson at the latter's Edinburgh coffee house. And if evidence were needed of technology directly affecting the evolution of agricultural practices in Scotland, why not look to the abundant printing and distribution of pamphlets on farming rather than Williamson's reaping machine?

Another area of bewilderment is the absence of references to recent scholarship that touches directly on his thesis, by Warren McDougall, William Zachs, Ronald Black, Rhona Brown, Susan Rennie, and Keith Manley, among others. Neglecting their work often undermines the book's arguments. For example, although McAuley makes much of the publication of the *Edinburgh Magazine* and James Macpherson's *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* as "patriotic enterprises" (p. 119) on the part of the firm of John Balfour and Gavin Hamilton, he seems unaware of Hamilton and Balfour's newspaper, the *Edinburgh Chronicle*. Published in 1759–1760, around the same time as Macpherson's Ossianic *Fragments*, the *Chronicle* contained the first serious and regular reviews of theatre in Scotland and articulated a nationalist voice so threatening to the established press that its rivals conspired to undermine it by forming a consortium that would suppress all further competition in Edinburgh until the 1790s. Had McAuley gone beyond Richard Sher and Howard Gaskill to their acknowledged source in Warren McDougall's seminal work on Hamilton and Balfour, his observations about Ossian and nationalism would have been more persuasive. And had he kept an eye on the previously mentioned *Scots Magazine*, he would have noticed how unionist Hamil-

ton and Balfour were in both their *Edinburgh Review* and their publication of Macpherson's work: the *Review's* first issue quite viciously attacked the *Scots Magazine* for its Jacobitism. The eighteenth-century debate over nationalism was far more complex in Scotland than McAuley allows.

There are many other scholarly lacunae in this book. McAuley's observations about the efforts of the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge to impose English on the Gaelic-speaking Highlanders skips over one of the more significant mediations of print technology in eighteenth-century Scotland: the publication and distribution of a Gaelic bible, as well as the proliferation of secular Gaelic poetry. And McAuley's remarks about Adam Smith's review of Samuel Johnson's dictionary and "print-capitalism's role in creating unified fields" (pp. 119–21) ignore the persistence of the Scots tongue throughout the eighteenth century.

Stephen W. Brown, Trent University

Mungo Campbell, ed., *Allan Ramsay: Portraits of the Enlightenment*. Munich, London, and New York: Prestel, 2013. Pp. 128.

Here is the official catalogue accompanying an exhibition at the Hunterian Museum, University of Glasgow, held from September 2013 until the beginning of 2014 to mark the bicentennial of Ramsay's birth in 1713. It contains five essays by six authors, as well as thirty-eight works from the exhibition, plus a few other pieces of interest. These works cover the entirety of the artist's career, mostly oils on canvas but also drawings and works of water medium.

The opening essay, "A Rational Taste for Resemblance: Redefining Ramsay's Reputation," by the volume's editor, Mungo Campbell, Deputy Director of the Hunterian, offers new ways to reevaluate Ramsay's career and contributions, refuting the unfortunate tendency to omit this artist almost entirely from recent studies of eighteenth-century British portraiture. This situation is, in part, because Ramsay himself chose to "disengage from contemporary domestic painterly 'rivalries' in the field of portraiture" when competition for "fashionable success" defined the playing field (p. 9). Campbell's reevaluation is based on a comparison of the works of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Ramsay, the former regarded in his own day as the expert in boldness and coloring, the latter in delicacy. Ramsay's refusal to be "in vogue" is echoed in his *Dialogue on Taste*, through the voice of Colonel Freeman lecturing Lord and Lady Modish, a connection which Campbell might have pointed out.

Campbell emphasizes the significance of Ramsay establishing his place in Scotland during the late 1740s and early 1750s with portraits of the third Duke of Argyll, Francis Hutcheson, Dr. Richard Meade, Alexander Cunyngham, and Dr. Alexander Monro, the latter two co-members with Ramsay in the Edinburgh Select Society. This tidbit demonstrates the standing of clubs and societies in the Scotland of Ramsay's day. It is especially interesting that Hume, the author of the most famous essay on taste at that time, first sat for Ramsay in 1754, and the artist's *Dialogue on Taste* followed directly, in 1755. The timing must certainly be more than coincidental. The choice of works for the exhibit and for Campbell's essay clearly shows influences of Jean-Siméon Chardin and Maurice-Quentin de La Tour, emphasizing especially Ramsay's mastery of visualizing the conversation between artist and sitter, as well as allowing the sitter to become present with the viewer. Among several other points, these features accomplish Campbell's goal of separating Ramsay from Reynolds.

The second essay, "Family Resemblance: A Dialogue between Father and Son" by Melanie Buntin, with Rhona Brown, attends to the importance of patronage for both Ramsay and his father, by comparing lists of subscribers for Allan senior's volumes of poetry to Allan junior's sitters and commissioners. From this we see how the senior Ramsay laid the foundation for cementing connections within eminent families that would be revived by his son at a later date. Buntin and Brown also offer similarities between the poet's bookshop and the painter's studio, both environments for sociability and the meeting of Edinburgh's elite.

Anne Dulau's "Women of Sense and Education" presents a paradox: while Ramsay's reputation as a superb portraitist of women was widespread during his lifetime, this topic has attracted less curiosity than his portraits of male subjects. Even more surprising is that these women, in their own way, were as important as the male sitters, "women of sense and education," as described by Hume. The fourth essay, "Ramsay's 'Classical Curiosity'" by John Bonehill, is unlike any other in this volume. Ramsay spent the greater part of his life in pursuit of the poet Horace's country retreat, which he wrote about in *Enquiry into the Situation and Circumstances of Horace's Sabine Villa*, an essay which remained unpublished in his lifetime. Here the focus is on Ramsay as an antiquary, a role he shared with other Scots literati, as well as a topographer. The author mines various studies and sketchbooks from Ramsay's Grand Tour and his return visits to Italy in later life.

An essay on technique—"Painting a Face All Red at the First Sitting: Ramsay's Technique for Portraits, 1735–60," by Rica Jones—serves as a gratifying way to round out this collection. Ramsay was the first portraitist in Britain to employ, in the initial sitting with a client, the continental technique of painting the entire face in

shades of red. His intention was to achieve a correct coloring and glow of flesh tones, which would be applied subsequently. Jones uncovers how this specific technique helped Ramsay to establish his reputation in London, by allowing him, for example, to make the case that his work was allied with best Italian portrait painters.

Exhibition catalogues have their appeal, and there is much to like in this one. After all, an exhibit is uniquely conceived and executed as a one-of-a-kind event, and the memorializing of it in a catalogue therefore deserves great care as well, which is indeed the case here. On display are Ramsay's array of interests—human character and psychology, sympathy and sociability, literature, philosophy, and classical learning—all of which informed his personal artistry. Would that both the exhibition and catalogue had included Ramsay's very engaging and distinctive full-length portrait of the Highland "chieftain" *William, 17th Earl of Sutherland* in military dress, with tartan, no less. Capturing the sitter's confidence and sense of naturalism foreshadows the portraits of clan chiefs by Henry Raeburn, who succeeded Ramsay in making members of the Highland nobility not only acceptable but welcome as British.

Leslie Ellen Brown, Ripon College

Thomas Reid on Society and Politics. Edited by Knud Haakonssen and Paul Wood. The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid, volume 8. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. cii + 294.

This immaculately edited volume marks the fulfilment of one of the principal ambitions of the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid, in that it completes a detailed picture of the moral philosophy syllabus taught by Reid at Glasgow between 1764 and 1780. As the editors observe in their introduction, whereas Smith followed the precedent set by previous occupants of the moral philosophy chair, and covered natural theology, ethics, natural jurisprudence, and politics, Reid comprehensively restructured the curriculum. He divided his lecture course into three parts, beginning with pneumatology (the analysis of the perceptual, intellectual, and active powers of the human mind), then moved on to ethics (speculative and practical), and concluded with politics.

About a third of the Reid manuscripts transcribed and annotated here are lecture notes from the politics part of the course. These are all notes dating from the first two years of Reid's teaching at Glasgow. It is possible, then, that they constitute merely an early phase of Reid's thinking about politics. Evidence that, in fact, Reid's political thought did not alter subsequently is provided by a fascinating late text also presented in this volume, the paper "Some Thoughts on the Utopian System" that Reid read to the Glasgow Literary Society on 28 November 1794. This was both Reid's response to the British debate about the French Revolution and also, Haakonssen and Wood suggest, "something of an intellectual testament" (p. xcvi). "A violent Change of Government," Reid claimed in the paper, "must be an Object of Dread to every wise, & every humane Man" (p. 134). But this did not mean that there was no point to asking what form of government it is "which, abstractly considered, tends most to the Improvement and Happiness of Man" (p. 134). When Hume asked this question, in "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth," he looked to Harrington's *Oceana* for the essence of his answer, rejecting More's *Utopia* on the grounds that, like Plato's *Republic*, it supposed a wildly implausible "reformation in the manners of mankind." In his lectures Reid criticized Harrington precisely because he underestimated the moral dimension of political reform. And in "Some Thoughts on the Utopian System" Reid explicitly took *Utopia* as his model. He argued that the ideal state is one in which there is no private property, so that "there are no private Interests opposed to that of the Publick" (p. 143). Reid admitted that where everyone works for the state, not for himself, the "right Education" of citizens will be absolutely crucial. As Haakonssen and Wood put it, here we see the idea of "humanity's educability, both individually and collectively" that "runs as a red thread through Reid's work" (p. c).

Reid split his lectures on politics into two parts. First came the analysis of the forms of government, with special attention given to *Oceana's* model of a republican constitution, to French monarchy, and to Britain's mixed constitution. Montesquieu—"the greatest political Writer that either ancient or modern times have produced" (p. 51)—was Reid's guide in his lectures on France and Britain. However, as reading notes transcribed by Haakonssen and Wood attest, Reid kept up to date with new work, and read De Lolme's *The Constitution of England* as soon as it was translated into English in 1775. After constitutional questions came lectures on "police"—that is, on the making of policy with regard to matters social, economic, educational, foreign, and military. It seems to have been questions of political economy that Reid believed needed to be explained most carefully to his students. As Haakonssen and Wood point out, when Reid began lecturing at Glasgow, no systematic and scientific treatment of commerce had yet been published. Sir James Steuart's *Inquiry into the Principles of Political Oeconomy* was a disappointment to Reid when it was published in 1767. In a letter he bemoaned its lack of organising principles. So Reid took it upon himself to provide the conceptual apparatus necessary to clear and orderly thought about value, money, credit, and interest. The analytic and mathematical cast of mind that has been insisted upon in much of Paul Wood's work on Reid comes clearly into view in these lectures.

That cast of mind is even more obvious in the papers given to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society and the Glasgow Literary Society that make up the second half of *Thomas Reid on Society and Politics*. These are detailed considerations of questions such as “Whether Paper credit be a Benefite or a Disadvantage to a Nation,” “What are the best Expedients for preventing an extravagant rise of Servants Wages,” “Whether By proper Laws the number of Births in every parish might be not be doubled, or at least greatly increased,” “What are the bad consequences of the Diminution of our Coin by wearing,” “Whether the Storing or Warehousing of Grain or Meal for Reexportation be highly prejudicial to the Interest of this Country,” and how “To prevent Oppression, by exorbitant Interest for money borrowed.” In their introduction Haakonssen and Wood provide valuable assistance to the reader by putting these discourses in their various contexts. They also remind the reader that, for all the intensity of his interest in the peculiar features of the new world of commercial society, Reid never wavered in his belief in the existence of a system of morality rooted not in convention and circumstance but rather in the unchanging frame of human nature.

James A. Harris, University of St. Andrews

Regina Hewitt, ed., *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2012. Pp. 382.

It is rare for a collection of essays on any subject to be so remarkably cohesive and informative as the present volume, and credit goes to the expert reframing of John Galt by editor Regina Hewitt. As she argues in the introduction, Galt is an author whose time has come largely because the boundaries between scholarship on the eighteenth century and Romanticism have increasingly grown more porous, as have those between the humanities and social sciences. Preceded by P. H. Scott, Keith Costain, and others, Hewitt encourages us to view Galt as a storyteller much more indebted to conjectural history than usually acknowledged, but conjectural history of a resolutely heterodox kind. In particular, Galt was influenced, she proposes, by Adam Ferguson, long considered an outlier for his anti-progressivism and awareness of the perils of modern commercial society, and by a distinctly non-standard, contrarian Adam Smith. In turn, building on exciting new understandings of conjectural history as ultimately a species of *imaginative* writing, Hewitt encourages us to set aside its traditional associations with empirical evidence, situational explanations, and evolutionary historicism (all hallmarks of social-scientific thinking), and instead view conjectural history as fiction by other means. As often noted in this volume, Dugald Stewart in his *Account of the Life and Writings of Adam Smith* coined the phrase “theoretical or conjectural history” and thereby named a subgenre of eighteenth-century historiography. Such naming, however, is rarely a cool, neutral process; more commonly it represents a politically charged, if covert, legitimization of current assumptions and priorities. In this case, Stewart imbued the word “conjecture” with a positive spin and suppressed or remained ignorant of its negative connotations, such as those found in the opening pages of Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. Alertness to such semantic contestation furthers Hewitt’s laudable treatment of the keywords “observation” and “conjecture” as “sensitized” concepts in the strict sociological sense (p. 2).

Hewitt is specially equipped for this undertaking, given her two previous monographs on Romantic-era “sociology,” Scottish and otherwise, and the upshot of her approach is a laser-focused, sophisticated rethinking of Galt’s fiction as social knowledge. That her contributors, for the most part, also deepen our understanding of Galt as socially relevant only adds to the accumulating wisdom of this volume, a book unusually rewarding in the second or third read. For example, in the first essay in this collection, Gerard Carruthers ingeniously traces Galt’s direct influence on the biting Scottish modernism of George Douglas Brown and others, even as that very modernism “misremembered” (p. 42) Galt as airy, mawkish Kailyardism. There are thirteen other essays in this volume, including a final one by Hewitt, where she does double duty by carefully comparing Galt’s travel writings, fictional and otherwise, with those by his near contemporary Harriet Martineau (the latter, crucially, acknowledged recently as a pioneering social theorist).

Collectively, these essays tackle an admirably wide share of Galt’s oeuvre, taking in perennial favorites as well as little, or even never-before, examined works, including: *The Aryshire Legatees* and *The Steam-Boat* (Ian Duncan), *The Steam-Boat* and *Gathering of the West* (Caroline McCracken-Flesher), *Annals of the Parish* (Martha Bohrer), *Sir Andrew Wylie* (Sharon Alker), *Ringan Gilhaize* (Alyson Bardsley), *Rothelan* and *Sir Andrew Wylie* (Clare A. Simmons), *Travels and Observations of Hareach, the Wandering Jew* (Elizabeth Kraft), Galt’s prolific output for *Blackwood’s Magazine* (Robert Morrison), *Bogle Corbet* (Kenneth McNeil), and *The Earthquake, Andrew of Padua*, and *The Omen*, among others (Angela Esterhammer). Along the way, and more importantly, they demolish a number of shibboleths regarding Galt: namely, that he was a failed novelist, imperial stooge, or complacent bourgeois. For example, Galt famously referred to his own fictional works as “theoretical histories” and not plot-centric “novels”; he knew the difference but was continually frustrated and dismayed by undiscerning readers blind to his sometimes quite radical literary experimentation. By insisting on Galt’s fictional output as

“nonnovels,” Bohrer and others brilliantly decenter and deny the novel-centric literary worldview dominant since Galt’s day.

The level of scholarship throughout the book is high, although the essays on Galt’s drama (Frederick Burwick) and type-names in his fiction (Hans de Groot) fall far below the benchmark set by the others. I also have two stylistic quibbles. The index is prone to a few lapses (e.g., there are no references to “The Canadian Boat Song” or Richard Florida), and proofreading should have caught about a dozen typos. Taken as a whole, however, this collection of essays on Galt is indispensable, and it represents a fittingly nuanced tribute to both his pre- and our post-disciplinary moment.

Zubin Meer, York University

Briefly Noted

Catherine Jones, *Literature and Music in the Atlantic World, 1767–1867*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014. Pp. ix + 279.

This book offers examples of collaborations and influence exerted by Europeans (especially Germans) over a number of American writers and intellectuals including Benjamin Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, Washington Irving, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller and Frederick Douglass. Of interest to members of ECSSS will be the discussion of Franklin’s interest in ballads and his correspondence about harmony and melody with Lord Kames (with whom he stayed when in Scotland), William Small of Aberdeen’s tutelage of Thomas Jefferson and Jefferson’s interest in Ossian, and the importance of Scottish folk song for the composers Mendelssohn and Moches. Evidence is given for Frederick Douglass’s familiarity with and admiration for Burns, and an attempt is made to connect Douglass’s account of slave songs to Burns’s *Scots Musical Museum* as well as Moore’s *Irish Melodies*. That Moore was imitating Burns’s project is not mentioned.

Ruth Perry, MIT

Christopher A. Whatley, *The Scots and the Union: Then and Now*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014. Pp. xiv + 473.

The first edition of this book in 2007 marked the tercentenary of the Union of 1707 by providing strong evidence for its legitimacy and debunking the tale of its being “bought and sold with English gold,” infuriating some Scottish nationalists in the process. The second edition, sent to the press during the run-up to the September 2014 vote on independence, updates some evidence and adds a new preface and a new concluding chapter, “Union Now,” which “offers some reflections from an historical perspective on the union today” (p. 414).

Ronald Crawford, *Professor Anderson, Dr Franklin and President Washington*. Foreword by Sir Jim McDonald. Glasgow: University of Strathclyde, 2014. Pp. 95.

This brief volume, published to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the establishment of the University of Strathclyde in 1964, sets out to discover the identity of that university’s elusive eighteenth-century founder, Professor John Anderson, by focusing on Anderson as an inventor of military technology and a correspondent of George Washington. Though somewhat disjointed, it is well illustrated and makes an interesting contribution by noting a connection between Anderson and Washington’s secretary, Tobias Lear.

Siobhan Talbott, *Conflict, Commerce and Franco-Scottish Relations, 1560–1713*. Perspectives in Economic and Social History 28. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014. Pp. xiii + 238.

In this fascinating volume, Siobhan Talbott demonstrates that laws are not always implemented and trade statistics do not tell the whole story of commerce. By using personal correspondence and sources about private transactions, she shows how early modern Franco-Scottish trading networks flourished even during times of incessant warfare. Beyond that, the reader is reminded that (as Adam Smith certainly knew) commerce is ultimately about human interaction.

Emma Macleod, *British Visions of America, 1775–1820: Republican Realities*. The Enlightenment World: Political and Intellectual History of the Long Eighteenth Century 27. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013. Pp. x + 251.

Emma Macleod examines the views of America among individuals representing three ideological types in Britain—radicals, liberals, and conservatives—during the years of the foundation of the American republic, the French Revolution, and the early nineteenth century. Although the emphasis is more English than Scottish, Adam

Ferguson, John Millar, and Sir James Mackintosh receive some attention in this perceptive study.

Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Principles of Equity*. Edited by Michale Lobban. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2014. Pp. lxxvi + 603.

This is an enormously helpful edition of one of Kames's major legal works, which first appeared in 1760 and was significantly revised by the author in its second and third editions (1767 and 1778). Although the third edition is reproduced here, major variant readings from the first and second edition are appended, and the lengthy preliminary discourse on moral laws of society, which appeared only in the second edition, is reproduced in its entirety (in the preface to the third edition, Kames explained its deletion by noting that "an useful book ought not to be a costly book," and also that a "more complete" version of the preliminary discourse had since been published in his *Sketches of the History of Man* [1774] [p. 7]). The editor has also added an introduction, a note on legal sources, footnotes, a bibliography, and a modern index (in addition to the original one).

Eileen Stewart, *Honest George*. BookBaby Ebook, 2015. Pp. 343.

Amateur historian Eileen Stewart has produced a biography of George Brown, a neglected figure in enlightened Edinburgh who pops up in regard to banking, the excise, and various aspects of social improvement during the eighteenth century (including George Square, which bears his name).

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

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Alexander BROADIE, "Why Should We Read Adam Ferguson Today?" in *Autour*, pp. 15–30.

Rhona BROWN and Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Commemorating James Thomson, *The Seasons* in Scotland, and Scots Poetry," *SLI* 46, pp. 71–89.

Stephen W. BROWN, "The Edinburgh Press and the Difference of Opinion in 1745," *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society*, no. 9 (2014): 61–86.

Melanie BUNTIN with Rhona BROWN, "Family Resemblance: A Dialogue between Father and Son," in *Allan Ramsay: Portraits of the Enlightenment*, ed. Mungo Campbell (Prestel, 2013), pp. 51–65.

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John 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 University Press, 2013), pp. 367–81.

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Gerard CARRUTHERS, "The Burns Movement, the Chair of Scottish History and Literature at the University of Glasgow and the Study of Scottish Literature," *Burns Chronicle* (2015): 60–64.

Gerard CARRUTHERS—see BROWN

Bill DAWSON, "The First Publication of Burns's 'Tam o' Shanter'," *Studies in Scottish Literature* 40 (2014): 105–15.

JoEllen M. DELUCIA, "A Delicate Debate: Mary Wollstonecraft, the Bluestockings, and the Progress of Women," in *Called to Civil Existence: Mary Wollstonecraft's A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, ed. Enit Karafil Steiner (Rodopi, 2014), pp. 113–30. [Scottish Enlightenment and John Gregory]

JoEllen M. DELUCIA, "Transnational Aesthetics in Ann Radcliffe's *A Journey Made in the Summer of 1794* [1795]," in *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism, and the Gothic*, ed. Dale Townshend and Angela Wright (Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 135–50. [some attention to Smollett]

John M. DIXON, "Henry F. May and the Revival of the American Enlightenment: Problems and Possibilities for Intellectual and Social History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd ser., 71 (2014): 255–80.

Vivienne DUNSTAN, "Professionals, their Private Libraries, and Wider Reading Habits in Late Eight-

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Christopher A. WHATLEY – see PITTOCK

Key to the Abbreviations

Autour = *Autour de l’Essay on the History of Civil Society d’Adam Ferguson*, ed. Clotilde Prunier. (Presses Universitaires de Paris Ouest, 2014).

DF = *Debating the Faith: Religion and Letter Writing in Great Britain, 1550–1800*, ed. Anne Dunan-Page and Clotilde Prunier (Springer, 2013).

SLI 46 = special issue of *Studies in the Literary Imagination* on James Thomson’s *The Seasons*, edited and introduced by Sandro Jung, 46 (2013).

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