

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

VANCOUVER IN 2017!

The 30th annual conference of ECSSS will be held as a joint meeting with the World Congress of Scottish Literatures from 21 to 25 June 2017 at the Coast Plaza Hotel in Vancouver, BC. Hosted by the Department of English and the Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University and involving partners and collaborators from First Nations Studies at SFU, and the English Departments at the University of British Columbia, the University of Glasgow, and Trinity Western University, the conference focuses on the broad theme of Dialogues and Diasporas. The geographical location of the conference on the West Coast of Canada invites particular attention to two key themes: indigenous/Scottish relations and transpacific/Scottish connections, but submissions reflecting a diverse range of interests are encouraged.

The conference will begin on Wednesday 21 June, National Aboriginal Day in Canada, with a roundtable discussion on "Connecting First Nations and Scottish Studies." A special panel on the Hudson's Bay Company will include Pamela Perkins (University of Manitoba) speaking on "Public and Private Narratives of Scots and the Hudson's Bay Company" in dialogue with Bronwen Quarry, an archivist from the Hudson's Bay Company Archives, and artist Leah Decter. Other plenary events include: Miranda Burgess (University of British Columbia) on "Walter Scott and the Time of India" and Caroline McCracken-Flesher (University of Wyoming) on "Scotland and the Dialogue with Time: Science Fiction Diasporas." There will also be an optional field trip to the old Hudson's Bay Company Fort Langley.

Further information, and the ECSSS Call for Papers, are available at the conference website at <https://dialoguesanddiasporas.wordpress.com>.

PITTSBURGH PERFORMS

ECSSS celebrated its thirtieth anniversary with one of its best conferences, held jointly with the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies at the Omni William Penn Hotel in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, from 31 March to 3 April 2016. It was appropriate that the society celebrated its thirtieth birthday at the joint

meeting with ASECS, because ECSSS was founded at an ASECS meeting in Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1986, and has been an active affiliate society of ASECS ever since.

The ECSSS portion of the program began on Thursday the 31st with two panels on Scotland and America that included papers by John Dixon, Gideon Mailer, James Ambuske, Ned Landsman, Roger Fechner, and Nina Reid-Maroney. Then Nelson Mundell and Ann V. Gunn spoke on Scottish periodicals, pamphlets, and prints in the 1770s. Gordon Turnbull, General Editor of the Yale Editions of the Papers of James Boswell, concluded the day with a brilliant ECSSS plenary talk on "James Boswell and a Theory of 'Natural' Quotation." On Friday things turned philosophical, as Toni Vogel Carey, Ryu Susato, Edward Austin Middleton, Marc Hanvelt, Mark Spencer, and Jay Voss spoke on various aspects of the thought and rhetoric of David Hume and Adam Smith. In a session of concurrent ECSSS panels in the late morning, Clarisse Godard Desmarest, Mark Wallace, and Jean-François Dunyach spoke on aspects of aristocratic and working-class culture in Scotland during the long eighteenth century, while Henry Fulton, Xandra Bello, and Kathryn Ready were featured in a panel on Scottish Enlightenment historiography in the works of John Moore, Adam Ferguson, and John Aikin. The ECSSS Luncheon and Annual Business Meeting that followed was so well attended that the hotel had to move it to a larger room and set up extra tables. After lunch Srinivas Aravamudan of Duke University gave the ASECS Presidential address—which would turn out to be his last lecture, because of his shocking and tragic death within days of the conference's conclusion. The ECSSS program on Friday concluded with Mike Kugler, Eugene Heath, and Michael Amrozowicz speaking on providence and spontaneous order in the Scottish Enlightenment. Saturday morning began with an innovative panel on Scottish Fiction and Its Uses, with papers by Denys Van Renen on Tobias Smollett, Joel Sodano on Henry Mackenzie, and Anne Fertig on the writing of early Scottish history. Then came two panels on Adam Ferguson, one with papers by Jack Hill, Craig Smith, and Katherine Nicolai, the other with

papers by Richard Sher and Zubin Meer and a commentary by Eugene Heath. The ECSSS program concluded with a panel on music and song, including papers by Andrew Greenwood on airs, Vivien Williams on bagpipes, and Elizabeth Kraft on Burns and Jacobite song. It all came to a glorious end with a celebratory ECSSS reception and fundraiser for the Daiches-Manning Memorial Fellowship, featuring the first two holders of the fellowship, Clarisse Godard Desmarest and Vivien Williams.

This was a wonderful conference, and ECSSS is grateful to ASECS for hosting it so grandly, and treating our society so generously.

LEITH DAVIS TO LEAD ECSSS

At the AGM held at the Pittsburgh meeting, the ECSSS membership elected Leith Davis, Professor of English at Simon Fraser University in British Columbia, Canada, to a two-year term as the society's sixteenth President. The new Vice President is Craig Smith of the School of Social and Political Sciences at Glasgow University. Richard Sher (History, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark) was re-elected to a new six-year term as Executive Secretary. Deidre Dawson (French, independent scholar), Ned Landsman (History, SUNY Stony Brook), and Mark Towsey (History, University of Liverpool) were reelected to four-year terms on the Executive Board. Michael Amrozowicz (PhD candidate in English, SUNY Albany) and Katherine Nicholai (History, independent scholar) were elected to two-year terms as Members-at-Large. Executive Secretary Richard Sher thanked the outgoing officers for their outstanding contributions: Catherine Jones, President; Jack Hill, Vice President; and the two Members-at-Large: Clarisse Godard Desmarest and Joel Sodano.

WITH ISECS IN ROTTERDAM

For the fourth time in its thirty-year history, ECSSS held its annual conference with the International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies, this time at Erasmus University in Rotterdam from 28 to 30 July 2015 (the middle days of the Congress). The first day included panels on Jacobitism and Union (with papers by Karin Bowie on public opinion in pre-Union Scotland and Daniel Szechi on the Scots Jacobites and the "Privileges of Scotland"); Markets and the Aesthetic, *a panel from the University of Aberdeen that included Endre Szecsenyi, Michael Brown, and Cairns Craig; and Women and Patronage (Clarisse Godard Desmarest on women architectural patrons, Rosalind Carr on female patronage and Enlightenment cultures, and Jane Rendall on Susan Carnegie of Montrose as a patron and philanthropist). The second day began with morning panels on Narratives of Improvement (Paul Tonks on the political economist Adam Anderson, Brad Bow on Lord Kames on American "savages," and Naohito Mori on the tension between Hume's *History of England* and *Political Discourses*) and Print, Artefacts and Urban Life (Adam Budd on broadside printing in the Edinburgh Malt Tax Crisis of

1725, Tony Lewis on the challenges of presenting Georgian Glasgow in a museum exhibition, and Sandro Jung on the Morisons of Perth as publishers of illustrated books in the 1790s). This was followed by afternoon panels on Ideas of Commerce (Jack Hill on Adam Ferguson's idea of the "commercial arts" and Toni Carey on Adam Smith on commerce) and Seeing Scottish Literary Men in New Ways (David Purdie and Peter Fosl on a modern textual revision of Hume's writings on Religion, Joel P. Sodano on Henry Mackenzie's sentimental protagonists, and László Kontler on William Robertson's Hungarian reception). The last day featured panels on Managing the Family and Household (Nicholas Miller on ideas of state regulation of the family, Sandra McCallum on the family of John Moore as an example of Glasgow educational choices, John Cairns on problems associated with slavery in Scotland, and Frances B. Singh on a case study of three cousins trying to make their way in the East India Company); Morality and Religion (Craig Smith on Ferguson's moralizing, Thomas Ahnert on religion and morality, and Jeng-Guo S. Chen on Smith's religious sentiments); and Transatlantic Exchanges (Ned C. Landsman on the issue of metropolitan authority in early America, Catherine Jones on music in Benjamin Franklin's diplomacy, and Ronald Crawford on John Witherspoon and the Snodgrass Affair that may have hastened his emigration to America). In a new event that may be repeated in the future, the conference concluded with a session in which a number of the speakers mentioned above and some others who were present spoke about their recent and forthcoming books, some of which are reviewed in this issue. At the AGM, Sandro Jung made a proposal for the University of Ghent in Belgium to host the annual ECSSS conference in 2021, and the members unanimously voiced their approval.

Although the weather was almost constantly rainy, it cleared for a boat trip in Rotterdam harbor on the final day of the ECSSS conference. Our thanks to ISECS for letting the ECSSS "conference within the Congress" take place.

TEGOS TO BE DAICHES-MANNING FELLOW

Spyridon Tegos of the University of Crete has been selected to be the third Daiches-Manning Fellow, to be in residence at the Institute for Advanced Studies in Humanities at the University of Edinburgh for two months at the beginning of 2017. A lecturer in philosophy who has worked on the concept of politeness in Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* in France (the topic of his talk at the joint ECSSS/CSECS conference in Montreal in 2014), Spyridon will be focusing as a fellow on "Ceremonies of Politeness and the Origins of Middle Class Manners in Hume's Philosophy within its Scottish Context." Spyridon will be following in the footsteps of the first two Daiches-Manning Fellows, Clarisse Godard Desmarest (women in Scottish architecture) and Vivien Williams (the bagpipe in Scottish culture).

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>).

BURNS WEBSITE IN S. CAROLINA

The University of South Carolina's Robert Burns & 18th Century Scotland (<http://guides.library.sc.edu/RobertBurns>) is an updated website aiming to provide "a rapid reference guide to online and other sources about Robert Burns." The focus is on Burns resources that are freely accessible online, including articles, reference tools, and even some recordings and video, though it also notes many of the more authoritative and influential print resources. Originally developed for Patrick Scott's undergraduate Burns seminar, it has now been expanded with assistance from Joseph Durant. Using LibGuide software, the site contains separate pages of material for rapid reference (with timeline, etc.), Burns manuscripts, Burns editions, Burns songs, Burns biography, and Burns criticism, as well as a page about the G. Ross Roy Collection and links to other major Burns sites such as BurnsScotland, the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, NLS, and Future-Museum. The compilers welcome suggestions, especially from teachers, for additions that will make it more useful to students both at university and senior secondary school levels.

ADAM FERGUSON COMMEMORATED

Last year, Jack Hill and Michael Gush (financier and current owner of the Hallyards Estate in Manor Valley, near Peebles) co-authored an application to Historic Scotland for the awarding of a commemorative plaque in honor of Adam Ferguson. The application was successful, and Jack was invited to preside at a brief unveiling ceremony, which was held at Hallyards on 24 July 2015. Ferguson was particularly fond of Hallyards and spent the bulk of his retirement there. The small gathering included several neighbors in the vicinity. The plaque reads:

ADAM FERGUSON
1723–1816

WORLD RENOWNED SCOTTISH
MORAL PHILOSOPHER
'GRAZIER AT HALLYARDS'
1796–1809

In his correspondence, Ferguson used the words, "grazier at Hallyards" to describe one of his avocations at the estate: the raising of a small herd of Highland cattle.

During his thirteen years at Hallyards, Ferguson produced a new edition of his history of the Roman Republic as well as numerous essays. He hosted the young Walter Scott (who reportedly derived the inspiration for his novel *The Black Dwarf* from his visit to Manor Valley) and invested significant sums

in expanding the gardens. To this day, the high walled garden still exists, as does a sundial bearing the words: *SOLI POSUIT, A. FERGUSON, 1803*. There is more on Hallyards, including pictures of the house and grounds and the Ferguson plaque, at <https://hallyards.org/>.

After leaving Hallyards in 1809, Ferguson spent the last years of his life in St Andrews, until his death on 22 February 1816. The 200th anniversary of that event was commemorated on 22 February 2016, with a special lecture by David Allan at Ferguson's grave in St Andrews Cathedral churchyard, sponsored by the St Andrews Institute of Intellectual History.

LITERARY COMMERCE IN EDINBURGH

On 20 and 21 July 2015, the magnificent Raeburn Room in Old College, University of Edinburgh, was the scene of a stimulating Colloquium on Literary Commerce organized by ECSSS member Adam Budd. The focus was on literary and commercial interactions and material culture in the long eighteenth century, including talks by ECSSS members Barbara Benedict on authors and audiences in British literature; Pam Perkins on early nineteenth-century travel journals; Mark Towsey on manuscript notes and readers' uses of the past; Catherine Jones on Archibald Pitcairne and virtuoso culture; Adam Budd on the bookseller Andrew Millar's role in constructing the literary canon; and Richard Sher on the early publication history of Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*. Vicky Coltman, James Raven, John Feather, Matthew Grenby, Tom Mole, and Alison Duncan also spoke. A highlight of the colloquium occurred "off-campus," when ECSSS member Kirsteen McCue performed a Robert Burns song at a marvelous dinner and whisky tasting at the Scotch Malt Whisky Society's quarters on Queen Street. Thanks to Adam and the various funding bodies (AHRC, Centre for the History of the Book, Royal Society of Edinburgh, and The Bibliographical Society) for organizing such a fine gathering.

KELVIN HALL RE-ENLIGHTENMENT

In a spectacular display of institutional cooperation and cultural and architectural revitalization in Glasgow, the 1927 landmark building Kelvin Hall is being transformed into a center of excellence for cultural heritage collections. The University of Glasgow, Glasgow City Council, Glasgow Life (Glasgow Museums, Glasgow Sport), and the National Library of Scotland (making its first appearance in the west of Scotland) are all involved. Funding from these partners, the Scottish Government, Historic Scotland, and the Heritage Lottery Fund has been secured for the first phase of redevelopment, due for formal opening in early autumn 2016. This phase will include secure and publicly accessible storage for the study collections of the university's Hunterian Museum and related collections from Glasgow's museums, including approximately one and a half million objects currently in storage at various sites around the city and a Collections

Study and Research Centre. The National Library of Scotland's Moving Image Archive, a new and integrated digital portal for materials from the partner institutions, a community learning base, and a Centre for Cultural and Heritage Skills are also part of the first phase opening this year. The enterprise is being spearheaded by ECSSS member Murray Pittock, Pro-Vice President at the University of Glasgow.

Murray Pittock is also the lead organizer of the sixth Re:Enlightenment Exchange, to be held on 27–28 October 2016 as one of the opening events for Kelvin Hall. Sponsored by AHRC Digital Transformations, ReX6 will explore the importance of connectivity and the breaking down of boundaries not only between disciplines in the academy but also between the academy and external knowledge producers and providers. It will take note of the 250th anniversary of James Craig's winning entry for the design of the Edinburgh New Town and the invention of the raincoat by Charles Mackintosh, engaging these events as characteristic of the Scottish Enlightenment's application of reason to knowledge in a context of material improvement. The conference events will include a session on "Watt's Workshop and the Making and Re-making of Enlightenment," a roundtable discussion on "Enlightened Spaces" in the Kelvin Hall Study Centre, and a reception at the Hunterian Museum to launch a new book by ECSSS member and Re:Enlightenment Project Director Cliff Siskin: *System: The Shaping of Modern Knowledge* (MIT Press), which will be reviewed in our next issue.

DEMOCRACY AND THE ENLIGHTENMENT

At press time, the 5th International Conference of the Mediterranean Society for the Study of the Scottish Enlightenment was about to take place at Isik University in Istanbul, on 24–26 May, organized by Orsan K. Oymen. MSSSE was begun under the leadership of ECSSS member Dionysis Drosos of the University of Ioannina. The papers at this year's conference included one by the new Daiches-Manning Fellowship winner, Spyros Tegos, on authority in Hume and Smith.

SCIENCE IN THE SE AT CSSP

The Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at the Princeton Theological Seminary is planning a major conference on Science in the Scottish Enlightenment for 10–12 March 2017. The conference aims to explore a wide range of aspects of the topic, having to do with the nature of science and the scientific method, the study of mind and metaphysics, and the relationships of science to morality, aesthetics, and politics. Abstracts of 300–500 words should be sent as email attachments to cssp@ptssem.edu by 1 November 2016, with author details in the accompanying email message. This conference is associated with research for *Scottish Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century Volume 2*, edited by James A. Harris and Aaron Garrett for Oxford University Press (see the review of volume 1 in this issue).

WITHERS GEOGRAPHER ROYAL

Charles Withers, the Ogilvie Chair of Geography at the University of Edinburgh and a leading contributor to eighteenth-century Scottish thought and culture for more than three decades, has been appointed Geographer Royal for Scotland. The office of Geographer Royal for Scotland was first held by Sir Robert Sibbald, appointed by King Charles II in 1682, but had been vacant for the last 118 years. The position was conferred on Withers by HRH The Princess Royal at a ceremony at the Royal Scottish Geographical Society in Perth on 15 September 2015. In its modern configuration, the Geographer Royal for Scotland is expected to serve as a national and international ambassador for geography, including promoting the subject in universities and schools as well as in society at large.

SOUTHERN CAL READING GROUP

Ann Ross reports that a new Irish and Scottish Enlightenment Reading Group has been established by the UCLA Center for 17- and 18th-Century Studies. The group reads and discusses works by Irish and Scottish writers of the long eighteenth century, including works of literature, moral philosophy, political theory, and other fields. Among the authors whose works have been discussed so far are David Hume, Francis Hutcheson, James Macpherson's *Ossian*, and the novelists Jane Porter and Maria Edgeworth. The group is open to graduate students, faculty, independent scholars, and interested general readers throughout the Los Angeles area, as well as visiting scholars at the Clark and Huntington libraries and other area institutions. It meets roughly monthly during the academic year, normally in the Clark Library, but in members' homes while the Clark is closed for renovations. Inquiries may be sent to Professor Emeritus Donald Marshall, profdon43@gmail.com.

IN MEMORIAM: D. D. RAPHAEL (1916–2015)

David Daiches Raphael died in December 2015, one month before turning 100. An Oxford-educated philosopher from Liverpool who held successive positions at the University of Otago in New Zealand, the University of Glasgow (where he was the Edward Caird Professor of Political Philosophy), the University of Reading, and finally Imperial College London, David treated eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy in works published over the course of sixty years, from *The Moral Sense* (1947) to *The Impartial Spectator: Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy* (2007). His most enduring contribution to the field was serving as co-editor of two volumes in The Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence of Adam Smith, published by Oxford University Press: *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1976; rev. ed. 1979) and *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1978). Shortly before his death, David was asked by *Philosophy Now* about his interest in the Scottish Enlightenment, and he replied: "I didn't care for philosophy that was difficult to understand. I was attracted to Scottish philosophy because of its clarity."

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Corey Andrews has been promoted to professor at Youngstown State U....**David Armitage** was awarded an honorary LittD by Cambridge U. in May 2015, after spending part of the preceding year as a visiting fellow at the U. of Chicago; he has just completed the final year of his term as chair of the History Department at Harvard U....**Brian Bonnyman** has been awarded a two-year honorary fellowship in the School of History, Classics and Archaeology at Edinburgh U....**Mark Box** retired from the English Department at the U. of Alaska, Fairbanks in spring 2015... in April **John Cairns** served as convener of a two-day conference on Scottish Law Collecting and Law Collectors... **Kathy Callahan** is serving as chair of the History Department at Murray State U. in Kentucky... **Zhihong Chen**, a PhD candidate in history at Tsinghua U. in Beijing, was a fellow this year at the McNeill Center at the U. of Pennsylvania...**JoEllen DeLucia**, newly promoted to associate professor with tenure at Central Michigan U, spent the spring 2016 semester at Ruhr-University Bochum in Germany....**Kay Doig** became professor of French Emerita at Georgia State U. upon her retirement in June 2015...**Ian Duncan** was a visiting professor at LMU Munich in fall 2015...**Roger Emerson** has published *My Vermonters: The Northeast Kingdom 1800–1940* on his Vermont ancestors, including his uncle Lee Emerson, governor of the state from 1951 to 1955...in the works from **Ann Gunn** is *The Prints of Paul Sandby (1731–1809)*...**Knud Haakonssen** gave the opening lecture on “The Law of Nations in the Natural Law Curriculum” at the workshop on The Law of Nations and Natural Law 1625–1850 at the U. of Lausanne, 5 Nov. 2015...**James Harris**’s major new biography of David Hume, to be reviewed in our next issue, was launched at the St Andrews Institute of Intellectual History on 22 Oct. 2015; it was also the topic of book symposia held there on 11 March 2016 and at the APA Pacific Division meeting in San Francisco on 2 Apr. 2016, featuring commentary by **David Raynor** and **John P. Wright**, as well as the author himself... longtime member **Alice Jacoby** passed away on 12 Dec. 2015 in her hometown of Decatur, Georgia...**Catherine Jones** is now a deputy head of the School of Language, Literature, Music & Visual Culture at Aberdeen U....**Sandro Jung** has been a EURIAS fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at Edinburgh U. in 2015–16, and he looks forward to working on Burns as an Ormiston Roy Fellow at the U. of South Carolina in the coming autumn...in July 2015 **Colin Kidd**, the Wardlaw Professor of Modern History at St Andrews U., delivered the Prothero Lecture at the Royal Historical Society... on 5 Apr. **László Kontler** delivered one of the 2016 Istvan Hont Memorial Lectures at the St Andrews Institute of Intellectual History, on William Robertson in Hungary...**Elizabeth Kraft** gave the “immortal memory” speech at the 2016 Robert Burns Night in Athens, Georgia...**Anthony Lewis** gave a paper on

the Adam brothers and their building tradesmen in Scotland at the Georgian Group’s symposium on Robert Adam & His Brothers in London on 23 Sept. 2015...**Kirsteen McCue** has been promoted to professor at Glasgow U....**Nelson Mundell**, a graduate student in history at Glasgow U., was a fellow at Monticello in April 2016, examining Scottish newspaper editors’ representations of race, ethnicity, and otherness in the second half of the eighteenth century... **Shinichi Nagao** was elected president of the Japanese Society for 18th-Century Studies...in April **Alastair Noble** spoke in the Edinburgh U. 18th-century seminar on rivalries within the whig government and the response to the ‘45...this year **Murray Pittock** was visiting professor at New York U. and the Roy Lecturer at the U. of South Carolina... **Nicholas Phillipson** gave the 2015 Istvan Hont Memorial Lecture at St Andrews on “Hume, Smith and the Science of Man in Scotland”...**J.G.A. Pocock** celebrated his 92nd birthday this past winter...**David Raynor** retired from the Philosophy Department at U. of Ottawa in Dec. 2014...**John Robertson** delivered the Carlyle Lectures at Oxford U. on “The Sacred and the Social: History and Political Thought 1650–1800” and a briefer version as the Benedict Lectures at Boston U., and he will be revising them for publication in book form...**Silvia Sebastiani** was in residence at Edinburgh U. for a month in summer 2015 and then spent the last quarter of 2015 at the Maison française d’Oxford; she is also the co-recipient of the Istvan Hont Prize for her book *The Scottish Enlightenment*...**Juliet Shields** recently published with Oxford U. Press *Nation and Migration: The Making of British Atlantic Literature, 1765–1835*, which contains a chapter on “Scots and Scott in the Early Republic”...**Craig Smith** has been promoted to senior university lecturer at in the School of Social and Political Sciences at Glasgow U....**Jeffrey Smitten** took retirement from the Department of English at Utah State U. after the spring 2015 semester...after completing his term as chair of the History Department at Brock U. in Ontario, **Mark Spencer** spent 2015–16 on sabbatical leave...in early May 2016 **Spiros Tegos** was co-convener of a conference at the U. of Crete on Rethinking Europe in Intellectual History...in September 2015 ECSSS Executive Board member **Mark Towsey** and Siobhan Talbott, co-editor of *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, exchanged marriage vows...**Mark Wallace** has a new position as associate professor of history at Lyon College in Batesville, Arkansas...**John P. Wright**, who retired from the Philosophy and Religion Department at Central Michigan U. last spring, was honored by his department on 23 Oct. 2015 with a lecture by Lorne Falkenstein on “David Hume on Gallantry and Chastity,” followed by a celebratory dinner...**Ronnie Young** has been engaged in designing a public online course on “Robert Burns: Poems, Songs, and Legacy” with the Centre for Robert Burns Studies and Futurelearn, available at www.futurelearn.com/courses/robert-burns/1.

**Blindness and Insight in a Letter (1800) by Rev. Charles Findlater on
Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society***

**By Zubin Meer
York University**

On 12 June 1800, Rev. Charles Findlater (1754–1838), minister of Newlands in Peeblesshire, wrote a remarkable letter to the Tory lawyer, political pamphleteer, and antiquarian George Chalmers (1742–1825). The first half of this newly discovered letter, printed below (the entire letter is available on the author's profile at academia.edu), expressly concerns Adam Ferguson (1723–1816) and his celebrated *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767). Two-and-a-half years earlier, Chalmers had exchanged letters with Ferguson while researching his major work, *Caledonia* (1807–24), a multi-volume survey of Scottish history and antiquities (see *The Correspondence of Adam Ferguson*, ed. Vincenzo Merolle [1995], vol. 2, pp. 426–28). Findlater's connection with Ferguson, however, has so far escaped notice, despite criticism of Ferguson in Findlater's fast-day sermon, *Liberty and Equality: A Sermon, or Essay*, preached in March 1800 and published about the same time the letter was written. Since Findlater references this sermon a number of times in his letter to Chalmers, parsing it will help not only to illuminate the letter but also to reveal the complex, often ambiguous opinions that Findlater held about Ferguson, his professor of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh during the late 1760s. Findlater's engagement with Ferguson, then living a few miles away in Hallyards, near Peebles (see "Commemoration of Adam Ferguson" above," and <https://hallyards.org/>), was at once intellectual and deeply personal, and as prone to insight as to blatant misreading. Findlater's letter also has documentary value as a record of past subjectivity. With all the air of Richardsonian "writing to the moment," the letter is by far the most interesting and extensive known contemporary account of the personal *experience* of reading Ferguson's *Essay*.

In the longest and most revealing footnote in *Liberty and Equality*, Findlater explicitly casts Ferguson as a "high spirited author" and his *Essay* as rife with "enthusiasm" (p. 24). Hugh Blair (1718–1800) had already noted with admiration the "high and ardent Strokes of Eloquence" and "Rouzing & animating Spirit" in Ferguson's book; James Beattie (1735–1803) perceived a "heaven"-taught manner that speaks "more to the heart, and less to the understanding"; Thomas Gray (1716–1771) discovered an "application to the heart [that] is frequent, and often successful"; and Alexander Carlyle (1722–1805) detected "a Species of Eloquence, peculiar to Ferguson" (see *The Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson*, ed. Vincenzo Merolle [2006], Appendix B). Each of these readers apparently saw in the *Essay* a marked propensity for exhortation and declamation, understood in terms of certain norms of historiographical style, the idiom of sentimentalism, or sheer individuality. But with his emphasis on the "high spirited" and on "enthusiasm," Findlater reads Ferguson differently. To Findlater, such qualities suggest the overheated primitivist fantasies of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) (see Findlater's *General View of the Agriculture of the County of Peebles* [1802], pp. 219, 222, and 327). Attributing "enthusiasm" to someone or something was rarely meant to flatter in the eighteenth century (see Jan Goldstein, "Enthusiasm or Imagination? Eighteenth-Century Smear Words in Comparative National Context," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 60 [1997]: 29–49). In the same footnote, Findlater sharpens his criticism of Ferguson: his civilized man, subject to the "subdivision of labor and professions," is to a "ship" as his vaunted primitive is to a "boy's top" (p. 24). By comparing this savage to a child's plaything, Findlater betrays contemporary sentimentalist anxieties about youth as a time of special susceptibility to corrupting influences. By casting the real-life ship as a "complicated whole, made up of many parts" and the spinning top as "a simple whole in itself," Findlater rejects the idea of the natural in order to extol modern commercial society and its overseas dominions. Thus, Findlater's revisionist metaphor pushes the *Essay* in new directions by repudiating its twin emphases on primitive martial valor and modern societal decay.

Ferguson also makes a number of covert appearances in Findlater's *Liberty and Equality*, which is unusually secular and learned for a sermon, crammed as it is with conjectural history and political economy. Outlining in great detail the transition from hunter-gatherer to pastoral to agricultural society, Findlater declares that not "any one of those stages [is] more natural to man" (p. 17). Here he appropriates one of the most notable passages in Ferguson's *Essay*, beginning "If we are asked therefore, Where the state of nature is to be found? we may answer, It is here," and concluding, after invoking various sites across the globe, that "all situations are equally natural" (see Fania Oz-Salzberger's 1995 edition of the *Essay*, p. 14). Findlater also paraphrases Ferguson's "art itself is natural to man" (*Essay*, p. 12), when he states that "the capacity of art is coeval with human nature" (p. 17), and that, given the dynamic qualities of human nature, there is in mankind a natural propensity to leave the savage state, the most basic level of social organization (p. 17; for the corresponding idea in the *Essay*, see p. 12). Ferguson, in the guise of the factual-minded historian, delivers a dev-

astating polemic against the fictionality of “state-of-nature” constructions, especially as elaborated by Rousseau. Findlater absorbs this Fergusonian denaturing of nature, however, only in order to indict unnamed writers, presumably including Ferguson, for falling back on romantic ideas of what would later be called the Noble Savage. In other words, Findlater ingeniously uses Ferguson’s interrogation of the “natural” (italicized thrice on p. 18 in *Liberty and Equality*) in order to castigate Ferguson’s cosmopolitan, sympathetic portrayal of savage man in “the wilds of America” (p. 19). While we do not know how or why Findlater formulated his view of Ferguson’s *Essay* as radically primitivist and as partaking of the fictional (even as it decries the fictional), such a view, though uncommon, is eminently plausible. Furthermore, Findlater’s ethnocentrism and Whig progressivism, while constituent features of his thought as a whole, should not blind us to the fact that he was unquestionably, like Ferguson himself, a “conservative,” “constitutional,” or “establishment Whig” (on this orientation, see Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, 2nd ed. [2015], especially pp. 262–76).

In his published books (*Liberty and Equality*, *General View of the Agriculture of Peebles*, and *Sermons, or Essays...upon Christian Duties* [1830]), Findlater, like Ferguson and other Moderates, insisted on the absolute necessity of social ranks. He appears to be an unambiguous apologist for agrarian capitalism and laissez-faire economics, blind to the social costs of the division of labor that Adam Smith and especially Ferguson had diagnosed. Yet the letter to Chalmers suggests that Findlater’s cool Whig progressivism was a facade, belying inner conflict. In private, he struggled with Fergusonian modernity, as he confessed to Chalmers: “the improvements of civilization were radically founded upon individual degradation (a sentiment in which there is much plausibility & even some degree of truth).” But such parenthetical misgivings never made it into any of Findlater’s published writings.

Probably with the *Discourse on Inequality* or *Second Discourse* (1755) in mind, Findlater conflates Ferguson’s savage not only with Rousseau’s savage but also with Rousseau’s pre-social, pre-linguistic, hypothesized natural man. Still, Ferguson and Rousseau share at least surface similarities. Less understandably, Findlater also confuses Ferguson with William Godwin (1756–1836) as well as with revolutionary Jacobins—the last understood, to a paranoid Findlater, as covertly infiltrated by Adam Weishaupt (1748–1830) and his gang of Bavarian Illuminati! How Findlater associates Ferguson with the Illuminati will be addressed below. But because paranoia finds connections that don’t exist in reality, these other associations—between Ferguson and Godwin and between Ferguson and the Jacobins—merit no commentary save for acknowledging what they reveal about Findlater’s own state of mind. Findlater’s inner conflict most likely stemmed from multiple causes, in various registers, and was exacerbated by the profoundly alarmist, reactionary nature of British public life in the late 1790s. In all probability, it emerged out of a growing, fitful acknowledgement of these contemporary radical critiques of the Whig interpretation of history, with its complacent view of modern civilization. But Findlater does seem to protest the savage too much in *Liberty and Equality*, and so his inner conflict appears to emerge from an attraction for the primitive too, suitably suppressed. Indeed, in the letter he admits, if only fleetingly and cryptically, to having once fallen under Ferguson’s primitivist spell himself (“at some time, I felt inspired with ... [such] a predilection”).

Findlater’s letter, then, is noteworthy not only for its content on Ferguson but also for its grueling style, abounding with rhetorical devices that render meaning ambiguous and tenuous. Private misgivings and fleeting admissions aside, the letter employs other forms of equivocation, including tortured syntax, periphrasis, and one sustained instance of damning with faint praise (related to claims about a supposed discrepancy between the *Essay*’s “manly eloquence” and “noble ambition” and its unintended consequences). Such rhetorical moves suggest that Findlater wrote to Chalmers not as a confident moral authority but as an erstwhile schoolboy whose anxiety measured the long shadow cast by his “old Professor.” As a richly experiential contemporary reader-reception vignette, Findlater’s letter does not disappoint. But it is also of value for a number of discerning observations about Ferguson.

In the letter, Findlater makes three claims about Ferguson’s savage, two of which are spot on, the last plain wrong. First, Findlater perceptively remarks that Ferguson’s savage resembles the ancient Stoic, a point that is only implied in Ferguson’s *Essay*. Second, he astutely observes that because Ferguson’s savage is self-reliant, every “part” and “latent power” in him gets “fully developed” and fully “exert[ed].” Yet Findlater errs in ascribing too much independence to Ferguson’s savage, when he claims that Ferguson’s savage lives in a “total want of cooperation.” This characterization of savage life has nothing to do with Ferguson’s ethnographically rich portrait of the Iroquois and everything to do with Rousseau’s gleefully hypothetical, animal-like man in the “state of nature.”

Findlater’s letter also provides a complementary portrait of Ferguson’s modern man, in what Ferguson inimitably calls “the age of separations.” In the main, it is accurate, for the *Essay* does portray the modern individual *qua* individual as an endangered species—abstracted, institutionalized, and professionalized. Findlater claims that, under Ferguson’s division of labor, “one individual [was made] solely to think and an-

other to act." By contrast, Ferguson laments *less* the modern fissuring of mental and physical labor and *more* that of war and governance, the twin roles seamlessly fused into the figure of the traditional warrior-aristocrat. Findlater argues that Ferguson's modern man "lacks a respectable manly character" and, true enough, Ferguson does sound the alarm on modern effeminacy throughout the *Essay*. When, however, Findlater casts Ferguson's modern man as a "mere half formed animal," he parts company with his "old Professor." This gothic embellishment plainly signals his distaste for a critique of modernity.

Although Findlater never claims that Ferguson is an Illuminatus, he does contend that Ferguson's depiction of savages primes his readers for manipulation by the Illuminati, who peddle dreams of autarkic selfhood and its consequent social anarchy. Echoing larger cultural fears surrounding the contemporary novel as corrosive of morals, especially among the young, Findlater implies that Ferguson's *Essay* smacks of romantic, fictional ideas about the savage. This is not so strange a claim as it might first appear. At the thematic level, the *Essay* teems with heroic savages and barbarians, including Attila the Hun's superannuated, Ossian-like warriors weeping over their lost capacity for "heroic deeds" (p. 104). It also consistently roots for indigenous tribals as underdogs, as in the discussion of the Tchutzi (or Chukchi), a Siberian nomadic people who fiercely resisted the encroachments of Russian imperialism and, thus, represent "the spirit of national independence" (p. 110).

At the level of form, the *Essay*, for the most part, resists contemporary neoclassical norms and canons of taste in historiography. While it upholds didactic instruction, it eschews rationality, impartiality, and linear narrative. The *Essay* stands in a complex relation to truthful imitation, neoclassical historiography's most trumpeted yet ambiguous ideal. On the one hand, Ferguson, with his polemic against "conjectures," emphasized the need for facts and denied the role of the imagination in historical reconstructions of the past; on the other hand, in practice, he was much more willing than he let on to play the literary artificer, whether as a historical novelist, satirist, or panegyrist. Consider what is undoubtedly the single richest literary episode in the *Essay*: the time-traveler scene, where Swiftian defamiliarization is expressly mobilized in the service of a wondrous, almost vitalist empiricism (pp. 185–88). Astonishingly, this episode, involving a kind of hypotyposis or vivid, striking description, has scarcely ever been noticed. But Findlater must have balked at it, if his visceral reaction to Ferguson's *Essay* is any indication. Or perhaps he balked at the *Essay*'s lively, affecting, and original character vignettes, which draw on travel literature (such as one on p. 22, which adapts the travelogues of William Dampier [1651–1715]).

To be sure, Findlater was not the only one to deplore heterodox literary values in Ferguson's historiography. Decades earlier, Hugh Blair and Thomas Gray complained of the Tacitean element in the *Essay*, which actually reinforces the mid-century romance revivalism that they are rightfully credited with advancing, as critic and as poet. Blair, with an eye to generic transgressions, complained of the *Essay*'s prose style as "sometimes Embarrass'd & obscure" and its "structure & disposition of the parts [as not] always happy." Gray, similarly, found fault with a "manner of writing too short-winded and sententious" (see *Manuscripts of Adam Ferguson*, Appendix B). But neither delivered his judgment with anything quite like the intellectual and emotional investment of Findlater. His letter, moreover, suggests something salient about Ferguson's primitivism: just how attractive it must have been to many of Ferguson's students and contemporaries, even as, or perhaps because, it remained out of step with mainstream British values. Who knows how many other armchair travelers it bewitched?

In the course of his letter to Chalmers, Findlater reveals that he had also sent a letter to Ferguson, one more "fully explanatory" of his intricate response to the *Essay*, along with a presentation copy of *Liberty and Equality*. Eager to please, Findlater nonetheless suspected that this overture to his "old Professor" was likely to occasion no response: "I suppose I shall not hear from the Doctor." Although Ferguson left no trace of his opinion of Findlater, and does not seem to have preserved this letter, he did take note, in letters to Alexander Carlyle, of John Robison's newly published *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe* (1797), an important source for Findlater (see *Correspondence of Adam Ferguson*, vol. 2, pp. 423 and 425; *Liberty and Equality*, pp. 3–6). There, with impish delight, Ferguson ultimately reveals that he didn't take conspiracy theorists all that seriously, writing of Robison: "what a shallow fellow he is who has no Secrets"!

Newlands June 12th 1800

D[ea]r Sir,

I received yours of the 2^d Cur[ren]t and am both highly flattered by the commendation you are pleased to bestow, and the interest you take in my emergence from obscurity – I dread however that I have rather been begging the question as to your commendation in informing you of the opinion of my Ed[inbu]r[gh] friends – I find my performance has excited considerable interest among the Democratic tradesmen of our Country Town.

I shall detail to you for your amusement some literary anecdotes relative to it.

I found my self somewhat cramped in my acc[oun]ts of the illuminati from the residence of Doctor Adam Ferguson in this Country, author of the Essay on the history of civil society, on which I have made some observations in a note – He was my old Professor & I sent him a copy with a letter more fully explanatory of the impression made on my mind from his book, & which furnished me with an internal prototype of the possible correspondence of their views with the feelings of an unwary virtuous mind – The impression, which from the manly eloquence of the book was a deep one, was, I said, that in some traits of his character the savage seemed to approach to the sublime & awful virtues of the Stoic; that, from the total want of cooperation, & the necessity of applying to his own personal resources in all his exigencies, his character in every part proper to a man was fully developed & every latent power brought into habits of exertion. Whereas, in a state of civilization, from the subdivision of labour & professions, whence one was trained solely to think & an other to act &c, each individual came to be a sort of mere half formed animal, deficient totally in some one part or other of the essentials of a respectable manly character – that in short the savage state was most favourable to the perfection of the individual; and that the improvements of civilization were radically founded upon individual degradation (a sentiment in which there is much plausibility & even some degree of truth) – that the great tendency of his book was no doubt to elevate the mind above every thing degrading & base & to inspire it with the noble ambition of excelling in every thing constituting the true dignity of human nature – that I was certainly conscious of nothing debasing in the impressions I received; at some time I felt inspired with a kind of predilection for that state which (so far as moral causes operate) seemed most favourable to the improvement of each individual of the species – That I had this internal conviction of the possibility of a virtuous mind allowing itself to dwell with complacency upon the ultimate scheme of the Illuminati in dissocializing men into savage individuality; particularly when there was no immediate prospect of its realization to lead to an accurate sighting of it to all its consequences; and that I could easily conceive how, under the management of dextrous conspirators, minds in such a disposition might be led to great lengths through gradation.

I suppose I shall not hear from the Doctor.

[The second half of the letter concerns William Godwin, the sociology of religion, and Scriblerian satire.]

With great esteem –

I ever am

Yours sincerely

Charl: Findlater

George Chalmers, Esqr.

Zubin Meer (zubinmeer1@gmail.com) is a PhD candidate in English at York University, planning a dissertation on the Glasgow University professor of humanity William Richardson (1743–1814). He gratefully acknowledges assistance from Alex Du Toit, Eugene Heath, Jim Cruise, and Rick Sher, both with this article and the conference paper on which it is based, presented at the ASECS/ECSSS meeting in Pittsburgh on 2 April 2016.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2015–31 Dec. 2015

Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2015: £20,341.16

Income: +£1295.00 (dues, book orders, and donations)

Expenses: –£950.00 (Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund)

Balance 31 Dec. 2015: £20,686.16

Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2015: \$17,958.28

Income: +\$7151.06 (dues, book orders, and donations [checks]: \$2147; transfer from PayPal account: \$3500; ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship: \$1500; Staples adjustment: \$4.06)

Expenses: –\$5547.64 (newsletter printing & prep: \$1,495.07; website fees (BlueHost): \$31.98; equipment and supplies (Amazon and Staples): \$446.95; Rotterdam conference: \$994.30 [exec. Sec. expenses: \$694.30; graduate student travel grant: \$300]; partial reimbursement to NJIT History Dept. for newsletter mailing: \$506.94; donations to Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund, U. of Edinburgh: \$2047.40; NJ state non-profit society filing fee for 2016: \$25)

Balance 31 Dec. 2015: \$19,561.70

PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2015: \$1268.13

Net Income (including PayPal fees): +\$2590.98 (dues, book orders, and contributions)

Transfer to Bank of America account: –\$3500

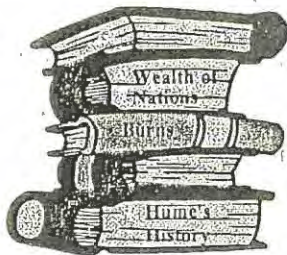
Balance 31 Dec. 2015: \$359.11

Cash Receipts and Payments in Euros at Rotterdam Conference

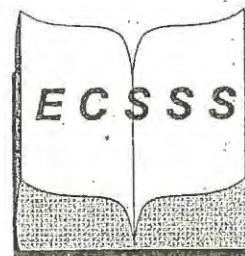
Income: €345 (membership dues, book orders and donations: €267; misc. cash: €78)

Expenses: €345 (Executive Board dinner meeting: €335; photocopying: €10)

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2015 [vs. 31 Dec. 2014]: £20,686.16 [£20,341.16] + \$19,920.81 [\$19,226.41]



BOOKS in REVIEW



Review Essay: Something Borrowed and Something New in Eighteenth-Century Scottish Legal History

By Nicholas B. Miller, Lichtenberg-Kolleg, Georg-August-University of Göttingen

John Finlay, *Legal Practice in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. Studies in the History of Private Law. Leiden: Brill, 2015. Pp. xiii + 447.

John W. Cairns, *Law, Lawyers, and Humanism: Selected Essays in the History of Scots Law, Volume 1*. Edinburgh Studies in Law. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xxv + 608.

John W. Cairns, *Enlightenment, Legal Education, and Critique: Selected Essays in the History of Scots Law, Volume 2*. Edinburgh Studies in Law. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xxviii + 592.

2015 witnessed something of a marriage for the field of eighteenth-century Scottish legal history. With an old topic, we have in John Finlay's *Legal Practice* something new; in John Cairns's *Selected Essays*, something borrowed; and under the weight of nearly 1,700 pages over three volumes, hands that may very well go blue.

As the field now stands with these new volumes, law in the Scottish eighteenth century is being studied from a number of interdisciplinary perspectives, including the history of professions and institutions and social, cultural, and intellectual history. The field's two leading experts have consolidated their decades-long work, setting the stage for the next generation of scholarship, which both scholars will continue to shape with their future endeavors.

Building on his 2012 book *The Community in the College of Justice: Edinburgh and the Court of Session, 1687–1808*, Finlay offers a pioneering, archive-intensive account of the history of the legal profession in eighteenth-century Scotland. The primary evidence consulted is impressive, both in its volume and breadth, featuring material from more than eleven local town and city archives, in addition to the archives of the Writer to the Signet Society, the Faculty of Procurators in Glasgow, and the local legal societies of Aberdeen, Glasgow, and Edinburgh. The book is well produced, mercifully including footnotes rather than endnotes, as well as a lengthy documentary appendix and a good set of name and subject indexes that greatly facilitate the reference function of the work.

Finlay is keen to emphasize the role of communities—both those constituted by lawyers themselves and their inclusion in broader ones of locality and confession. He explores in depth not only the all-important dimensions of patronage, of which Roger L. Emerson classically reminded us, but also professional socialization, solidarity, and culture. In particular, Finlay offers a novel discussion of how localities used lawyers during the century, especially through the role of the procurator fiscal, and how lawyers built careers on the basis of their local and intimate connections.

After an introduction that jumps straight into the complex question of just what “legal practice” constituted in eighteenth-century Scotland, Finlay fleshes this out in eleven thematic chapters. In the first three, he depicts lawyers through their interactions with their clients, and shows how the specific contours of their employment conditioned their articulation of a professional identity. Eighteenth-century clients were demanding and promiscuous, such as Alexander Robertson of Strowan, “celebrated for his ‘manifest Litigiousity’” (*LP=Legal Practice*, p. 67). Chapter 2, “Lawyers and Legal Practice,” discusses who lawyers were, where they congregated, where they held counsel, who employed them, what type of work they took on, and how clients ended their relationships with them. Chapters 3, “Income,” and 4, “Management,” focus on how lawyers earned their income, conducted profit-sharing, formed partnerships, networked and, when unsuccessful, went bankrupt. These chapters constitute an excellent account of the social-historical profile of the legal profession in eighteenth-century Scotland.

In the fifth chapter, "Ethics and Etiquette," the book shifts into a careful discussion of the professional culture of Scottish lawyers, which is sustained for four chapters. Finlay sets this culture within its European context, describing how exposure throughout the early modern period to Continental jurists' writings on legal ethics meant that little need existed "for an expansive homegrown literature on legal ethics" (*LP*, p. 153) during the century. Scottish practices concerning the issues of prevarication ("collusion between a prosecutor and an accused in order to obtain an acquittal," *LP*, p. 171), *crimen falsi*, subornation of perjury ("tampering with those who were to swear in judgement, by soliciting or directing them how to depose without regard for the truth," *LP*, p. 175), protraction and confidentiality, were in line with prevailing conventions across Europe.

Chapter 6 considers the practice of *Pro Bono* work, including a fascinating discussion of how free legal assistance to the poor in Scotland was, up to 1949(!), provided through the Poor's Roll of "deserving poor" cases drawn up by voluntary local legal associations. "From the time the advocate for the poor ceased to receive a pension from the crown in the sixteenth century," Finlay writes, "legal aid had been the responsibility not of the state but of judges and lawyers" (*LP*, p. 224). Chapter 7 focuses on the legal societies themselves, studying the well-documented case of the Society of Advocates in Aberdeen alongside its counterparts in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and smaller towns.

Chapter 8, "Solidarity," investigates how legal professionals in the eighteenth century sought to protect and advance their interests as well as grapple with their professional and existential insecurity through price setting and protectionist measures such as controlling access to the legal profession. Taken together, these chapters excellently describe the local culture of the legal profession in eighteenth-century Scotland, and how many components of this culture had local and European-wide characteristics. "The profession tended to be seen in local, not national, terms" (*LP*, p. 286). The final three chapters, "Burghs," "Procurators Fiscal," and "Notaries," explicate particular institutions and professional roles in eighteenth-century Scotland, including discussion of the functioning of patronage in the appointment of positions by burghs. Finlay emphasizes the absence of definitive, discrete classes of legal practitioners in the time period, noting that "a man acting as a notary might also be a procurator in the inferior courts" (*LP*, p. 360).

Throughout the work, Finlay extensively—though judiciously—cites from his archive of session papers and lawyer-client correspondence, providing not only a fresh field of intriguing primary testimony but also relief from a topic that can otherwise tend to be quite dry. Finlay is careful to treat his subject with a healthy amount of wit: opening the conclusion with Lord Lovat's hopeful wish in 1742 that "I shall never have a Cause or Process in the hands of Lawiers or Writers after this year...and if Providence delivered me once out of their hands, I shall kiss their arses at the cross of Edinburgh if ever they get me to their hands again" (*LP*, p. 390). Finlay's well-written conclusion makes clear a golden thread running through *Legal Practice*: the cultural history of eighteenth-century Scotland, beginning with an intriguing, though brief, discussion of Scots' frequent deployment of military analogies in their legal battles (*LP*, pp. 390–91). In future work, this could be compellingly set within broader political and intellectual frames, such as the militia issue and contemporary conceptions and performances of masculinity.

Researchers consulting Finlay's text at length are rewarded with materials for topic-focused cultural histories of legal practice. Drinking culture, for instance, rears its head frequently: "The hard-drinking culture of lawyers and judges in Edinburgh and on the criminal circuit, often remarked upon, had its counterpart amongst local practitioners" (*LP*, p. 167). Additionally, Finlay notes the regulation of dress code by legal societies (*LP*, p. 169). Material might also exist for some interesting biographical work on how "the profession was filled with interesting characters of the kind so lovingly documented by Sir Walter Scott in his novels" (*LP*, p. 400). In such ways, Finlay's pioneering researches into the neglected archive of local legal practice in eighteenth-century Scotland reveal ample ground for further work, including Finlay's stated interest in pursuing the subject of contemporary notaries.

John W. Cairns's two new volumes are a compilation of Cairns's prodigious scholarship, reproducing some of his harder-to-find past works along with some more familiar articles. Thirty-three pieces are included in total, of which more than one-third were originally published outside Britain, spanning eight countries and three continents. The contents of the first volume, *Law, Lawyers, and Humanism*, cover a range of twenty-six years, from 1984 to 2010, while the second volume, *Enlightenment, Education, and Critique*, is only slightly narrower, from 1988 to 2005. These studies are reproduced in their original form. Each volume opens with a preface and introduction well worth reading, in which Cairns situates the included articles within his general intellectual trajectory, and outlines areas of inquiry that remain open. It would require much more space than available here to do full justice to the variety of topics explored in these two volumes, which function as a panorama of a career of research into the history of Scottish law. In place of an article-by-article discussion of the text, I will focus on general themes.

Of the two volumes, *Enlightenment, Education, and Critique* is likely to prove of most interest to the readership of this periodical. The first volume, *Law, Lawyers, and Humanism*, tackles a broad set of aspects relating to the history of law in Scotland over the course of the early modern period. *Enlightenment, Education, and Critique* focuses more squarely on the eighteenth century. Yet both volumes deserve perusal. The second section of *Law, Lawyers, and Humanism* includes three articles relating to the impact of Dutch Humanism upon Scottish legal thought in the early eighteenth century, including an excellent case study on the education of Sir David Dalrymple,

Lord Hailes at the University of Utrecht in the 1740s. The volume also includes two compelling articles on the place of the Roman imagination in Scottish legal culture during the eighteenth century, and reflections on the feudal imagination, contemporary nation-state formation, and the impact of Sir William Blackstone.

Enlightenment, Education, and Critique contains four sections. The first focuses on the rise of legal education and the Scottish Enlightenment. The second offers an account of the fortunes of the Glasgow Law School over the course of the century, particularly its flourishing under John Millar and quick demise after his death under the "practical" guardianship of the rightly-forgotten Robert Davidson. Four useful essays follow on "Enlightened critique" of eighteenth-century criminal law, court practice, and slavery. Displaying the breadth of Cairns's work, the final section includes two of his forays into the intersection of the history of law with the history of literature.

The chief novelty of Cairns's volumes derives from the opportunity they provide to consult the author's disparately published articles in succession. Edinburgh University Press deserves praise for issuing two sturdy, well-produced volumes that are a joy to read. Electronic access to more obscure materials often remains frustratingly elusive, and the relative luxury of coherent bound volumes allows the reader to track the trajectory of Cairns's thinking across articles. If I have one small complaint, it is that no work has been done to revise inter-referencing between Cairns's selected essays. This would have helped strengthen the coherence of the volumes.

All three of these works will be of interest primarily to specialists in Scottish legal history. Finlay's book includes an introductory glossary to the various institutions and roles of eighteenth-century Scottish legal practice, but it mainly assumes an audience interested in the intricacies of the topic. The appeal of Cairns's volumes is broader, including specialists of the transnational transfer of legal ideas in the early modern period, the Scottish Enlightenment, the history of universities in eighteenth-century Scotland and, in particular, the law professor and social thinker John Millar. Both volumes contribute to the history of institutions during the Scottish Enlightenment. One of Cairns's greatest strengths lies in his work on the institutional nature of legal instruction in Enlightenment Scotland and the connections of its practitioners with the philosophical concerns of the Scottish Enlightenment.

What I found particularly intriguing in both authors is evidence of a common concern with the transnational intersections of eighteenth-century Scottish legal practice and thought. It is a testament to the perspicacious quality of Cairns's scholarship that well before the current vogue of transnational or global history, Cairns emphasized the importance of Continental linkages with Scotland before and during the eighteenth century. In *Law, Lawyers, and Humanism* he makes clear his continued commitment to this focus: "The recognition of the need to be sceptical about traditional national histories is clear" (p. xxv). This is also apparent in Finlay's meticulous study of the minutiae of Scottish eighteenth-century legal practice, particularly in his concluding speculation that "some trends set in the eighteenth century were accentuated in the nineteenth as lawyers' societies made increasingly important contributions to law and reform, and...the British Empire became increasingly attractive as a number of Scots took their legal skills into colonial service" (*LP*, p. 401). Studying the links between the legal foment of eighteenth-century Scotland and the globalization of law from the early nineteenth century through Scots as global or imperial actors would be one of many possible worthy future steps for researchers to take in face of the sturdy foundations offered by both of these scholars.

Finlay and Cairns, keen to advance the scholarship further, are maintaining active research agendas. Both are pivoting forward. Finlay is currently undertaking an extensive study of a large collection of materials relating to early nineteenth-century notaries. Cairns agrees that "the history of Scots law in the first half of the nineteenth century is understudied" (*ELEC=Enlightenment, Legal Education, and Critique*, p. xxvi). Both scholars also recommend more careful investigation of less prominent or even forgotten eighteenth-century figures. Cairns suggests that private legal instructors might have played a more important role than has previously been thought in instigating debates in the second half of the eighteenth century. Originally supposing that John Millar was Edinburgh law professor John Wilde's main target in his attack on stadal history, Cairns now thinks it was more likely to have been his in-town competition, the private legal instructor John Wright. "In his lectures, Wilde articulated historical views comparable to some of those associated with Gustav Hugo, F.C. von Savigny, and others of the Romanticist wing of the German Historical School. He was, of course, quite unaware of their work; he was a scholar of no significance. But his thinking reflects the development of historical (historicist?) thought in this era" (*ELEC*, p. xxii). Going forward, it will be useful to place the late-century practice of historical jurisprudence in its broader context of late-century Scottish legal instruction. Cairns suggests that the next stage for research in the field lies in the realm of history writing. In one sense, this means appreciating that Scottish contributions to history writing went beyond what Dugald Stewart called "conjectural" history; they also included the "cosmopolitan" histories of Hume and Robertson (*ELEC*, p. xxiii). Cairns is right to focus on this, as he has been to situate the creation of Scottish chairs in the field of the "law of nature and nations" alongside "moral philosophy" as disciplinary predecessors to John Millar.

Consistent with the transnational inclinations of both Cairns and Finlay, a more global account of the diverse uptake of historical jurisprudence in university faculties across eighteenth-century Europe would be welcome. In particular, this would help clarify the specificity but also commonalities of the Scottish stadal school, exemplified by Millar and Smith, in their broader European context. A renegotiation with natural law was also alive on the Continent, producing outcomes that were at times surprisingly similar even though distilled through discourses not very prominent in Scotland, such as Physiocracy, Linnaean natural science, and Cameralism. This

type of study might help solve the riddle posed by Cairns about the legacy of the speculative practice of law education advanced by Millar during his tenure at Glasgow. His successor may have ditched “speculative” legal study for “practical,” yet by the mid-nineteenth century Scottish universities were recruiting Scots trained in a German school of historical law that was at its core inspired by the logic of work by Millar and other Scots. “By the later nineteenth century, initial interest in German scholarship had led to a return to something like the historical and Humanist approach to Civil Law that had been introduced through the Dutch law schools. This is a fascinating issue that awaits further research” (*ELEC*, p. xxviii).

**Review Essay:
Jacobitism, Scotland, and the British Army 1701–1776**

By K. W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology & Rutgers University–Newark

Daniel Szechi, *Britain's Lost Revolution? Jacobite Scotland and French Grand Strategy, 1701–8*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015. Pp. xi + 220.

Victoria Henshaw, *Scotland and the British Army, 1700–1750*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2014. Pp. 299.

Mathew P. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015. Pp. xv + 297.

In his stimulating, solidly researched book *Britain's Lost Revolution?*, Daniel Szechi analyzes the events leading to and surrounding the abortive Franco-Jacobite invasion of Scotland in 1708 “as a platform” to evaluate the broader dynamics of the Jacobite movement, the British government’s response to Jacobite intrigues, and what this response reveals about Britain’s internal solidarity at this time. The key question framing the narrative throughout (and one pervading all his other works on the theme) is: “how strong a possibility was a Jacobite revolution”—at this time and, by implication, ever?

The author begins by examining the abortive expedition of 1708—the so-called “Scottish Enterprise”—and its aftermath: the immediate operational reasons for its failure, the Jacobite Court’s response to this lack of success, and their ensuing preparations for a follow-up invasion attempt. Complicating the enterprise from the outset were the usual problems: France’s perennially dire finances, now further overburdened by the Flanders campaign, the fact that the royal navy lacked sufficient warships to meet army requirements, thus forcing reliance on privateers owned by merchant syndicates hardly enthusiastic about invasion attempts, and the chronic unpreparedness and vacillations of Louis XIV’s ministers of state.

These difficulties, in turn, were compounded by French intelligence leaks which facilitated the swift assembly of British squadrons and their departure for Dunkirk, there effectively squelching Franco-Jacobite designs and easing the way for a potential English counter offensive, possibly commanded by Marlborough himself, “the government’s final trump card” (p. 33). Certainly, in closely harrowing the French fleet all the way to Scotland, causing them to overshoot their target landing point on the Firth of Forth, thus preventing the disembarkation of an invasion force, Admiral Byng, the British commander, gave the “*Entreprise d’Ecosse*” its “*coup de grâce*.” Inevitably, further Jacobite plans (1709–1710) for a French expedition were vetoed by Louis XIV’s ministers, leaving them free to conduct separate negotiations with London for an exit from their disastrous conflict in Flanders.

Overall, Szechi attempts to “make the best of a bad job” (p. 39), adopting a “what if” position in his projection of conjectural scenarios based on the self-interested rhetoric of actual conspirators, exaggerated estimates of Jacobite capabilities and commitment, as well as unjustified disparagement of Britain’s military strength in Scotland. Clearly, British forces there, in numbers, training, and resources, were far superior to the rebel army, not to mention the likely presence of pro-government Scots volunteers: hence had an invasion actually occurred, its defeat was practically assured (overly optimistic estimations to the contrary). Szechi appears to have misread verbal flirtation for authentic commitment, promise for performance—forgetting, as Murray Pittock and others have demonstrated, that sympathy for the Jacobite cause did not automatically translate into ready *support*, whether military or financial.

In chapter 3 Szechi explores the internal dynamics of the Jacobite movement for clues as to why its Scottish adherents agreed in the first place to undertake what was clearly a hazardous undertaking, and who exactly in Scotland was most active in plotting against the British Crown. Viewing Jacobitism as a *bona fide* if makeshift political movement, Szechi appreciates its disparate nature: informal coalitions of rival factions and sectarian enclaves interwoven with Catholic, Protestant, and Episcopalian fringe elements, all ostensibly coordinated by the Jacobite court in exile (pp. 78–92). Inevitably, their communication was vitiated by the impracticality of personal emissaries, the cost, delay, and relative insecurity of regular post—ever liable to interception by authorities—not to mention the problematic nature of codes, given the wide availability of experienced code breakers (pp. 75–76).

As for the Scots Jacobite community itself—elite circles especially—internal divisions and clashing aspirations chronically undermined unity and compromised their ability to mobilize adequate support for the cause.

In the remaining chapters, Szechi, drawing on an unprecedented array of sources, explores at length the

key components of the Jacobite agenda—drawing the important conclusion that this agenda was ultimately more complex than conventionally believed. Scottish Jacobites were more than dimly reactionary ultra-royalists, aiming for a simple dynastic restoration. Arguing that the Cavaliers/Jacobites were steeped in the radical political arguments produced by the early Enlightenment, he concludes that they “became in practice a thoroughly country/patriotic party” that worked largely “in a politicized underground world” (p. 113)—a separate sphere in which resides the best evidence of their core objectives. Szechi clarifies these objectives by analyzing the party’s initiatives in the Scots Parliament and their clandestine dealings with the courts of St. Germain and Versailles (pp. 112–38). In many ways, their mindset—classically patriarchal, anti-Presbyterian, self-righteous, nostalgic—mirrored the Jacobite movement as a whole, an affinity that would endow the notion of political insurrection with both an identity and an energizing focus for decades.

Although in his assessment of probabilities Szechi overrates the chances of the 1708 invasion attempt, sees this abortive rising as a potentially major revolution (akin to that of 1688), and is not sufficiently skeptical about the evidence underpinning Jacobite claims, he provides new insights into the intellectual substratum of their political ideas, set within the context of contemporary Scottish ideological and cultural norms. This sophisticated approach usefully expands Jacobite historiography and will no doubt be adopted in future writings on the topic.

Victoria Henshaw’s *Scotland and the British Army* offers an incisive study of the role played by Highland Scots recruited into the British Army between 1700 and 1750. Unlike previous authors, Henshaw covers all the interactive factors shaping this experience, from a combined Scottish and British perspective, thus providing a truly comprehensive picture “of an army at a time of change driven both by the Union and the subsequent Jacobite rebellions” (p. 8). Arguing that the experience of Scots serving in Britain’s military establishment provides a microcosm of Scotland’s relationship with the Act of Union, Henshaw addresses such critical questions as: how did the issue of nationality affect Scots as soldiers, how did Jacobite unrest influence perceptions of government and public toward the loyalty of Scottish recruits and, lastly, how influential was the emerging theme of nationality among Scots in the British army? (p. 9)

In a judicious blend of narrative and analysis, the author demonstrates how the performance of Scots as soldiers both in Britain and abroad answers the question of why they were in such widespread demand. Important was their indigenous military culture which instilled a martial spirit reinforced by notions of honor, loyalty, and dependability, especially among the Highland gentry. A further asset was their familiarity with arms, repeatedly demonstrated bravery on the battlefield, and a uniformly high sense of professionalism, also displayed, incidentally, by fellow Scots recruited to the diplomatic corps (see K. W. Schweizer, *Statesmen, Diplomats and the Press: Essays on 18th-Century Britain*, 2002, pp. 113–30). As for the notion of nationality shaping the identity of Scottish soldiers, there continues fervent debate. Certainly symbols of Highland affiliation (thistles on flags, tartans, bagpipes, etc.) remained distinctive, though other indicators of such affiliation became increasingly fluid, reinforcing Andrew Mackillop’s recent contention that Scots developed a “series of concentric identities and loyalties that could coexist without conflict and could encompass affiliation to family, clan, community, regiment, Scotland and Britain” (in *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550–1990*, ed. Steve Murdoch and A. Mackillop, 2002, pp. 186–92).

Moreover, as is convincingly shown, the unique expansion of Highland regiments between 1740 and 1799 clearly indicates that changes occurred in public and government distrust despite the Jacobite threat. Supplementing importantly the recent work by T. M. Devine, Henshaw illustrates how, together with English units, Scottish battalions came to constitute the military spearhead of Europe, with concomitant martial renown that in turn served to consolidate a wider notion of “national identity” resonating to the present day—while also cementing the Anglo-Scottish relationship, certainly between 1750 and 1914 (see John M. MacKenzie and T. M. Devine, eds., *Scotland and the British Empire*, 2011, pp. 181–94).

As discussed in chapter 2, despite mixed loyalties among some regiments, the level of trust placed by the British army and its commanders in the major regiments (i.e., The Royal Scots, Scots Fusiliers, Scots Grey, and the 43rd) is shown by their key placement in numerous critical campaigns, including those against Jacobite rebels, regardless of nationality. An additional merit of this book is its detailed evaluation in chapter 3 of why and how Scottish senior officers sought advancement within the British state: socially, militarily, and politically. Refracting career trajectories through the variable of nationality, Henshaw examines this synergy via the interactive matrix of family background, career expectations, social norms, personal ambitions, and religious motivations—a thematic approach uniquely different from the rigid, determinist slant of previous accounts (p. 88).

Selecting a number of leading Scottish magnates—including Lord Lovat, the second Earl of Stair, and the second Duke of Argyll—Henshaw uses their lives and careers, from the 1670s to the 1760s, as case studies to highlight similarities and contrasts in their collective attitude toward nationality and the state, as manifested in military service. Although there was some degree of division in allegiance and motivation, for the most part these notables saw military careers as contributing to the continuance of the British state, either in temporary service during periods of Jacobite unrest or in the long-term quests for Britain’s success on the Continent and overseas (pp. 87–117). These “loyalist” motivations for service, so elaborately documented here, offer a potent counterweight to Stuart claims, a conclusion with wide ramifications for pro-Jacobite historiography, including Daniel Szechi’s works (cf. K. W. Schweizer, “Jacobitism and the Historian,” *Canadian Journal of History* 48 [2013]: 442–57).

The closing chapters (4 and 5) usefully expand our knowledge of Scotland's diverse auxiliary forces and military installations, which were vital instruments for demonstrating loyalty to Britain and the Protestant Succession (pp. 146–47, 183–85) by contributing to the suppression of Jacobite insurgency, notably in 1715 and 1745. Altogether, *Scotland and the British Army* is a valuable book; it is lucidly written and soundly researched, and recommended to all scholars and students of eighteenth-century Scotland and the Jacobite experience.

Mathew P. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire and the Highland Soldier in British America* interflows nicely with the books by Szechi and Henshaw. *The Fatal Land* deploys the same solid primary research and analytic framework in order to investigate the careers and performance of Highland soldiers in North America during the eighteenth century, as a better way of understanding colonial assimilation in the Atlantic world. Expanding on the work of Pittock, Stephen Brumwell, John M. McKenzie, and others, Dziennik confirms that Scots serving in America were not pliant subalterns, as formerly believed, but committed imperialists who played a major role in the expansion of Britain's imperial enterprise overseas. Illuminating their diverse motivations, loyalties, and interests, the author demonstrates that social status, intellectual orientation, military ethos, and professionalism were more important than simple ethnic identity in defining Scottish assimilation into that illusive, variegated, and contentious phenomenon known as "Britishness." In the process, he fosters a more nuanced understanding of Scots adaptation to colonial frontiers not only within a military setting but also in other areas of entrepreneurial and intellectual activity. This, in turn, helps deepen our insights into the complex dynamics that drove British imperialism on a global scale, which remains a subject of fervent historical debate.

Read together or singly, these books are impressive exemplars of scholarship and superb introductions to the fascinating, complex, and contentious worlds of eighteenth-century Jacobitism and Scottish military life.

Jean-François Dunyach and Ann Thomson, eds., *The Enlightenment in Scotland: National and International Perspectives*. Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015. Pp. xv + 246.

As Nicholas Phillipson observes in his eloquent foreword to this volume, Jonathan Israel has described the Scottish Enlightenment as a "conservative" event, indebted to a corrupt, London-based Whig ascendancy (p. ix). Its intelligentsia included an elite clique of Kirk ministers, and they were employed by a university system that pandered to market forces. Their movement had nothing of the libertarian panache of the French *philosophes*, with their cosmopolitan scholarship and spirited commitment to regime-shaking ideas. The very emphasis on "improvement" and "politeness" among the *lumières* of Scotland (if such a Continental term can be used) only proves the slavishness of these anglophiles to the social and capital ends of a propertied Union and its slave-trading empire. Indeed, Israel devotes sixty pages to defining the Scottish Enlightenment as a "rationalization of the *ancien régime*." Israel's view is reminiscent of Roy Porter's *Enlightenment: The Creation of the Modern World* (1990), which noted in passing that an Enlightenment distinctive to Scotland did not take place: Scotland's intellectual contributions to the republic of letters and social contributions to national culture (let alone Scottish local or international culture) were negligible, and should be considered *British* in character.

So the present volume is a welcome intervention for Enlightenment studies, and not only for its genuinely cosmopolitan perspective and transnational reach. The substantial introduction and seven chapters, by intellectual and social historians familiar to many members of ECSSS, grew from an animated colloquium that the editors of this volume organized at the Sorbonne in December 2010. It is clear that productive discussion took place among the contributors between the date of their conference and the publication of this book. The contributors acknowledge Roger Emerson, Ned Landsman, Richard Sher, and Charles Withers, among many others who trace different strands of this past; the contributors cite dozens of recent publications, helpfully compiled in a general bibliography. This volume extends a broad reach that accounts for new work; it lays down new directions that may define our field in the coming years, within and beyond intellectual history.

The Enlightenment in Scotland argues for intellectual and social developments in Scotland that spawned important yet unexpected institutional legacies. In the opening chapter on "Applied Enlightenment," Allan Macinnes emphasizes the intellectual and historiographical consequences of William Robertson's leadership of Enlightenment discourse during his joint tenure as the unofficial leader of Kirk power-politics, academic affairs, and associated Scottish publications. For Robertson, Scotland was the true Whig heart of Britain, liberated by Union, bequeathing to all Britons the purest strain of Reformation thought and theology: since Scotland was the only one of the four nations that never had to compromise Whig principles with Toryism (his *History of Scotland* effectively ends in 1603, well before the advent of Jacobitism), we should acknowledge Scotland for all that is right and good in British political economy and moral philosophy. Macinnes shows that this "is an exercise in *belles lettres*, not in historical accuracy," a point that László Kontler takes up by illustrating the complex reception of Robertson on the Continent (p. 24). Kontler shows that Robertson's historical shaping through narrative style and structural "unity of purpose" elicited considerable popularity among German-speaking readers, even as his lack of scholarly traction led to his irrelevance among German historians (p. 115). Macinnes explains the local significance of the related paradox: "as long as [Robertson] was writing history as the progress of society...unchecked landed power was effecting the wholesale removal and relocation of people within Scotland" (p. 24).

If students of Robertson have grown accustomed to associating the Jacobites with backwardness and feu-

dalism, Macinnes explains that it is precisely this Whiggish blindness that has blunted insights that could draw on the cosmopolitan political ideas that expatriate Jacobite commanders developed while abroad. Further, and ironically, Robertson's dominance eclipsed the rightful recognition of local claimants to greatness, "in jurisprudence, architecture, mathematics, astronomy, cartography, political economy, printing, painting, medicine, and biology" (p. 30). As late as 1802, Thomas Telford's report to Parliament predicted social catastrophe in the Highlands, but it was not heeded—due, in part, to a Whig belief in progress that was fortified by canonical writings from Robertson and his coterie (p. 50). Kontler also points to scholarship that shows how Robertson's writing served as "counsel to the statesmen of his day," counsel that justified colonial dominance, and not only in India (p. 120). Macinnes concludes by referring to the local application of Enlightenment principles that generated "national endeavour that required no cloak of British patriotism," nor of a projected Whig "unity of purpose": these included the educational academies in many Scottish towns and the *Statistical Accounts of Scotland*, triumphant models of social utility on local moral grounds (p. 57).

Kontler's subtle analysis of Robertson's reception in the German states encourages us to think about the nature and meaning of intellectual influence. In similar ways, Girolamo Imbruglia shows that the political economy of Hume and Ferguson encouraged a reflective culture on civil society and historical self-consciousness among Neapolitan intellectuals associated with Ginovesi—both within and beyond the social circles described by John Robertson in his 2005 book *The Case for Enlightenment* (p. 153). This was important because it encouraged an understanding of current politics in Naples that explained why "conflict and liberty, not laws and power, had to be the subject of philosophical history" (p. 161). This helped to clarify the social value of civic society among intellectuals, legislators, and readers, at a particularly salient moment in its national history. Alexander Broadie shows that in a merely superficial way, Israel is right: Scotland's national legal, religious, and academic institutions fostered the career of every key figure among the *litterati*. Yet, importantly, the "Scottish school" shaped those institutions to promote Hume's "science of man," using the very experimental method of reasoning that they offered in print—even when many of these men, such as Reid and Hume, vehemently disagreed on essential philosophical principles.

In a rather different way, Michel Malherbe provides a stimulating, if apparently hermetic, close reading of a French commentary on Adam Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments* that was circulated among the revolutionary *Idéologues* from 1798 and remained the standard translation for two centuries. Sophie de Grouchy (widow of Condorcet and Cabanis's sister-in-law) was a leading Jacobin *salonnière*, who orchestrated critical discussion of Smith's concept of sympathy in ways previous translations could not do. Malherbe proposes that Grouchy's translation, with interpretive supplements, challenged Smith in ways that may have led to the Republic's adoption of *fraternité* as a matter of law, based on its conceptualization of fellow-feeling in terms of civic moral identity. But unlike Kontler and Imbruglia, Malherbe's discussion is, ultimately, a case study in editorial practice whose implied concept of Enlightenment cannot develop beyond critical speculation. Malherbe concedes that *fraternité* does not appear in Grouchy's translation, just as "fraternity" does not appear in Smith's work (p. 141). In this way, Malherbe's essay is unique among these chapters. Colin Kidd's "microclimatic" study of counter-Enlightenment ecclesiastical politics in Renfrewshire clarifies the social and intellectual forces that helped prepare fertile ground for Enlightenment thought and policy elsewhere. Providing "significant evidence which undercuts firmly established assumptions about the defining characteristics of Scotland's Enlightenment," Kidd shows how to demystify specters of dismissal through well-informed skepticism. Mark Spencer's clarification of the ways in which John Witherspoon and the lesser-known William Smith and Francis Alison anticipated Benjamin Rush's call to transform Philadelphia into the "*Edinburgh of America*," by educating a generation of American revolutionaries on Edinburgh pedagogical principles that cultivated "the science of man," may be the most cogent explanation of the transnational nature of "Enlightenment experience" (p. 181), restoring the importance of national character to the generation and spread of Scottish ideas.

Adam Budd, University of Edinburgh

Hideo Tanaka, *What is the Scottish Enlightenment?: Principles of Modern Society*. Kyoto: Minervashobo, 2014. Pp. xii + 325. (In Japanese)

Since the publication in 1991 of Hideo Tanaka's *Studies in the Intellectual History of the Scottish Enlightenment: Civilized Society and Its Political Constitution* (in Japanese), the first Japanese book with the term "The Scottish Enlightenment" in its main title, Tanaka has continued to publish many papers and monographs on this topic. He has been particularly interested in John Millar, who was featured in his *Enlightenment and Reform: Studies on John Millar* (1999, in Japanese) and "Liberty and Equality: Liberal Democratic Ideas in John Millar," which appeared in a volume he co-edited with Tatsuya Sakamoto, titled *The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2003). He is also known as a translator of eighteenth-century Scottish texts (e.g. Hutcheson's *Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy*, Hume's *Political Discourses*) as well as modern studies relating to the Scottish Enlightenment (e.g., J.G.A. Pocock, *The Machiavellian Moment* and Duncan Forbes, *Hume's Philosophical Politics*).

The book under review is a sequel to Tanaka's 1991 book. The table of contents of that initial work is outlined here: 1. Union Issues and Fletcher's Vision, 2. Oeconomicks, Jurisprudence and Politics in Hutcheson, 3.

Jacobitism and Its Overcoming [David Hume and Lord Kames], 4. Development of the Theories of Political Economy and the History of the Formation of the Modern Society [Hume, Montesquieu, Voltaire, and Bolingbroke], 5. Entailment Debates [Sir John Dalrymple and Lord Kames], 6. Rousseau's Impact and Pessimism about Commercial Civilization [Kames, Monboddo, Smith, Ferguson, and Millar], and 7. American Controversies and the Constitutional Unbalance [Kames, Franklin, Hume, Tucker and Smith]. The last of these themes, American controversies, is developed further in another of Tanaka's recent works: *The American Enlightenment and the Scottish Connection, 1723–1801* (2012, in Japanese).

What is the Scottish Enlightenment? concentrates on Scottish moral philosophy. There are ten chapters: 1. Government and Economic Reform of the Third Duke of Argyll, 2. The Natural Jurisprudence of Gershom Carmichael, 3. The Moral Philosophy of Francis Hutcheson, 4. George Turnbull as the Father of the Aberdeen Enlightenment, 5. The Historical Significance and Modern Meaning of Hume's *Political Discourses*, 6. Republicanism and Political Economy in Adam Smith, 7. Contexts of Adam Ferguson's *Essay on the History of the Civil Society*, 8. Thomas Reid and the Scottish Enlightenment, 9. Practical Ethics and Economic Knowledge in Thomas Reid, and 10. "Politics" and "Science" in John Millar. While not denying the traditional view that sees Francis Hutcheson as the "father" of the Scottish Enlightenment, Tanaka (following the interpretation of Roger Emerson) begins his account by discussing the third Duke of Argyll as "another father" of the movement, stressing the importance of the role of patronage in university and church politics. As Gershom Carmichael, the first professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow, was regarded as the scholar who first introduced continental natural jurisprudence to that university, his general ideas are reviewed by utilizing his commentaries on Pufendorf (in *Natural Rights on the Threshold of the Scottish Enlightenment: The Writings of Gershom Carmichael*, ed. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne, 2002). While Tanaka's 1991 treatise regarded Hutcheson as a "Commonwealthman," this sequel stresses the influence on Hutcheson of the Irish republican Robert Molesworth and his circle. George Turnbull, who was also influenced by Molesworth, is presented as an early Scottish Enlightenment thinker who introduced the experimental method of inquiry into moral philosophy around the same time as Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, and Tanaka makes an attempt to place him at the beginning of the Aberdeen Enlightenment by referring to his educational reforms. While Tanaka discussed the general ideas of Hume's principles of modern society in chapter 4 of his 1991 book, here he focuses on Hume's *Political Discourses* in order to demonstrate its enormous importance for the systematic or theoretical approach to political economy.

Chapter 6 develops the idea that the birth of political economy occurred at the crossroads of the traditions of natural jurisprudence and civic humanism. The focus is on Adam Smith, the fourth professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow University, by clarifying his role as an advocate of civic virtue. The archetype of civic humanism among Scottish intellectuals was Adam Ferguson, professor of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh, who is contrasted to Hume and Smith as an adamant supporter of British policy during the American controversy. Another feature of Tanaka's second intellectual history of the Scottish Enlightenment is its coverage in chapters 8 and 9 of Thomas Reid, Smith's successor as professor of moral philosophy at Glasgow, whose life and jurisprudential ideas are summarized by utilizing Reid's *Practical Ethics* (ed. Knud Haakonssen, 1990). Because he has already analyzed John Millar's two great works (*The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* and *An Historical View of the English Government*) in his *Enlightenment and Reform* (1999), Tanaka here attempts to evaluate Millar's position in the history of social thought by comparing the studies of three modern Millar scholars: Duncan Forbes, Michael Ignatieff, and Knud Haakonssen. He considers Forbes and Haakonssen's natural jurisprudential approach more persuasive than Ignatieff's civic humanist approach, although his general conclusions concerning the ideas of the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers appear to aim at an interpretation based on the tension between these two approaches.

What is the Scottish Enlightenment? should be regarded as papers on the intellectual history of the Scottish Enlightenment that complement Tanaka's 1991 work. There is less story-telling compared with his first book, and some important elements are required to answer the provocative title question. The following comments can be considered as desiderata: 1. The latent theme of "patronage and enlightenment" might be developed more fully if Tanaka would elaborate on the reason for his appreciation of Millar's radical political thought, on the grounds that Millar was less dependent on patronage than other Scottish literati. 2. Although we can sympathize with the interpretation of eighteenth-century Scottish thought as lying at the "crossroads" of the two traditions of jurisprudence and civic humanism, Tanaka's emphasis on the importance of republicanism or civic virtue in the case of Adam Smith is not persuasive. It must, if possible, be reinforced by Smith's arguments in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, but I think it should be reconsidered by revisiting Part VI of the final edition of that work, on the character of virtue. 3. Regarding Reid's philosophy, the two relevant chapters deal only with his "practical ethics." Attention must be given to his final work on *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (1788) in order to understand his approach to ethics, which is quite different from the approaches of Smith and Millar. 4. Although Tanaka dealt with "Religion in the Scottish Enlightenment" in chapter 5 of an earlier work, *Transformation in the Science of Society: From Natural Law to Social Science* (2002, in Japanese), with a focus on the Moderate literati, such as William Leechman and Alexander Gerard, religious and church-related problems are slighted in his general approach to the Scottish Enlightenment. By extending the final stage of Scottish Enlightenment to Dugald Stewart (Ferguson's successor at Edinburgh University), who inherited Reid's philosophy and Smith's political economy and severely

criticized the reactionary attitude of the Moderate party in the Church of Scotland, one could elucidate the transformation of the evangelicals in the church, and along with it new aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Hisashi Shinohara, Kwansai Gakuin University

Aaron Garrett and James A. Harris, eds., *Scottish Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century: Morals, Politics, Art, Religion, Volume 1*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. ix + 482.

Aaron Garrett and James A. Harris's introductory chapter to the first of two volumes on eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy rightly questions "the need for another survey" (p. 2) of this kind. It is an apt concern given the "explosion of secondary literature" (p. 1) on the Scottish Enlightenment, its canonical figures such as Adam Smith, David Hume, Thomas Reid, and Francis Hutcheson, and their connections with earlier English thinkers such as John Locke and Thomas Hobbes, and later, the French *philosophes*. "What then," the editors ask—and I'll add, what then *in addition to* re-introducing, re-surveying, re-generalizing the primary tenets of our field—"is this new history of Scottish philosophy...meant to achieve?" (p. 2).

The answer to this question is implicit in the asking: Garrett and Harris move smartly from the "why" of the first issue—*why* another survey?—to the "new[er]," because far more capacious, question of "what": *What* is our field? *What* was it; and *what* can it become? How does the object of Scottish philosophy change both historically and in the course of our own philosophical practice? What this anthology delivers then, and with an abundance of opportunity for still "new[er]" work to come, is a multi-perspectival challenge to concepts that not only were key to the unusually wide array of philosophical figures included in the book but also are essential to the way in which we distinguish what counts as "a useable past" (p. 2). This book reflects carefully on the specificity and duration of the past and problems of historical method, of temporal experience, and of social progress, in addition to questioning the very concept of the Enlightenment as a unified historical epoch. Besides putting on the scholarly agenda the problem of *time*, it offers by turns similarly challenging essays on the equally pressing issues of *category* and *scale*.

When was the Scottish Enlightenment? What kind of writing do we find there? How much of it, and from whom, do we include? But these are questions just as easily asked of previous anthologies. The re-writing of these questions in the current text operates at a far richer, more nuanced, and updated level: to what effect is the "when" of history addressed in eighteenth-century Scotland, not just by a handful of well-worked philosophical figures but by *all of them*, or as many as we can find, even and perhaps especially those who were not subject to the disciplinary straightjackets fitted to the academic specialists who came after the Enlightenment. The definition Garrett and Harris give of the field is thus also apt: the "philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment is *all that happened*, philosophically speaking, in that place at that time" (p. 4; emphasis added). The book's editors know, and Paul Wood's exceptionally keen "postscript" reminds us, that the "term 'philosophy' was configured differently in the eighteenth century compared to current definitions of the boundary of the discipline" (p. 453). And, as the subtitle to volume 1 of this project suggests, there is no reason save academic habit to limit philosophy to philosophers as we attempt to account for "all" the philosophical figures of the Enlightenment.

The book contains an introduction and twelve chapters, with Wood's postscript being the twelfth. Only four of the contributors come from philosophy departments; the majority are from history, political science, and English. And while four of the major Scottish Enlightenment figures mentioned above get individual chapters concentrating, *inter alia*, on their own diverse corpus, there are also in-depth and highly associative chapters that consider Gershom Carmichael, George Campbell, Alexander Gerard, George Turnbull, David Fordyce, James Beattie, Adam Ferguson, James Dunbar, William Robertson, and James Hutton, among others.

In chapter 1, Roger L. Emerson looks widely at the intellectual opportunities in and around Scotland, specifically Dutch and continental connections, in a rapidly changing world. Chapters 2 (Daniel Carey), 5 (Harris and Mikko Tolonen), 6 (Jeffrey M. Suderman), and 7 (Garrett and Ryan Hanley) focus on the canonical figures: Hutcheson, Hume, and Smith. Here we see adept formulations of moral sense theory—a highlight being Hutcheson's sympathy for the multitudes of poor, later qualified by Smith—as well as Hume's (and Kames's) relation to orthodox Whiggism and to Calvinist and Presbyterian influences, and Smith's familiar project of normative sympathy. The inextricably related problems of moral philosophy and aesthetics enjoy pride of place as early in the book as chapter 3 (Garrett and Colin Haydt), while the Scottish Enlightenment is similarly connected in chapter 4 (Gordon Graham) to Kant's arguments regarding the distinction of right and good as produced from our sense of the beautiful and sublime.

The remaining chapters move in a similarly expansive direction. For example, chapter 8 (Christopher J. Berry) emphasizes Smith and his cohort's rejection of the social contract, with implications ranging from Hobbes to Rousseau. While this rejection is, *contra* Hobbes, anti-materialist in nature, it is also, once again, normative, institutional, and ultimately, commercial. Like chapter 8 (and chap. 7, on impartiality in Smith), chapter 10 (Emma Macleod) marks the Scottish Enlightenment's capacity to produce normative judgment, only more critically. The context here is the American and French revolutions, specifically the opposing positions taken up by Ferguson and Richard Price, with some attention to John Millar on the question of American slavery.

Along with the volume's introduction and postscript, chapters 9 (Silvia Sebastiani) and 11 (Paul Wood) are particular highlights. Sebastiani considers the issue of Scottish historical method, conceptions of progress and,

indeed, historical failure, as these issues pertain to the fate of Rome in Hume, Smith, Millar, and most interestingly of all, Ferguson. Scottish philosophy was not unequivocally sanguine about the balance of a market economy with social justice, freedom, and the requirements of citizenship (for Ferguson, “martial virtue”). These Enlightenment ideals indeed held in check and at times directly (even violently) confronted the only seemingly inexorable march of early modern capitalism. Sebastiani’s addition to the conflicts, and sometimes, the carnage of commercial progress as it actually existed, includes the relation between commerce and women, as well as the masculine features of chivalry in James Macpherson’s Ossianic poetry. This chapter exemplifies the editors’ intention to go beyond the traditional philosophical canon of the Scottish Enlightenment.

It is therefore important to note the placement of Wood’s focus on Reid and the common sense school in chapter 11. If, as I have suggested following Garrett and Harris’s cue, what’s “new” about this volume is its accommodation of alternate measures of *time* (extended periods), *category* (inter-disciplinarity *avant les lettres*), and *scale* (lots of non-canonical writers), then it is appropriate that the book end with a figure whose work lends itself to the challenges of enlarging the frame of focus of the field, its as-yet distinguished plentitude, or put simply, its *quantifiably* growing set of features and coordinates. Wood’s focus on Reid offers a *mathematical* turn, suggesting that “we put the science back into the Scottish Enlightenment’s ‘science of man’” (p. 405). Not Glasgow or Edinburgh but Aberdeen emerges as the proving grounds for a critical encounter between nine principles of common sense (among them, a special denunciation of “conjectures” [p. 426]) and Hume’s skeptical doubts on the nature of the self [p. 420]). The chapter should have special resonance for scholars today working in “new” Enlightenment territories such as digital humanities, though that resonance is left for others to describe. Reading backwards, as I did, from chapter 11, with Reid’s notion of “Queries with respect to infinite series” (quoted on p. 414), or Reid’s appeal to Newton and Bacon against (Spinoza’s) materialism in mind (p. 435), or the Wise Club’s emphasis on “the means of carrying” (p. 423) philosophy forth, I began to see the capaciousness of this volume more clearly.

Emerson’s insistence on a “world” view of the Scottish Enlightenment (chap. 1), Berry’s focus on “time and custom” as a feature of law (chap. 8), Garrett and Heydt’s refusal to adhere to the late divide between philosophy and aesthetics, indeed all the book’s chapters, produce an effect of not simply introducing but opening up the Scottish Enlightenment to a “multipl[icity]” (Wood’s word, p. 464) of interpretive (in the Baconian sense) choices. The Marischal College mathematician’s unusual focus on “Mathematical Calculation in Subjects of Morality” (quoted on p. 414) encapsulates the critical spirit and the letter of the Scottish Enlightenment that this volume both represents and rediscovers.

Mike Hill, University at Albany, SUNY

Jacqueline A. Taylor, *Reflecting Subjects: Passion, Sympathy, and Society in Hume’s Philosophy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. xiii + 196.

Jacqueline Taylor’s study of Hume’s theory of the passions and its relation to his ethical theory focuses on Books 2 and 3 of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, on *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, and (in the last chapter) on selected essays from *Essays, Moral, Political and Literary*. Taylor finds a social theory in the account of the passions in Book 2 of the *Treatise*. She argues that there is an important development in Hume’s ethical theory from its first formulation in Book 3 of the *Treatise* to its recasting in the later moral *Enquiry*. And she sees the concept of “humanity,” which is central in the later book, as providing Hume with a normative ethics that is still relevant today. The title, *Reflecting Subjects*, underscores the centrality of *sympathy* in Hume’s account of how passions and sentiments, including moral sentiments, are transferred from one person to another, and then are reinforced as they are “mirrored” back.

Taylor’s discussion of Hume’s theory of the passions focuses on what Hume called the “indirect passions”: pride, shame, esteem, and contempt. She argues that Hume’s account of the causes of these passions, namely the “double relations of impressions and ideas,” is highly original. On Hume’s initial account we can take pride in anything so long as it is related to the self and has the property of generating pleasure. Taylor maintains in her first chapter that the significance of Hume’s application of “experimental reasoning” in discovering these causes lies in the fact that they are efficient, rather than final, causes. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Hume did not hold that our passions are designed by the Deity to be useful to us. She shows how he applies Baconian experimental methods in expanding his basic associational account of the double relations to reveal how further principles of the faculty of imagination—including sympathy, general (cultural) rules, and comparison—are required for maintaining these passions.

Taylor’s aim in the second and third chapters is “to reconstruct the elements of Hume’s social theory” (p. 33). By a social theory Taylor means “an explanation of the indirect passions in relation to the distribution of wealth and property and other forms of social power” (p. 34). She holds that, like other writers of the Scottish Enlightenment, “Hume is interested in the causes, nature, and effects of social stratification” (p. 77). Because the strength of sympathy varies in transferring beliefs as well as passions, pride, shame, esteem, and contempt are socially conditioned. Both sympathy and general (cultural) rules play a central role in forming views about who merits esteem and who should show deference to that person. While the general principles causing pride and shame are universal, they allow for great cultural and intra-cultural variation. Education plays a central role in determining specific qualities for which we esteem others or take pride in ourselves. However, there are other qualities such as

wealth, property, moral character, and social power that have a degree of universality in all cultures.

The last half of Taylor's book discusses Hume's ethical theory. She argues that there are difficulties in Hume's account of moral evaluation in Book 3 of the *Treatise*, which were corrected in the later discussion in the *Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*. These concern Hume's account of how we arrive at an impartial moral judgment, even though moral judgment is based on sympathy. In the *Treatise* Hume notes that a correction is needed in our moral sentiments, since sympathy is much greater for those who are closely related to us than for those at a distance. He argues that through dialogue with others we reach a common moral judgment based on persons who are affected by the actions of those we are morally evaluating—what Hume calls the person's "narrow circle." Taylor contends that since the "affective responses" of those surrounding the agent may themselves be distorted by factors such as the eloquence of the agent, his ability to "dazzle" those around him, and cultural norms, they may not be a proper guide for judging the agent's virtues and vices. She discusses a woman who is considered "uppity" by her peers, in a society where women are expected to play a subservient role (p. 116). Moreover, "eloquence and zealousness can also make sympathy partial, persuading us to take up causes or side with a party or faction" (p. 125).

Taylor argues that Hume corrected these problems in his later moral *Enquiry* by stressing the role of reason as well as sentiment in arriving at a proper moral point of view. Arriving at a common moral judgment now involves active debate and discussion on the part of moral judges. "We rely on reason and reflection on past experience" to discover the results of a certain trait in different societies (p. 123). By focusing on the sentiment of *humanity*, which leads to "a felt concern on our part for the misery others suffer, such that we blame the cause of it" (p. 126), Hume finds a sufficient basis to reach a judicious moral judgment that can critically assess the beliefs and attitudes of those in the agent's narrow circle.

While it is certainly true that in the moral *Enquiry* Hume dispensed with the details of his earlier account of the mechanism of sympathy and its corrections, it is less clear than Taylor maintains that Hume's view of moral evaluation has substantially changed. In both works dialogue is fundamental to reaching "a common point of view"—though as Taylor correctly points out, Hume stresses the function of our moral language of evaluation and the use of reason in the *Enquiry*, and not in the *Treatise*. But I would insist that in the *Treatise* the common point of view arrives at the "interests and pleasures" of those affected by the agent, not their beliefs and attitudes (T 3.3.1.30). Public utility plays a central role in both books in evaluating an agent's character. In neither book is it the beliefs and attitudes of those who are downtrodden and who accept their lower social status that provide the basis for Hume's common moral point of view. I think Taylor misses the significance of Hume's appeal to "extensive sympathy" as the basis for moral judgment in the *Treatise*. Its essence lies not in our sharing the present sentiments of those with whom we sympathize, but rather in their *interests*, past, present, and future. As Hume implies in his discussion of pity in the *Treatise*, it is through extensive sympathy that I come to "concern myself" in the good fortune as well as the bad of the person stuck in a life of poverty (T 2.2.9.14).

In the last two chapters Taylor argues that the sentiment of "humanity" as developed in Hume's moral *Enquiry*, as well as in a number of his essays, "is a central concept of the Enlightenment, with continuing significance for us today" (p. 161). As a moral sentiment, it leads us to judge those virtues based on utility and general happiness as superior to the values of the ancients, which focused especially on martial courage. She argues that while Hume's normative ethics is pluralistic, allowing that different circumstances favor different social norms, it is not relativistic. Hume's ethics of humanity allows for moral progress through a dynamic process of social communication. Taylor contends that through moral dialogue the meanings of our evaluative words are expanded to become more inclusive.

Jacqueline Taylor's book provides a rich and profound study of Hume's ethics, moral psychology, and moral sociology. It shows an excellent grasp of Hume's texts, the secondary literature on Hume, as well as the historical background of his views. It is written in a lively and entertaining style which will engage not only those who are interested in Hume's contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment but also those who consider Hume as a philosopher who can make contributions to contemporary ethics.

John P. Wright, Central Michigan University

George Turnbull, *Education for Life: Correspondence and Writings on Religion and Practical Philosophy*. Edited with an Introduction by M. A. Stewart and Paul Wood. Latin texts translated by Michael Silverthorne. Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2014. Pp. xxxii + 468.

More than two decades have elapsed since the editors of this volume, M. A. Stewart and Paul Wood, made their first major contributions to restoring George Turnbull to his rightful place among the intellectual founders of the Scottish Enlightenment—a place largely overlooked by scholars, with the notable exception of James McCosh in *The Scottish Philosophy* (1875), until the last decades of the twentieth century (p. ix). Now Stewart and Wood offer another major contribution to the restoration project: this, the latest and most ambitious of the editions of Turnbull's works published since 2003 in the Liberty Fund's Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics series, edited by Knud Haakonsen.

Each of the previous editions in the series suggests Turnbull's importance in the history of a particular academic domain: educational theory (2003, ed. Terrence O. Moore), moral philosophy and natural theology

(2005, ed. Alexander Broadie), and natural law (2008, ed. Thomas Ahnert and Peter Schröder). The diverse collection of texts included in this edition, by contrast, illuminates Turnbull's biography and a multiplicity of intellectual projects: theological, historiographical, pedagogical, and aesthetic, among others. The contents include twenty letters by Turnbull to various correspondents; Turnbull's published academic theses from the 1720s (translated from the Latin by Michael Silverthorne); an incomplete, anonymous manuscript ("The Religion of the State") discovered in Aberdeen University Library in 1982 and attributed to Turnbull by the editors; three Christian apologetic texts (*A Philosophical Enquiry concerning the Connexion between the Miracles and Doctrines of Jesus Christ*; *Christianity Neither False nor Useless, Tho' Not as Old as the Creation*; and *An Impartial Enquiry into the Moral Character of Jesus Christ*); the dedication and preface to Turnbull's *Three Dissertations* (a work that includes Turnbull's English translations of extracts from French texts on aesthetic subjects by Vertot, Fraguier, Du Bos, and Boindin); the Prefatory Discourse on the study of history, which introduces Turnbull's translation of Justin's *Epitome of the Philippic Histories* by Pompeius Trogus; and three significant extracts from Turnbull's *Treatise on Ancient Painting*. From the broad perspective afforded by this collection, Turnbull emerges as, in Stewart and Wood's words, "an exemplar of the enlightened virtuoso" (p. xxvi): a "Scotsman on the make" (p. xxv), whose "intellectual identity was defined by his formative experiences as a student at Edinburgh and his understanding of the relations between the different branches of human learning" (p. xvi).

The value of this beautifully produced volume is obvious throughout. The introduction contains the best available biography of Turnbull, and several of the texts appear in print here for the first time. The transcriptions of Turnbull's (hitherto mostly unpublished) letters, which include one to John Toland (1670–1722), three to Robert, 1st Viscount Molesworth (1656–1725), and nine to Charles Mackie (1688–1770), among others, are—as Stewart and Wood have also shown elsewhere—indispensable for anyone wishing to understand Turnbull's intellectual connections and to assess his significance in the Scottish Enlightenment. Like that of many of the letters, the editors' transcription of "The Religion of the State" makes available a hitherto unpublished manuscript: in this case, one that the editors believe should be identified with the "Small Treatise" mentioned by Turnbull in a letter to Molesworth. Silverthorne's translation of Turnbull's 1723 *Theses philosophicae de scientiae naturali cum philosophia morali conjunctione* (*Philosophical Theses: On the Association of Natural Science with Moral Philosophy*) and his 1726 *Theses academicae de pulcherrima mundi cum materialis tum rationalis constitutione* (*Academical Theses: On the Most Beautiful Structure of the Material and the Rational World*) makes those two rare texts available in English for the first time.

The other texts, all printed in English during Turnbull's lifetime, are currently also available in facsimile versions via Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO) or other digital collections. Stewart and Wood's meticulous and elaborately annotated editions of these texts are nonetheless indispensable. Admittedly, they are not critical editions in the strict sense; so anyone interested in seeing the differences among the various editions, impressions, states, or issues will of course need to consult eighteenth-century copies. But Stewart and Wood do describe each text's publishing history, and, in cases where they have based their edition on one of several available versions, summarize the differences and explain their choice. They have also supplied every text with copious, detailed notes. These explain Turnbull's references and allusions to people, texts, and other subjects; offer a variety of bibliographical observations; and provide cross-references to other texts by Turnbull, including those elsewhere in the volume. They are complemented by a bibliography of all primary and secondary sources mentioned in the volume, as well as a detailed index.

Simon Grote, Wellesley College

Richard B. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh Classic Editions. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xxxix + 390.

1985 turned out to be an especially important year for this reviewer's understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment. In the autumn of that year, with no previous exposure to Scottish history, I enrolled in a special subject with the disarming title "Culture and Society in Eighteenth- and Early Nineteenth-Century Scotland," taught by Nicholas Phillipson at the University of Edinburgh. Two important new publications which appeared that same year quickly found their way into the course's bibliography, instantly becoming essential reading for those of us attempting to make sense of this subject for the first time. One, John Robertson's *The Scottish Enlightenment and the Militia Issue*, offered an innovative way of thinking about political discourse in Scotland between the Union debates and the later eighteenth century. The other, Rick Sher's *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment*, sought to provide a coherent analysis of the activities, experiences, and values of a tight-knit band of Moderate clergy who were portrayed as more or less the beating heart of enlightened Scottish society. Far more than just a group biography, Sher's book investigated some of the crucial inner mechanisms of Edinburgh's intellectual life in the middle and later years of the eighteenth century, based as it largely was on sociable interaction and common endeavors binding certain individuals together and allowing them to generate some of the characteristic ideas and assumptions of what would later come to be seen as the Scottish Enlightenment.

Thirty years on, *Church and University* has become a standard text, and it rightly continues to dominate the field. Much of this is because of the secure foundations on which it originally built and which Sher was also at pains to acknowledge in the first edition: in particular the influence of the Moderate clergy in forming and shaping

the Scottish Enlightenment rested on their emergence as a controlling force in the Kirk, a process illuminated by Ian D. L. Clark's previous work on their party organization, while Sher's own earlier encounter with Phillipson's class at Edinburgh as a visiting graduate student from the University of Chicago had also had a decisive impact on his whole approach to the understanding of enlightened culture and society in Scotland as being based essentially on politeness and sociability. Yet the work's continuing importance has also arisen out of certain organizational features that Sher decided to build into his book, which were in most cases to be of considerable practical usefulness to others commencing work in this area. In particular, it is noteworthy for offering a comprehensive bibliographical analysis of the field as it then stood (the 2015 edition offers an extremely valuable update in the preface, including links to web-based reading lists, as well as some characteristically clear judgments about where the scholarship in this area has since been trending). I doubt very much that I can be the only person who, when asked by students where to begin thinking about the modern historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment, has become accustomed to telling them simply: "basically, Sher."

Church and University has also been so influential for so long because it was able to develop a convincing portrait of a set of highly active clergymen, as much politicians and professors as pastors and preachers, whose individual characters are sufficiently sensed—the peppery Adam Ferguson, the courtly and astute statesman William Robertson, the cultivated and observant minister Alexander Carlyle, etc.—even as it is possible to appreciate how their shared values also made them such natural and effective bedfellows. Certain aspects of their outlook and achievements stand out in Sher's analysis and actually provide the structure around which the book's interpretation evolves. The Moderate literati came from similar backgrounds and enjoyed similar educations and early careers. They were instinctively conservative on matters like political reform and the American Revolution, yet clearly sympathetic toward Roman Catholic relief and deeply suspicious about the unlovely tradition of Kirk-imposed persecution. They were from the outset deeply embedded in the key Edinburgh institutions (informal as well as official), with organizations like the pro-militia Poker Club dear to their hearts and Scottish patriotism a prime motivator in their actions. They also consistently used the pulpit and the lecture hall as well as their successful publications, polemical as much as scholarly, to advance the causes of polite culture and toleration as well as of Presbyterianism, Unionism, and the House of Hanover. Above all they embodied, as Sher's final sub-section argues, the spirit of the age in Edinburgh: "Moderatism" was their "ideology," and it was this that helped transform "their church, their college, their city, and their country into centers of enlightened ideas and values" (p. 328).

The passage of three decades also allows us to appreciate how Sher's work has itself encouraged others to explore related questions in the history of the eighteenth-century established Scottish church which might otherwise never even have been considered without the powerful stimulus it has provided—notably John R. McIntosh on the Moderates' internal ecclesiastical opponents in *Church and Theology in Enlightenment Scotland: The Popular Party, 1740–1800* (1998) and more recently the excellent *Enlightened Evangelicalism: The Life and Thought of John Erskine* (2011), an intellectual biography of one of the Popular Party's leading lights by Jonathan Yeager. Yet as Sher notes in his new preface, one glaring lacuna remains in the form of full-length modern biographical studies of the leading Moderates, with Home and Carlyle having been relatively poorly served in the scholarly literature as a whole. We also still understand the precise relationship between theology and philosophy and broader intellectual life in the Scottish Enlightenment but imperfectly. It is earnestly to be hoped that anyone looking back in another thirty years' time will not be able to say the same.

David Allan, University of St Andrews

Morrice McCrae, *Saving the Army: The Life of Sir John Pringle*. Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd., 2015. Pp. ix + 214.

A few biographical facts are inevitably mentioned when the Scottish physician Sir John Pringle (1707–1782) is introduced: he was a personal physician to George III and he was president of the Royal Society from 1772 to 1778. He also wrote an important book about infectious disease within large groups, *Observations on the Diseases of the Army* (1752). Though highly regarded during his lifetime, Pringle's theoretical and therapeutic ideas have been discarded with the passing of time. The question left to historians might be: is he, like some Enlightenment Kim Kardashian, simply notable for being famous, or do his ideas about illness represent an important topic within the history of medicine?

Morrice McCrae's new biography of Pringle answers this question in a fairly categorical way. Pringle, as the title implies, sought to save the British army—or, at least a part of it during the mid-century campaigns in the Low Countries and in Scotland. As physician general on several campaigns, he had authority over hospital care and some influence over circumstances affecting the health of the troops. The bulk of this biography is focused on the campaigns that Pringle witnessed during the War of the Austrian Succession and the Jacobite uprising of 1745–46, as well as on the medical treatise that he drew from these experiences, which was largely responsible for his subsequent rise.

Casualty figures seem to show that fewer soldiers perished after Pringle's reforming sanitary measures were enacted, and these statistics may be evidence of their efficacy (p. 85). The case for Pringle's medical significance could have benefited from slightly broader focus. How did Pringle's improvements fit within the broader agenda of the Hanoverian dynasty's martial reforms? How lasting was their influence within the military? To what extent were they related to existing Enlightenment attempts to impose order on the human environment? The last

of these questions may be more important to an understanding of Pringle's ideas, and his eventual celebrity, than the author realizes. Pringle was not the first to notice that people crowded together in dirty conditions get sick, or the first to attempt to mitigate the putrid vapors thought responsible for the spread of fever.

The categorical belief in Pringle's originality stems from a particular historiographical approach. "When Pringle studied medicine at Leiden" we are told, "nothing was yet known about the true nature of disease" (p. 20). Likewise, "The management of illness was still based on the ancient theory of the four bodily humours" (p. 33). Or, "Physicians were uneasy that their treatments were derived from a model of disease that had been created not on the basis of observation and experience but by the exercise of 'pure reason'." (p. 36) All these statements contain a measure of truth, but without substantial qualification, they obscure at least as much as they reveal. All are intended to emphasize Pringle's singular prescience as a "medical scientist" (p. 114). We are repeatedly reminded of Pringle's avowed Baconianism, as if the charge of excessive theorizing weren't a stick perennially used to beat the previous generation of medical thinkers.

More to the point, if we believe that historical conceptions of disease hold no value, then how much can we hope to learn about early modern physicians? Pringle, like other members of his profession, founded his practice on experience and on testimony considered reliable. Pringle's published and unpublished work is full of citations of medical opinion that would now be considered dubious—assuming (as many still seem to) that a physician's contribution to posterity is the measure of his or her value as a historical subject.

Eighteenth-century scholars hoping to extend their understanding of this prominent physician may find a few new insights. In many cases, these are not well documented. For instance, we are told that Pringle spent the two years following his medical training at Leiden "visiting the wards of the huge state hospitals in Paris and adding to his experience in the craft of medicine" (p. 19), and that Pringle was embarrassed at his early dependence on an elder brother (pp. 46, 113). Neither claim is referenced, though either (as far as I am aware) represents a useful contribution to Pringle scholarship.

In this short biography, much space is given to lengthy accounts of battles, genealogy, and hasty summaries of medical history. Little is spent extending the paths started by previous historians or opening new ones. This is unfortunate because Pringle is a figure worthy of further study—an extraordinarily well-connected bachelor philosopher who was dedicated to advancing himself as a discreet and knowledgeable counselor (which is what, in large part, the eighteenth-century physician was).

A casual reader with an interest in major figures in Scottish medicine will likely find this an interesting account. A historian hoping to learn more about medical circumstances in the army in the mid-to-late eighteenth century will find useful information. However, at a time when ever more historians of medicine are exploring neglected areas far beyond Pringle's comfortable Pall Mall residence, the full significance of this wealthy, scowling Scottish natural philosopher is likely to go unappreciated for some time longer.

Erich Weidenhammer, University of Toronto

Robert Woods and Chris Galley, *Mrs Stone & Dr Smellie: Eighteenth-Century Midwives and Their Patients*. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014. Pp. 544 + xii.

If "portmanteau books" were a genre, then this book would be a prime example. It blends extensive, sometimes complete, primary sources with detailed, sometimes contested, analysis of those sources. I found the result disconcerting to read, particularly when following the suggestion in the preface, of going back and forth between chapter 3 (analysis of eighteenth century midwife Sarah Stone's case notes) and chapter 4 (reproduction of those notes). Sometimes I felt that the primary sources supported the points made by the authors. Sometimes I felt they did not.

Yet there is so much valuable material in this book that I thought it would be worthwhile to provide a kind of breadcrumb trail, particularly for scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland. I will start our journey with the sources themselves, then move through the demographic analysis, winding up with a discussion of the more contested parts of the argument.

This book was clearly a labor of love and respect for Chris Galley, a former PhD student of Robert Woods, professor of geography at the University of Liverpool. Woods died in 2011, but he had already begun work on case studies by Sarah Stone and by the Scottish-born London physician William Smellie, as well as other eighteenth-century midwives. Some of that work, including some charts reproduced in *Mrs Stone & Dr Smellie*, appeared in his 2009 book, *Death Before Birth: Fetal Health and Mortality in Historical Perspective*.

We can imagine Woods and Galley working together on the primary sources printed in the book: Stone's complete set of case histories from her *Complete Practice* (chap. 4), twenty-two London cases from William Smellie (chap. 6), and "Other Cases from London" (chap. 8), selected case histories published between 1705 and 1848. We can see them pondering "such fundamental questions as...how did midwives deliver women in the past? How did they cope with problems such as unnatural presentation, haemorrhage, miscarriage and still births? How was knowledge established, communicated and received? And, perhaps of greatest importance, was progress being made? Were lives being prolonged and risks diminished?" (p. 1). And we see them answering these questions by analyzing the contents of case studies over time, identifying their most important features, drawing up charts of significant contents, and providing what must assuredly be the most detailed, and targeted, demographic infor-

mation available on maternal and fetal morbidity and mortality in eighteenth-century London.

So far, so valuable. I would be very pleased to continue my imaginary walk through this book by attending a seminar in which Galley takes us through his analysis of any of the reprinted primary sources, placed in its demographic and literary context. It would be enormously helpful to have this kind of analysis reproduced for other cities, and to think about how Scottish medical literature, both professional and lay, conformed to the models presented in this text.

The problem is that both primary literature and skillful analysis are embedded in an overarching argument with two key assumptions, each of which is an irritant to an otherwise enthusiastic reader. The first is that few scholars, other than the authors, have ever asked the above questions about eighteenth-century midwifery practice. The second is that the historical literature on eighteenth-century midwives and their patients is completely dominated by a model of conflict between male doctors and female practitioners. It's not that Woods and Galley do not cite the appropriate scholarly literature, at least through the 1990s. It's that they cite it to dismiss it, at almost every point arguing that they are doing something quite different, and much more valuable.

The "something" they are doing can be found in their last question: "was progress being made? Were lives being prolonged and risks diminished?" Woods and Galley appear to have reacted very sharply against the general argument that the increasing numbers of male midwives, and their instruments, had a negative impact on mothers and children. In their view, the demographic data clearly show that progress was being made and risks diminished. Their primary sources clearly show that these particular birth attendants, male as well as female, were knowledgeable, attentive clinicians. The unspoken QED seems to be that historians who look at other factors, such as educational and social institutions that privileged the most inexperienced male graduate over the most experienced female practitioner, or instances of what would now be considered medical malpractice, are introducing irrelevancies into the historical scholarship. While agreeing, with some caveats, with the first two points, I emphatically disagree with the third.

Historians of eighteenth-century Scotland who can read this work without irritation at the denigration of their own research questions will find much to ponder. *Mrs Stone & Dr Smellie* performs a signal service in placing Sarah Stone's *Complete Practice* in the context of her male contemporaries.

Lisa Rosner, Stockton University

Robert G. W. Anderson, ed., *Cradle of Chemistry: The Early Years of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2015. Pp. xviii + 198.

Cradle of Chemistry has its origins in a symposium held in October 2013 to celebrate the tercentenary of the appointment of James Crawford to a chair in medicine and chemistry at the University of Edinburgh. Crawford's appointment marked the beginning of formal instruction in chemistry at the Town's College, and the subject was subsequently taught by two of the most eminent chemists of the eighteenth century, William Cullen and Joseph Black. Insofar as Edinburgh boasted the first chair in chemistry in Scotland and had a distinguished record in teaching the subject during the Enlightenment, the university had good reason to celebrate this anniversary. Many of the papers in this generously illustrated collection relate either directly or indirectly to the pedagogical activities of Cullen and Black, although the fortunes of the chemistry chair in the nineteenth century are also briefly chronicled. The volume revisits themes and topics that were initially addressed in three books that continue to inform the study of the history of Scottish chemistry: Arthur Donovan's *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1975); *The Early Years of the Edinburgh of the Edinburgh Medical School* (1976), which was co-edited by Anderson and his colleague Alan Simpson; and Anderson's monograph, *The Playfair Collection and the Teaching of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh, 1713–1858* (1978). *Cradle of Chemistry* represents an advance over these studies in certain respects. But, unlike them, it fails to engage in a sustained manner with the institutional contexts for the teaching of chemistry, and I shall return to this point below.

The core chapters of *Cradle of Chemistry* consider the impact of Newtonianism on the cultivation of natural knowledge in Enlightenment Edinburgh; the use made by James Crawford and Andrew Plummer of the ideas and pedagogical practices of the leading academic chemist of the day, Herman Boerhaave; William Cullen's reform of the teaching of chemistry following his move to Edinburgh in 1756; the complex and occasionally fraught relationship between professors of chemistry and their students during the Chemical Revolution; Black's use of diagrams and other visual devices in his lectures; the checkered career of Thomas Charles Hope; and the problem of defining the distinctive features of the "Edinburgh chemical tradition." But the volume lacks a coherent focus because the remainder of the essays do not deal directly with the basic theme of pedagogy, and some of the core contributions which otherwise overlap do not speak to one another. Moreover, the collection would have benefited from the inclusion of a paper elucidating the political and institutional mechanisms that shaped Scottish higher education during the long eighteenth century. The importance of this issue is flagged in the editor's chapter on Hope, which notes that the institutional location of chemistry within the Edinburgh medical school caused the academic study of chemistry to flourish in the Enlightenment but also led to the decline of the subject in the nineteenth century (pp. 157–58). This is a telling observation, and one that resonates with the pioneering work of Jack Morrell, whose essays showed how the institutional structure of Edinburgh University conditioned pedagogy in the latter part of the eighteenth century. A paper applying the insights of Morrell and others to the business of teaching

chemistry at Edinburgh would have corrected the misleading impression given by some of the chapters that the pedagogical practices of figures such as Cullen and Black were sui generis. As a discipline, chemistry did not stand in isolation from its academic environment. The chemistry professors, no less than their colleagues teaching other subjects, functioned within an educational marketplace that was shaped by structural factors specific to the university as well as by developments at rival institutions elsewhere.

The absence of a definite or indefinite article in the title, *Cradle of Chemistry*, can be read as an implicit signal that there are important questions to be asked about the role played by Edinburgh in fostering the advance of chemistry in Scotland and the distinctiveness of the "Edinburgh chemical tradition." Typically, university history written in a celebratory mode does not promote balanced analysis, and this volume is no exception. The tone of the collection suggests that Edinburgh was *the* cradle of Scottish chemistry, but the fact that Cullen, Black, and Hope taught at Glasgow as well as in Edinburgh indicates that this was not so. And in order to answer the question of the distinctiveness of Edinburgh chemistry, one needs to look beyond the evidence provided in the book and consider the institutional structures that are only gestured at by the volume as a whole.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Leslie Ellen Brown, *Artful Virtue: The Interplay of the Beautiful and the Good in the Scottish Enlightenment*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015. Pp. ix + 253.

Leslie Ellen Brown's study of the Scottish Enlightenment is a book displaying impressive erudition and a palpable love of Scotland and its intellectual and cultural history in the period about which she writes. It consists of an introduction and eight chapters with the following titles: The Senses, Virtue, Beauty, Sentiment, Taste, Experience, Cultivation, and Traditions.

Two preliminary points are in order. First, the author is forthright in confessing that she is no philosopher, in spite of the obvious fact that the topic she has chosen to write about—the nature of beauty, the nature of virtue, or moral goodness, and their relation—is one of the deepest and most pervasive philosophical issues of the Enlightenment. "Philosophical analysis," she writes, "is not what is at the forefront of my study, however, and I don't pretend to approach it as a philosopher" (p. 7). But the present reviewer *is* a philosopher.

Second, there are, it seems to me, two ways to do intellectual history, of which the history of philosophy is, of course, a special case. The first of these ways I would characterize as follows: "This is how it was. No comment. Full stop." The other way I would characterize as "Critical Intellectual History." It, as well as the former, is obliged to tell us "how it was," or it would not be intellectual *history*. But unlike the former, it raises two further questions: "Did they have it right?" and "What relevance does what they believed have, if any, to *our* philosophical problems?" Brown consistently pursues the former course. The present reviewer, alas, favors the latter.

Two questions about Brown's study emerge, respectively, from these two points. First, it is commonly understood that the founding father of the Scottish Enlightenment was Francis Hutcheson, an Irishman by birth, ironically enough, but who spent his creative life in the chair of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow. His inaugural, and most influential work, first published in 1724 under the title *An Inquiry into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, consisted of two separate but related treatises: *An Inquiry Concerning Beauty, Order, Harmony, Design* and *An Inquiry Concerning Moral Good and Evil*. As anyone familiar with eighteenth-century British philosophy knows, what Hutcheson meant by the "ideas" of beauty and virtue were not "ideas" in our sense of that word but terms of art, which is to say, Lockean ideas of primary and secondary qualities: conscious states, sensations in effect, caused to arise in us by the impingement of the external world upon our perceptual faculties. Locke's theory of perception, and the distinction between primary and secondary qualities that Locke introduced into British philosophy, play a crucial role in the accounts, both of beauty and virtue or moral goodness, of the three most distinguished and most influential Scottish philosophers of the period: Hutcheson at the outset, David Hume at mid-century, and Thomas Reid at the end. Yet Brown pays scant attention to Locke's perceptual theory, and nowhere in her book is to be found mention of the distinction between primary and secondary qualities.

Hutcheson agonized over the matter of beauty, finally reaching the odd conclusion that the idea of beauty is somewhere *between* the ideas of a primary and a secondary quality. Hume, at least as I read "Of the Standard of Taste" and "The Sceptic," plumped for the idea or, as he termed it, the "sentiment" of beauty, as closely analogous to the idea of a secondary quality, color being his favored analogue. And Reid, it appears to me, was very close to plumping for the idea of beauty as the idea of a primary quality, a real excellence in the object, as he put it. In all three cases, the decision determines both the ontological and the epistemic status of the quality. Thus, the issue of where in the Lockean perceptual scheme one puts the idea or sentiment of beauty, and of virtue, seems crucial to this project, but is not addressed. Brown may reply that this is a philosopher's quibble, and she no philosopher. Fair enough. But the present reviewer *is* a philosopher, and born to quibble.

Moving on to my second point, the distinction between "this is the way it was" history of ideas and "critical" history of ideas, let me pursue the second method briefly with regard to one of the principal theses of those whom Brown frequently refers to as the Scottish "literati." The point, put baldly, is that good taste makes for good morals. In Brown's words: "In short, the Scots treasured the beautiful and the fine arts because these things enabled Scotland's countrymen to admire all that was good and disdain the bad. To them such was a sound basis of moral truth" (p. 228).

This Enlightenment optimism is refreshing at first. But after a heavy dose of it, quotation after quotation, one feels the impulse to stand up and scream at the Scottish literati: "For God's sake! Haven't you ever encountered a man with exquisite taste and deplorable morals?" We, though, have lived to see the land of Goethe and Beethoven produce the Holocaust. So perhaps this rant is unfair. How could they have known? Nevertheless, one wonders if any Scottish Enlightenment thinkers had an inkling of this darker side of human nature. Hume perhaps did, in his famous remark, on his deathbed, to his friend Adam Smith, to the effect that even if he were given a thousand more years of life, he would not be able to eradicate superstition from the human race.

I shall conclude by remarking on a topic treated by the author, which is of particular interest to me and, obviously, to Brown, who is professor Emerita of music at Ripon College. It is Scottish music and music theory in the Scottish Enlightenment. Not surprisingly, given her musical credentials, her treatment of this topic is extremely well done. Of particular interest to me, in this regard, is the attitude of the Scottish literati toward "modern" arrangements of the traditional Scottish melodies and songs. It appears, on this account, to be largely negative. The charge against them seems to have been "inauthenticity." "One especially poignant voice as apologist for the authentic Scots song," Brown writes, "was the Edinburgh composer and author Alexander Campbell (1764–1824)," who castigated such contemporary "arrangements by prominent composers in order to make the collections appear respectable" (pp. 148–49). These collections were, Campbell argued, "a mere *pasticcio* of crude ideas. The elegant simplicity of Scottish melodies, when left to the caprice of misguided fancy," he continued, "is entirely lost in the attempts to harmonize them" (p. 149). Oddly enough, Brown does not mention here the arrangements of Scottish songs by Haydn and Beethoven, commissioned by George Thomson. Did Scots such as Campbell pass the same harsh judgment on these products of musical genius? Or were the Scots not acquainted with them? One would like to know.

Brown's book is written in a clear, readable style (although, to my taste, with perhaps a tad too many quotations). And although philosophers will find it lacking in philosophical depth, it may nevertheless provide them with incentive to seek out for themselves some of the many authors cited by Brown but unknown to them. As for others, anyone at all interested in the Enlightenment will certainly find this book a mine of information concerning eighteenth-century Scotland. It is, without a doubt, a substantial contribution to Scottish scholarship.

Peter Kivy, Rutgers University

E. Geoffrey Hancock, Nick Pearce, and Mungo Campbell, eds., *William Hunter's World: The Art and Science of Eighteenth-Century Collecting*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2015. Pp. xxiii + 392.

Dr. William Hunter, anatomist, obstetrician, and polymathic collector, was one of the scientific giants of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment. Like his contemporary and fellow FRS Henry Cavendish, however, his reputation suffered from his declining to publish much of his work. This splendid book does much to set the record straight. Edited by the deputy director (Campbell) and a fellow (Hancock) of Glasgow's Hunterian Museum, together with the professor of fine art at the city's university (Pearce), this multi-author work is part of Ashgate's series on "The Histories of Material Culture and Collecting, 1750–1950." For any scholar interested in the evolution of our understanding of the natural world through collecting, conservation, and presentation, this book is itself a collector's item.

Born in Lanarkshire in 1718, a decade before his equally celebrated brother John, William Hunter was educated at Glasgow University. There he attended the philosophy classes of Adam Smith's "never to be forgotten [Prof. Francis] Hutcheson," that morning star of the Scottish Enlightenment. He went on to be trained in medical practice by William Cullen in Edinburgh and in obstetrics by William Smellie in London. He became a famous lecturer and demonstrator on human anatomy, attracting pupils from as far afield as British North America to the anatomy school and museum at his home in London's Great Windmill Street. The library there contained ten thousand books plus hundreds of incunabula and manuscripts. He also built up a lucrative midwifery practice in the capital's high society, his patients including Queen Charlotte, wife of George III.

The book is in four parts, dealing successively with Hunter as museum founder, anatomist, collector, and instructor to the wider scientific world. The chapters reveal a scientist with an astonishing range of interests, far beyond the medical practice which was his central source of income. The essays include contributions on his mineral collections, his human and zoological anatomical specimens, and his entomological, archaeological, and numismatic items.

Caroline Grigson traces with historical and indeed clinical precision the evolution of Hunter's great book *The Anatomy of the Human Gravid Uterus*. There is a particularly good chapter by Adrienne L. Kaepler on the South Seas ethnographica in the Hunterian Museum, including items given to Hunter by Captain James Cook himself. Each chapter is fully annotated and includes a bibliography. There is a (highly necessary) comprehensive index, and the clear text and monochrome illustrations make the work a pleasure to hold and a joy to read. This is the first truly inclusive conspectus of the invaluable work of William Hunter as a collector of scientific materials and is warmly recommended to all students and scholars of the eighteenth century, *whatever* be their own prime field of endeavor.

David Purdie, University of Edinburgh

Roger L. Emerson, *Neglected Scots: Eighteenth Century Glaswegians and Women*. Edinburgh: Humming Earth, 2015. Pp. xii + 357.

What is the Scottish Enlightenment? This question evidently commands unabated interest within the field of eighteenth-century Scottish studies, as it continues to resist a straightforward answer. A scholar of long standing within this field, Roger L. Emerson has been associated by Alexander Broadie with one particular line of contemporary thinking on the Scottish Enlightenment. In his introduction to *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (2003), Broadie identifies Emerson with the second of three major contemporary approaches to the Scottish Enlightenment. The first has understood the Scottish Enlightenment mainly in terms of developments in “the social sciences” (p. 4). The second has foregrounded “the natural sciences” (p. 4). These two approaches, in turn, have inspired “a third way” that has sought “to rescue the valuable insights of each position” and made its focal point “the culture of the enlightened ones of Scotland, the so-called ‘literati’” (p. 4).

In *Neglected Scots: Eighteenth Century Glaswegians and Women*, Emerson cannot resist a reiterated complaint about scholarship that dwells too much on Edinburgh as well as on “moral-political economic questions and on the philosophical interests of David Hume and his friends among the polite *literati*” (p. xi), even as he allows that “what remains of permanent value by the Glasgow men were Adam Smith’s work in political economy and the sociological theories of John Millar” (p. 60). That said, both his own chapter in the *Cambridge Companion* and this latest book heed the call for a more broadly inclusive perspective on the Scottish Enlightenment.

As its title indicates, *Neglected Scots* divides its attention between two groups of “neglected Scots” that the author sees as worth examining in depth as part of the ongoing project of characterizing the Scottish Enlightenment. Within the category of Glaswegians, Emerson makes a further division between the moderates associated with the Glasgow Literary Society and the evangelicals, with particular attention given to Professor John Anderson. As such, this book reflects the efforts that have increasingly marked the study of the Enlightenment as a whole to think not so much about the “Enlightenment” as about “Enlightenments.”

Some readers may favor a more theoretical approach than Emerson offers. For example, despite the interest here in clubs and societies and the spotlight on the Glasgow Literary Society, there are no references here to modern theorists of sociability such as Jürgen Habermas and those who have continued to work with the Habermasian concept of the “public sphere,” either expanding upon it or challenging it.

Readers expecting Emerson to bring Glaswegians and women together in any comprehensive way may also be disappointed. Other than their common status as “neglected Scots,” there is not much here to unite these two subjects.

A final complaint may be what appears to be an underselling of the chapter on women, starting with the blunt disclaimer in the preface that women played a “small part” overall in the Scottish Enlightenment and within the Glaswegian Enlightenment particularly (p. xii). At the very least, it seems that there could be expanded consideration of the factors contributing to the historical neglect of women in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment. As has been widely recognized, women disappeared for nearly two centuries from the eighteenth-century British literary canon for many different reasons, not necessarily because their achievements were negligible.

It must nevertheless be acknowledged that Emerson has produced a resource of lasting value for many scholars. *Neglected Scots* demonstrates the author’s at once deep and extensive knowledge of his field, including the political and religious culture of the period. This book is clearly the product, moreover, of substantial original research. In the preface to *Neglected Scots*, Emerson himself acknowledges his indebtedness to the work of Ned Landsman, Robert Kent Donovan, Richard Sher, Jane Rendall, Pam Perkins, and Isobel Grundy. Yet much here is new. Particularly noteworthy is Emerson’s impressive reconstruction of the history of the Glasgow Literary Society, many of whose records have not survived. While he wears his knowledge lightly, Emerson treats his material throughout with subtlety and sophistication, including extensive appendices in the form of lists and tables that effectively support the observations made within each chapter.

Emerson succeeds in persuasively demonstrating the significance of Glasgow within the Scottish Enlightenment and in effectively illuminating the parallels and differences between the Enlightenments in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and Edinburgh—concluding that Aberdeen generally offers the closer parallel to what was going on in Glasgow. As part of the task of examining the Glaswegian Enlightenment, the author elucidates the relationship of Glasgow not only to Edinburgh and Aberdeen but also to America, England, and continental Europe. He also supplies a great deal of valuable information for scholars with a special interest in Scottish women during the period, with many telling points of comparison between Scotland and England.

As well as contributing to an expanded sense of the Scottish Enlightenment, *Neglected Scots* provides important insights into the political and religious culture of the period, with a salutary reminder that Calvinist belief did not necessarily preclude an interest in, and engagement with, Enlightenment ideas. There is much here in addition for those generally engaged in the history of ideas. *Neglected Scots* deserves a wide readership as an ongoing reference for scholars in the field.

Kathryn Ready, University of Winnipeg

Margaret Stewart, *The Architectural, Landscape and Constitutional Plans of the Earl of Mar, 1700–32*. Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2016. Pp. xix + 418.

This book is the result of Margaret Stewart's lifelong interest in John Erskine, sixth Earl of Mar (1675–1732), one of Scotland's foremost citizens of the early eighteenth century. It brings to the reader's attention a vast body of material uncovered in the last decades and only partially presented by the author in past conferences and articles. This large and finely illustrated monograph is the outcome of extended research conducted in several places in England and Scotland as well as in Paris, Rome, Bologna, Aachen, and Antwerp.

Although Stewart's approach is mainly that of the architectural historian, the book extends far beyond the discipline of architectural history and encompasses many aspects of Scottish and Jacobite political and economic history. It also dwells upon the constitutional plans devised by the Earl of Mar for Scotland and compiled in a manuscript entitled "Legacy to my deare son Thomas, Lord Erskine, Chillon, March 1726." The main interest of the book, however, lies in the detailed discussion of Mar's architectural plans, landscape designs, and city plans (currently in the care of the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh), which form the largest surviving Scottish collection of drawings by a single artist. The political sections of the book rely on published histories. For the sake of coherence, the author deliberately chose to exclude from the scope of her analysis a discussion of Mar's involvement in the preparation for the 1715 Jacobite uprising and a lengthy history of that campaign. As the only historian who recently has dealt with the landscape and economical plans of Mar in detail, Stewart contradicts Howard Colvin's interpretation that Mar was a dilettante who lacked understanding and practical experience in architecture. For Stewart, on the contrary, Mar was an incredibly gifted and original thinker whose involvement touched almost every aspect of Scotland and whose legacy remains with us today. The book is a clear attempt to restore Mar's reputation and highlight his commitment to Scotland as well as his creativity and courage.

Because Mar was a controversial figure, Stewart was confronted with many biased accounts of his life with Tory or Whig slants. She therefore warns against "lazy history" and insists on the value of primary sources to combat false assumptions or ready-made judgments. Stewart explains for instance that the nickname "Bobbing John," used disparagingly by the Whig mob in London to characterize Mar's sympathy for a Jacobite rising, probably after the Hanoverian succession, had no political connotation in Scotland but was rather a reference to the bobbing of Mar's head when he walked as a result of a spinal deformity.

The book is divided into four parts: castle, nation, city, and palace. Each section can be read separately, and together they explain Mar's manifold activities, ranging from politics to landscape design. Mar was born in 1675 at Alloa, the eldest son of Charles, the fifth Earl, who died in 1689 following imprisonment for opposing the accession of William and Mary of Orange. Raised by his mother, the Episcopalian Countess of Mar, Mar joined the family regiment and possibly traveled overseas with it. In 1696 he attained his majority and soon after took his seat in the Scottish Parliament. An able estate manager, he developed his estate at Alloa from 1701 to 1715 as the most successful and ambitious scheme of landscape design and industrialization in early modern Scotland. He adhered to the party of the second Duke of Queensberry (1662–1711) and was a leading figure behind the Treaty of Union in 1707. He also at that time became acquainted with Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, the vociferous Scottish patriot.

Realizing that the Union did not deliver the benefits he had expected for Scotland, Mar decided to campaign for its dissolution in 1711 and soon obtained an agreement with James VIII/III to support dissolution in exchange for Mar's support for a military campaign to restore James to the throne. The 1715 uprising was a notorious failure, and Mar escaped in exile with his king in early 1716. He was declared a rebel and his estates and titles in Britain were forfeited. The rest of his life (he died in Aix-la-Chapelle in 1732) was spent in exile on the Continent, where he continued to express concern for his estate and for the future of his country. For Stewart, Mar's attitude toward the Union was consistent because Scotland's interests had to prevail over British ones. Stewart recalls Mar's proposal for a federation of Scotland, Ireland, France, and England, which Mar submitted to Philippe, duc d'Orléans, the regent of France. This project embittered Mar's enemies, who feared the loss of power for England, and Mar was dismissed by James VIII/III in 1724. As for his character, Stewart insists on Mar's obliging disposition and contends that his aristocratic hauteur was appropriate to his high social status.

Probably no other historian can match Stewart's extensive and intimate knowledge of Mar's drawings. Although little is known of Mar's early education in architecture, Stewart maintains that a circle of gentlemen architects, amateurs, and landscapists in Scotland, including Alexander Edward (1651–1708), shaped Mar's architectural and artistic taste. The book offers a detailed analysis of the elaborate designs by Mar at Alloa and of his ambitious proposals for Edinburgh, London, and Paris. Stewart offers valuable comments about the style of draftsmanship in some of Mar's Continental plans, which he drew from the various places of his exile (Avignon, Lucca, Pistoia, Geneva, Bourbon, Paris, and Antwerp). With Stewart, one may regret that so few of Mar's plans were actually built and may question Mar's true intentions. Given the importance of commemoration and image in the designs, Stewart thinks it likely that Mar was exploring a Jacobite architectural style in anticipation of the king's restoration, or that the act of designing was an end in itself.

This book takes us far beyond Stewart's previous analyses of the Scottish historical landscape. The beautiful illustrations, which include portraits and other treasures in the family collection of the present fourteenth Earl of Mar and sixteenth Earl of Kellie, pay tribute to a man of taste, familiar with the most novel architecture in Eu-

rope. The book also invites the reader to pay a visit to Alloa Tower, Mar's birthplace, which after a restoration (from 1985 to 1991) is now open to the public as a National Trust for Scotland property. Lastly, it is particularly fitting that this book should be published by a Dublin publisher, given Mar's affection for the Irish people, which Stewart eloquently explains (pp. 269–72).

Clarisse Godard Desmarest, University of Picardie Jules Verne

William F. Nyberg, *Robert Scot: Engraving Liberty*. Staunton: American History Press, 2015. Pp. x + 166.

William Nyberg has highlighted some very interesting points in regard to the role of the engraver in the narrative of the American Revolution and the New Republic. Nyberg takes particular aim at the immigrant Scottish community and how artisans and merchants from the old country promoted both the ideas of freedom and the basic tenets of the Scottish Enlightenment in their new homeland. He does all this through the agency of Robert Scot.

Born in the neighborhood of Edinburgh, Scot left his homeland and settled in the town of Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1774—a time and a place of revolutionary fervor. He quickly and enthusiastically took up the American cause and, in his role as an engraver, lent his talents to promoting resistance to the British, and later to instilling an American identity into the former colonists, in the process popularizing the precepts of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Nyberg draws attention to the importance of symbolic images in order to convey a persuasive message, ensure domestic tranquility, and advance the interest of the new nation. Almost from the moment he arrived in Virginia, Scot used his skills as an engraver to turn paper currency into a vehicle for propaganda and conciliation while, at the same time, deterring the efforts of counterfeiters. In 1776 his note worth Fifteen Spanish Milled Dollars advertised a conquering Virtus subduing a vanquished monarch with the inscription *Sic Semper Tyrannis*. He applied equal fervor after he was appointed the chief engraver for the United States Mint, developing the theme of Virtus with a Liberty Cap and reversed with the American eagle—both powerful symbols of resistance and unity. Scot also executed the designs for official branches of the government, which inculcated a sense of permanence and nobility: the Great Seal of the United States in 1782, which featured the inscription *E Pluribus Unum* and, in 1802, the seal for the Department of State. Scot applied the same type of indoctrination in his work on federal and state revenue stamps, which indicated that a certain tax had been paid.

Scot's talents also promoted a national identity, an early version of Manifest Destiny, and a connection with the Scottish Enlightenment through his collaborations with book publishers, book merchants, and map makers. In 1782 he engraved a detailed and accurate map entitled "The Investment of York and Gloucester," which laid out the defeat of Cornwallis—a tremendous boost in morale for the Americans. In 1784 Scot's engraving of a post-Treaty of Paris map for William McMurray not only depicted the newly acquired territories east of the Mississippi but also tantalizingly extended the boundaries all the way to the Pacific Ocean. In 1790 he submitted his designs for Jedidiah Morse's *History of America*. Scot's engraving of Charles Willson Peale's portrait of George Washington was extraordinarily popular, widely distributed, and immortalized the myth of the quintessential American hero for the masses.

Scot also promoted the interest and philosophies of his birthplace and in doing so raised the American consciousness in respect to the tenets of the Scottish Enlightenment and the poetry of Robert Burns. During the Revolution and for some time afterward, literary and scholarly works from Britain were either unavailable or extremely difficult to find in America. Thomas Dobson, Robert Aitkin, and Robert Bell were all natives of Scotland and residents of Philadelphia, as well as likely members, along with Robert Scot, of the St Andrews club in that city. Anxious to fill in the void in the book market left by the conflict, all of them took to reprinting popular volumes from the old country. Although the typeset was easy enough to replicate, the illustrations were another matter, and these booksellers turned to Robert Scot for help. He supplied it. In 1788 Scot manufactured the image of Robert Burns for the M'Lean brothers from New York; in the same year he also created multiple engravings for William Nicholson's *Natural Philosophy*, published by Robert Dobson. Later he meticulously constructed images for Dobson's edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In 1795 he illustrated David Hume's *History of England* for Robert Campbell. All these works shared a common theme of presenting works of Scottish authors and introducing the intellectual vitality of the Scottish version of the Enlightenment to the knowledge-craving appetites of a new nation.

The most positive aspect of Nyberg's work is that one is able to glean all this information and even extrapolate to other heralds of the Scottish Enlightenment; the more difficult part is the necessity of wading through very intricate information—most of which relates to numismatics and the detailed science of engraving in the eighteenth century. Most of the narrative is well documented, although there are many places of interesting but unsubstantiated speculation. To an expert in the area, it is provocative; to a novice, confounding.

Nyberg has gathered together a wonderful collection of images, but they would perhaps be more instructive if placed throughout the text adjacent to the relevant text rather than displayed in a central location. The book includes a well-organized and well-arranged set of appendices that effectively demonstrate the areas in which Scot operated, his importance to the history of the Early Republic, and the ways in which he stimulated resistance to the British, support for the Republic, and interest in Scottish philosophy, history, and literature.

Martin R. Clagett, Richmond, VA

Sandro Jung, *James Thomson's The Seasons, Print Culture, and Visual Interpretation, 1730–1842*. Bethlehem, PA: Lehigh University Press, 2015. Pp. 285.

Sandro Jung's new book builds on the author's previous critical readings and considerably enhances our appreciation for his re-contextualization of Thomson's book-length poem, which provides a link between Milton and the Romantic poets. In this handsome volume, Jung provides accessible and sometimes provocative readings, demonstrating how print culture, plastic arts, and textile manufactures interpreted Thomson for generations of readers across social classes and national borders. Through his analysis of more than one hundred years of visual material, Jung shows, for example, that the public was less interested in *The Seasons* as a "nature" poem than as interpolated episodes of "anthropocentric subjects" (p. 255). The first chapter lays out the stakes of the book and encourages fellow scholars to explore the largely untapped "print-cultural archive" surrounding the poem (p. 6). Underlining the scope—and difficulty—of these projects, Jung examines "the ways in which visual readings comment, interpret, and elucidate, as well as rewrite (and occasionally obscure) the complex generic, ideological, and ideational hybridity of the poem as published and comprehended in the mid-eighteenth century" (p. 3).

Jung, too, clearly differentiates his book from other treatments of the apparatuses surrounding Thomson's poem. While some studies have sorted through its visual interpretations, they "do not examine all, or, at least, the majority of illustrations printed in editions of *The Seasons*" (p. 46). Because Jung reprints or discusses so many images, he can make more persuasive arguments about the shifts the poem registers, and this coverage will appeal to a wide swath of readers and scholars with different interests. For instance, chapter 2, "Editions of *The Seasons*, 1730–98," describes a shift in visual interpretations of Thomson's poem from "mythopoeia to sentimental or sublime realism" (p. 46). Jung provides encyclopedic readings from neoclassical images to visual representations of the landscape and the characters who animate the poem. But the sheer breadth of coverage of the images—including reproduced images in color—limits the amount of discursive analysis Jung can provide.

Chapter 3 serves as the exception to the broad strokes of the first chapters, as Jung moves into a focused discussion of two passages from the poem: the celebrated scenes of "Celadon and Amelia," star-crossed rural lovers in Thomson's *Summer*, and "Palemon and Lavinia," an episode that negotiates interclass romance. He shows how these episodes were adapted "in the form of objects representative of a commercialized culture of improvement and sociability" (p. 109). In this chapter, especially, I marveled at Jung's archival research and range of reprinted materials. Culling from private collections, Yale University, and the British Museum, to name a few repositories, Jung demonstrates how Thomson's poem can be understood as responsive to large-scale changes in consumer trends, culture, and aesthetic appreciation. His many reproductions of images in his own collection show that this project was also a labor of love—the best kind of critical work. Chapter 4 introduces illustrated editions of Thomson's poem intended for elite audiences or those endeavoring to signal their inclusion in the upper middle class. The poem was adapted to accommodate turn-of-the-century readers and, therefore, printers depicted scenes of "leisure as opposed to labor" (p. 153). The best-known painters of the era were solicited to produce stunning visual representations that were then reproduced in elaborate editions of Thomson's work. Yet the monumental efforts of printers and publishers in the 1790s also signal the decline of *The Seasons*, as the vogue for Romantic poets significantly diminished the cultural cachet of the Scottish poet.

Booksellers then turned to new markets in the Americas, and chapter 5 and the epilogue describe the ways in which consumers, inflected by the French and American revolutions, purchased "antiheroic renderings of iconographical moments" (p. 197). Jung covers everything from cartoonish prints of "Damon & Musidora" to sleek steel engravings celebrating "human drama" (p. 205). Jung's project hinges on a belief that "literary historiography has severed the close relationship between literal text and iconotext" (p. 275). Specifically, he notes that "reconnecting the two... will culminate in a literary history not exclusively focused on texts as records of abstract, mental effort but as material texts" (p. 275). This relationship will, in turn, inform us about the habits and mindsets of readers. While Jung may overstate the dearth of in-depth readings of paratextual matter, this book, like other monumental works, reassesses the field. *The Seasons*, a widely read and consumed cultural artifact, functioned as common currency across the transatlantic world. In an era in which texts are digitally available, Jung, too, impels us to undertake archival research that can uncover the relationships among literature, art, print, and economics. Providing new avenues for aesthetic criticism, Jung, more broadly, reminds us of the work that needs to be done to spotlight the critical role literature played (and continues to play) in national and class formations.

Denys W. Van Renen, University of Nebraska at Kearney

The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns, Volume 1: Commonplace Books, Tour Journals, and Miscellaneous Prose. Edited by Nigel Leask. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. xv + 432.

This meticulously edited volume is the first in the eagerly awaited Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns. Thanks especially to recent scholarship in the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the University of Glasgow, home of most of the editors, this new edition should sustain the recent renaissance in the understanding of Burns. Much has been done in this regard already, including Nigel Leask's excellent 2010 volume *Burns and Pastoral*, but the Oxford edition, under the general editorship of Gerard Carruthers, will give more general access to the works of Burns that ought to extend the renaissance, for instance, to scholars of the Romantic period more generally. Certainly Burns is strangely neglected in universities in England for someone who is so fundamental to Brit-

ish literary studies in various ways. Could there have been a William Wordsworth, at least one interested in the language of the common people and the poetics of the ballad, without Burns? I personally do not think so. But whatever one's answer to that question, this volume shows the extent to which Burns himself was alert not only to the distinctively Scottish traditions of literature and song, not to mention key texts of the Scottish Enlightenment, but also to the culture of improvement taking shape in the eighteenth century across the four nations. He may have colluded with the idea of the poet at the plough tail, but the prose gathered together here shows Burns to have been very much alert to literary culture in the broadest terms, including Addison and Shenstone as much as Ramsay and Fergusson.

The commonplace books and the Glenriddell manuscripts provide a wealth of information for anyone looking for the development of Burns's poetics, even if all the poems are fair rather than working copies. The Glenriddell manuscripts were two presentation volumes especially prepared for Burns's patron and sometime friend Robert Riddell, primarily new material, only some of which appeared in the 1793 Edinburgh edition or had already appeared in newspapers. Taken together, these manuscript works reveal Burns's keen ear for a melody and the related interest in Scottish song—shared with Riddell—that was to issue into the major work of his later years: collecting and composing for James Johnson and then George Thomson's compilations of Scottish song. Furthermore, the selection Burns made for the Glenriddell manuscripts, as Leask points out (p. 172), belies the idea that he produced little of note after his Kilmarnock edition. Transcribed for Riddell were "Tam o'Shanter," "On the late Capt Grose's Peregrinations through Scotland," and the moving "Lament of Mary Queen of Scots." These poems and songs appear in this volume because the subsequent volumes will print in order of publication the verse published in Burns's lifetime (or shortly after).

In regard to prose, this volume makes available the two tours of 1787, when Burns traveled on both sides of the border and then in the Highlands and Lowlands. The tours reveal his keen eye for improvement as much as—if not more than—for picturesque travel description. In this shared perspective at least, they overlap with Burns's contributions to the associational world that played an important part in shaping his own development (not least by providing him with access to books), as it did for eighteenth-century Scottish culture generally: the rules of the Tarbolton Bachelors' Club, 1781–1783, and the records of the Monkland Friendly Society Library, 1789–1794. This world of sociable exchange also sustained the transcription and circulation of the amateur poet who was "independent," as Leask notes, "of a desire to appear in 'guid black *prent*'" (p. 2).

Leask's general introduction makes an excellent job of situating these diverse and miscellaneous texts in relation to Burns's development as well as in the broader context of the period's literary and associational culture. Introductions to each selection sustain the dual focus, and the notes add a wealth of meticulous scholarship on the circulation and transmission history of the manuscript texts, especially their mediation by other hands, most obviously in James Currie's seminal *Works of Robert Burns* (1800) and R. H. Cromek's *Reliques of Robert Burns* (1808). The Currie who received a vast heap of unsorted manuscripts in January 1797 was mired in the associational world of Liverpool and Manchester in ways that set an agenda for his treatment of Burns, although it was not very far from either the improving aspirations or the political pressures faced by the poet himself. Currie and his collaborator William Roscoe were committed improvers, profoundly influenced by the Scottish Enlightenment themselves, who undertook the project in a counter-revolutionary context that had closed down their own literary club. In this regard, Leask is careful to note Currie's fingerprints on these texts without perpetuating the vilification he sometimes receives from Burns scholars.

The very first document, "A Manual of Religious Belief," was composed not by Burns himself but by his father, William Burnes, and Burns's tutor, John Murdoch. It is in itself a singular case of the change of perspective that might be facilitated by this volume. The manual reveals the proximity of the Burns family to speculative theology of a liberal kind that led the poet to be charged with unorthodoxy when he moved from the liberal environment of Ayr in 1784 (a theme that resurfaces in several of the Glenriddell poems). By the same token, the manual shows that the poet's values of "sociality and friendship" (p. 18), as Currie described them, did have a theological context in debates within the Church of Scotland. Such conjunctions and juxtapositions are made newly available to modern readers by this volume and will surely proliferate further when augmented by the poems and songs still to come.

Jon Mee, University of York

Corey E. Andrews, *The Genius of Scotland: The Cultural Production of Robert Burns, 1785–1834*. Leiden: Brill Rodolpi, 2015. Pp. 290.

This is a study of some of the factors that interfered with the early reception of Burns's poetry. Following the theories of Pierre Bourdieu, Corey Andrews sees Burns and his work together as a "product" or "capital" struggling to achieve legitimacy in the literary marketplace in the decades following his death. This study ultimately dwells more on Burns the man than what he wrote. That is why Andrews believes there was such a problematic reception: one half of the "product" compromised the other half. I cannot think of any canonical poet in British literature whose reputation endured such posthumous controversy.

"The primary goal of this book," Andrews writes, "is to determine the means and methods that led to Burns's cultural and national valorisation, a process of veneration and consecration that continues into the pre-

sent" (p. 16). Before 1786 the age understood various views concerning "genius." According to Lord Kames, "Genius is allied to a warm and inflammable constitution," implying that the special gift is potentially compromising. In his 1770 book on poetic genius, William Duff placed more emphasis on the *character* of the genius than the work itself. This helps us understand how Burns was initially regarded, and how he came to be misunderstood from the first publication in 1786 to the years after his death. "The rise of genius theory resulted in a perception of Burns that consistently misrepresented his talents as a poet" (p. 65). However, all agreed that Burns had "genius," whatever it was.

It was inevitable that Burns would be labeled—and misrepresented. The most damaging epithet was Henry Mackenzie's in *The Lounger*, which immortalized him as a "heaven-taught ploughman." This singularized his initial popularity but restrained him posthumously. Andrews states that "Burns would find his effort to be the 'master of his product' continually frustrated by such devices as the 'heaven-taught ploughman' persona" (p. 85). Few were ready to acknowledge that Burns was "legitimate," a genuine poet, not merely a field hand. Burns had other ideas. As Andrews puts it, "His self-appointment as a collector/editor of national song testifies to the poet's changing perception of his 'duty' as a 'Scotch Bard,' coupled with his refusal to accept remuneration for this demanding, extensive work" (p. 109). Yet he was never able to shake off initial perceptions. "From 1788 and throughout the 1790s," we are told, "Burns's recognition in the literary field was increasingly measured by the symbolic capital that his name came to represent, rather than the verse and song-collecting that he produced at the time" (p. 114).

After his death Burns was the subject of numerous eulogies, wherein "genius" and "bard" were used interchangeably. At the same time he began to be devalued because of rumors about his promiscuity, alcoholism, and disrespectful behavior among his "betters." "Readers increasingly evaluated Burns's perceived moral failings, as a 'poetic genius'" (p. 138), calling to mind earlier opinions that "genius" invariably carried moral difficulties along with its gifts. George Thomson characterized the poet as "a man who was the pupil of nature, the poet of inspiration, and who possessed in an extraordinary degree the powers and failings of genius" (p. 145). The "failings of genius"—this from someone who never met him! Thomson further suggested that as a collector of the excise Burns was unqualified to mix with gentry. Maria Riddell declared her former admirer would have been better off in the fields. His "moral failings" were due to his class. James Currie, his editor, relegated Burns to the Scottish peasantry, "genius" and all. Sir Walter Scott also played the class card. In other words, Burns himself became the product, the bearer of dubious capital. This mixed view continued throughout the early nineteenth century, as others focused on the problems of Burns's lifestyle to the neglect of his poetry. Andrews concludes with James Hogg's unfortunate attempt in the 1830s to "succeed" Burns in reputation and creative work.

We know now how Burns came to take his place in the canon of British poets and how his character has come to be "consecrated" by Burns Clubs and Burns Night Suppers held all over the world, as well as the use of his name in the recent referendum for Scottish independence.

This is a very revealing account, and Andrews's canvas of posthumous sentiment is thorough and commendable. Andrews illustrates the degree to which the question of the poet's "class" was separated from the distinction of his work. The prejudice was due to his class. On the other hand, his work did not equally suffer. *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* lists more than one hundred publications and issues of Burns's poems between 1800 and 1820!

H. L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

The Collected Poems of Gavin Turnbull Online. Edited by Patrick Scott, John Knox, and Rachel Mann, with the assistance of Eric Roper. <http://lichen.csd.sc.edu/turnbull/home>

The Collected Poems of Gavin Turnbull Online is the latest publication to emerge from a long tradition of Scottish literary and book history studies at the University of South Carolina. Gavin Turnbull is an ideal choice for reclamation. He was born in the Borders in 1765 and worked as a carpet weaver in Kilmarnock during his teens. He published two collections of poetry, the first of which appeared in 1788. He was, it seems, part of Robert Burns's literary and social network before he settled in Dumfries as an actor in the early 1790s. In 1795 Turnbull moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where he worked as a prominent actor and continued to publish poetry until his death in 1813. Turnbull's appeal as a subject of study therefore stems partly from his position at the meeting point of various current research interests. He is a part of Burns's wider literary circle and his poetic contemporary; he blends Augustan and neoclassical literary traditions with long-established Scots metres and genres; his work as a playwright and actor sits alongside his poetic output; and he offers a new and significant insight into the position of the expatriate literary Scot in the United States at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries. The timing of *The Collected Poems of Gavin Turnbull Online* is impeccable; the edition is a welcome addition to the scholarship which is currently attempting to flesh out and further animate our understanding of eighteenth-century Scottish literary culture.

The edition's most significant contribution is to collect Turnbull's published texts from his years in Scotland and make them accessible to a wide reading public for the first time since the poet's death, and to collect and publish Turnbull's Charleston writings for the first time ever. The online edition is complete, attractive, and user-

friendly. A hard copy is available via print-on-demand for those who value the physicality of the book, but it must be said that the online edition incorporates everything needed by the casual, interested reader and the serious researcher.

The Collected Poems of Gavin Turnbull Online begins by outlining its editorial policy, which “aims to reproduce Turnbull’s texts as they were encountered by their first readers.” Following a useful biography of the poet, the edition is then split into “collections,” encompassing both the books published by Turnbull himself—*Poetical Essays* (1788) and *Poems* (1794)—and other significant categories of his works, including his songs (mentioned in a letter from Burns to George Thomson in 1793) and his “Poems in America.” There are a total of eighty-nine poems and songs, presented in chronological order. Also included is a useful section of appendices, which reproduces Turnbull’s prefaces from the 1788 and 1794 editions, as well as “The Recruit. A Musical Interlude,” a one-act comedy written by Turnbull and performed by four actors (including Turnbull and his wife) at the Dumfries Theatre in January 1794.

One of the edition’s most significant contributions is its location of Turnbull and his work in the known landscape of eighteenth-century Scottish poetry and song. The biography demonstrates that Turnbull was part of Burns’s literary network: not only did Turnbull write poems and songs to Burns, he also associated with other members of Burns’s close circle, including David Sillar and John Goldie, and he seems to have been a friend of the Paisley poet, Alexander Wilson. He responds to the tradition of Scots vernacular poetry not just through Burns but also in allusions to the work of Allan Ramsay, William Hamilton of Bangour, Robert Fergusson, James Thomson, James Graeme, and Michael Bruce. His poem “The Cottage,” for example, finds inspiration in Fergusson’s “The Farmer’s Ingle” and Burns’s “The Cotter’s Saturday Night.” In Dumfries Turnbull wrote a prologue to Ramsay’s *The Gentle Shepherd* and acted alongside Louisa Fontenelle. Although Turnbull described himself as “a bard unknown [i.e., unknown or obscure],” Burns admired his work enough to recommend three of his compositions—“Song,” “The Nightingale,” and “Laura”—for inclusion in George Thomson’s *Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* (1793).

Beyond Burns’s acquaintance, the edition allows a new examination of Turnbull’s career as it continued after his move to South Carolina in 1795. In Charleston he joined a prolific and popular theatre company and continued to publish poetry, often in periodicals, including the *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser*, and sometimes in prestigious publications such as *Port Folio*. The poems themselves are, as the editors state, “worth rediscovery.” This excellent online edition, which is equipped with reliable and robust annotation, makes this worthwhile “rediscovery” possible.

Rhona Brown, University of Glasgow

T. M. Devine, ed., *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xv + 260.

A rich and finely crafted volume on a neglected aspect of Scottish history, authored by some of the leading practitioners in the field, and edited by the nation’s pre-eminent historian, would be cause enough for a warm welcome. But it is of particular moment when the topic is one whose scant presence in current historiography derives from a self-willed amnesia that resulted from a general reluctance to acknowledge the extensive participation of the nation and its citizens in a brutal and sustained crime against humanity. *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past* provides two invaluable services, offering nuanced analyses of a range of specific topics on Caribbean dimensions of the role played by Scots and Scotland in the transatlantic traffic of enslaved Africans and the plantation complex that enchained them, while examining the silencing of the sins of these Scottish fathers by generations of their nation’s sons and daughters.

Devine follows the crisp foreword offered by the eminent U.S.-based historian of slavery, Philip D. Morgan, with an introduction that contextualizes “Scotland and Transatlantic Slavery” and presents his nine collaborators and their contributions, before giving first priority to the vexing question, “why has it taken so long to come to grips with an understanding of this dark episode in Scotland’s past” (p. 3). In the first two chapters, he and Michael Morris explore why the nation’s slavery past was lost to its history and distanced from its literature. Hypocrisy, self-styling, ignorance, and indifference, Devine argues, wrote this sordid heritage out of the record, in favor of a celebratory national self-image as the bastion of abolition and emancipation, and the triumphalism of anti-slavery’s very public moral crusade. Subsequently, from the mid-nineteenth century on, both within and outside academia, Devine persuasively establishes a range of other factors—including myopia, insularity, boosterism, decline, and pessimism—which added layers to the veil of silence. Morris then traces Scotland’s “literary amnesia,” from its roots in the narrow perspective of eighteenth-century sentimentalism that saw slavery as benign and the enslaved as passive, to the gentility of “Victorian gentlemanly euphemism, romantic Celticism and rural kailyard fiction,” none of which, he argues, “lend themselves to tackling such a difficult and unflattering subject as slavery” (p. 53). Hence, the inexorable distancing.

In eight subsequent chapters, Stuart Nisbet, Eric Graham, David Alston, Stephen Mullen, Suzanne Schwarz, Nicholas Draper, Iain Whyte, and Catherine Hall in turn offer insightful and substantive historical analyses that engage discrete topics: plantations and plantership in the Leewards, Jamaica, and Guyana; home-based

West India businesses; Scottish doctors in the slave trade; compensation payments to Scots enslavers; national understandings of slavery; and the country's pro-slavery advocates. There is much that is new and valuable here in scrupulous research that supplements a still regrettably meager scholarship, including the long-standing and pervasive role played by Scots from the seventeenth through the nineteenth centuries, just about everywhere and in every facet of the slavery system; the myriad and profitable networks of trade that connected the Atlantic's eastern and western shores; the central role of Scottish physicians for whom the slave trade offered prospects of employment and wealth beyond their expectations back home; the sizable number of Scots, from all walks of life, who owned enslaved people and received compensation from the £20 million paid to those whose human chattels were freed by the Act of Emancipation in 1834; and the nation's shifting and various perceptions of slavery that even embraced the odious pro-slavery sentiments of a native son, Archibald Alison, who was characterized as "the most unbending Conservative in Britain" (p. 206).

But within and between these discrete contributions, the forgetting and silencing of Scotland's slavery past provide the collection's cohesive, pervasive, and irrefutable core. Thus, for example, Whyte argues that "lest Scottish image suffer," the nation's eighteenth-century intellectuals thought that "keeping as quiet as possible about the slave trade and plantation slavery was seen as a wise precaution" (p. 190), while Glasgow merchants "McDowall and Milliken's roles as slave owners," asserts Nisbet, "have been concealed for nearly three hundred years" (p. 74).

This amnesia, the willful and the circumstantial, returns to center-stage in Devine's concluding contributions. His response to the question "Did Slavery make Scotia Great?" presents in "sharp focus the distinctive relationship between Scotland and the Atlantic slave economies" (p. 240), which has heretofore been ignored, and yet promises a significant contribution to the "Williams Thesis" debate over whether the capital formation generated by slavery and the slave trade financed the nation's industrial revolution. And in his provocative conclusion to this eminently satisfying volume, handsomely published by Edinburgh University Press, Devine issues a call to arms for further study of Scotland's slavery heritage that, he proposes, was "integral to the weft and woof of the national past" (p. 247).

Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past provides a timely and unassailable challenge to ignorant complacency and self-serving denial. Devine employs the Scots vernacular to chide the naysayers' blithe, self-righteous, even cynical defenses of Scots and Scotland that "it wisnae us" (p. 247) who were involved in the brutal system of bondage, with the findings of this pioneering volume sustaining a definitive response that "aye, it wis."

Roderick A. McDonald, Rider University

Patrick O'Flaherty, *Scotland's Pariah: The Life and Work of John Pinkerton, 1758–1826*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015. Pp. 313.

The title of this book is arguably misleading. Unless any irony is intended, it suggests that the book is in no sense an attempted reevaluation and restoration of Pinkerton's personal and intellectual reputation, given Scotland's almost complete rejection of him as both forger and exploiter of some of its most valuable texts and, worse, a charlatan ethnographer in his utter denial of Celticism's cultural and personal values. A more appropriate title for O'Flaherty's purpose might have been *Scotland's Prodigal*. Pinkerton is certainly prodigal (a word with the deep biblical resonances in Luke 15:11–32) in the self-obsessive scholarly energy he brought to an extraordinary range of subjects, over which he constantly asserted his not merely seminal, but often exclusive, comprehension. If the variety of his work were matched by its quality, he would have been one of the greatest polymaths of his age. Unfortunately, he rather confirmed the old Scottish saying: "Jock o' a' trades and master o' nane."

O'Flaherty has written, after long gestation, a well-researched account of Pinkerton's life, revealing an enormous amount about the man and his varied milieu. By so doing, he apparently intends not only to revalue Pinkerton but also to restore, to a degree, Pinkerton's reputation, not least among his fellow countrymen. I have a degree of sympathy with O'Flaherty's initial statement of principle: "The premises are: that as a player of note in the literary scene of his day he deserves a biography; and that his work merits extended treatment.... Every life can be seen as symbolic in some way or other, but it is the flesh and blood of a neglected, deeply flawed, but intriguing human being, in a word 'the whole man as he looked and lived among his fellows,' that the book tries to capture. (p. 4). However, O'Flaherty causes a fundamental difficulty by initiating this task on a fundamentally wrong premise. Thus he writes: "One thing is clear: Pinkerton was a child of the Enlightenment. He often wrote that he lived in an enlightened age. He admired the 'great and elegant writer of philosophy' Hume, whose influence is felt throughout his own literary efforts, indeed in his life and beliefs... To speak generally, the spirit of freedom, inquiry, and scepticism that was abroad in Scotland in the eighteenth century he inherited and absorbed" (p. 8). This, I think, is categorically wrong. Pinkerton was not so much a degenerate product of the Scottish Enlightenment as, perhaps unwittingly, a resuscitator of the dark gods of perverted religion and dark racialism that had preceded it. The least communal of men, he also had a deep, exploitative, insidious streak and abandoned children from his different relationships.

Pinkerton did praise Hume, but O'Flaherty's belief that Hume's influence permeated Pinkerton's own writings is extremely wide of the mark. Whereas Hume subtly undermined Christian supernaturalism, Pinkerton

subjected it to a brutal dismissive onslaught. The very language of the King James Bible he considered devoid of “sublime or beautiful style.” As a specific example, he argued that “let there be light and there was light” was derived from “a forged addition to Longinus.” Not restricted to Christian authors, he found Virgil “a mere imitator”! (p. 31) This mixture of a tin ear and a deeply ironic capacity to detect plagiarism everywhere made him a dreadful critic. His reviews, consequently, constantly caused bitter controversy.

While demolishing Christianity to his own satisfaction, Pinkerton in *The Spirit of All Religions* (1790) invented a providential God who, if not quite in the writer’s own image, was always on hand to substantiate Pinkerton’s mainly political beliefs, such as the omnipotent, providential nature of the British Empire. The argument from design is perhaps pushed a bit hard when he reveals that God has placed iron deposits in Northern Europe for the benefit of Gothic man.

He also brought his, at best, absolutist eccentricity to the vast range of subjects he sought, but failed, to extend and exploit. A self-promoting polymath, he was a thin derivative poet and, as an editor of antiquarian texts, a forger. He had some brief success as a geographer/cartographer but failed in his numismatic, pictorial, mineralogy/geology ventures.

The real disaster was not so much in his historical writings but in his ethnography. Driven by jealousy of James Macpherson and the age-old Lowland suspicions of the Highlands, he devised a vast and wholly unsubstantiated vision, derived from confused classical sources, of a superior Scythian/Goth culture from whom the Scottish Picts were descended. The Picts, of course, were innately superior to the Scottish Celts. Actually, they were ethnically the same. Pinkerton’s adamant assertion of this is the antithesis of the Enlightenment mind but a prelude to nineteenth- and twentieth-century racism. Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Celts were, he wrote, “incapable of industry or civilization, even after half their blood is Gothic, and remain as marked by the ancients, fond of lies, and enemies of truth.” Their intellect is marked by “‘idiotic credulity’; their language reflects the ‘dark understanding in the people who use it’; their personal manners are nasty and filthy, as they were in ancient times when they washed bodies and cleaned their teeth with urine” (pp. 46–47).

Andrew Noble, Leverhulme Emeritus Fellow

Gordon Pentland and Michael T. Davis, eds., *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics: England and Scotland, 1688–1815: Essays in Honour of H. T. Dickinson*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xvi + 240.

The *Festschrift* is often regarded as a dying form. Yet *Festschriften* demonstrate how scholars have been influenced by, and pay deference to, one another, and their contents, though sometimes uneven, can also be stimulating. So I was glad to add to my collection *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics: England and Scotland, 1688–1815*, the title being a nod to Harry Dickinson’s well-regarded texts *Liberty and Property: Political Ideology in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (1977) and *The Politics of the People* (1994). Dickinson has been, and remains, one of the foremost intellectual historians of the long eighteenth century, and his catalogue of work, much on the role of politics in this period, has managed to be influential, wide-ranging, and prolific: a fact reinforced by the lengthy appendix containing his selected works. The fondness that his colleagues, peers, friends, and former students have for him is evident in Francis Dow’s “H. T. Dickinson: An Appreciation” and Pentland’s introduction to the book, as well as in his influence (both implicit and explicit) on the individual contributors.

The volume collects fourteen essays, split, like its namesake, into three sections: “Part I: Parliament and Political Cultures,” “Part II: Beyond Liberty and Property,” and “Part III: The Long and Wide 1790s.” The essays examine varying themes and issues (radicalism, political toasting, the press, church acts and reform, networking in the navy) and people (Edmund Burke, Thomas Spence, William Winterbotham) during the long eighteenth century, including an excellent piece by Michael T. Davis on the media’s (including Isaac Cruikshank) portrayal of Thomas Paine in the 1790s.

Five chapters are directly related to Scottish history. Shin Matsuzono, “‘Could the Scots Become True British?’: The Prelude to the Scottish Peerage Bill, 1706–16” provides a succinct examination of negotiations between the Scots and English over Scottish representation in the House of Lords. Drawing on sources from political debates and private correspondence, Matsuzono explores the various arguments for an increase in Scottish representation and explains why they did not work. Matthew P. Dziennik, “Liberty, Property and the Post-Culloden Acts of Parliament in the *Gàidhealtachd*” re-examines the Act of Proscription and its reception in the Highlands, challenging the view that the decline in the use of the *breacan an fhéilidh* (the belted plaid) was solely due to the military measures and harsh reforms of the government. Instead of analyzing the act solely in terms of ethnicity, Dziennik broadens the discussion by examining the impact of other motives, highlighting how the landed Gaelic elite made the act work for them.

David Allan, “‘The Wisest and Most Beneficial Schemes’: William Ogilvie, Radical Political Economy and the Scottish Enlightenment” provides a reinterpretation of William Ogilvie, evaluating his arguments in *An Essay on the Right of Property in Land* (1781) within the wider context of the Scottish Enlightenment. After providing biographical background, Allan tackles Ogilvie’s only published work in order to highlight the Scottish philosopher’s thoughts on land ownership and identify Ogilvie’s main influences. This essay provides insight into the man and his egalitarian approach to land ownership, and it presents an argument for repositioning Ogilvie among

his peers. In "Was There a Law of Sedition in Scotland? Baron David Hume's Analysis of the Scottish Sedition Trials of 1794," Atle L. Wold investigates the intricacies of the Scottish law of sedition as it was used in the 1794 trial of Maurice Margarot. Important for historians of law, but by no means purely for experts, Wold's chapter clearly puts forth the contemporary arguments for and against "sedition" existing as a crime in Scots law—and its legal implications—quoting the prosecution, defense, and judges from the Margarot trial, before delving into Baron David Hume's thoughts on this conundrum.

Gordon Pentland, "The Posthumous Lives of Thomas Muir" builds on Dickinson's profile of Muir in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* in order to examine Muir's different roles in the shifting political landscapes of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Britain and, to a lesser extent, Australia and America. Pentland reveals how Peter MacKenzie, Muir's first biographer, used the image of Muir as a martyr to reform in his struggles against the Tories during the 1830s, after which Glaswegian Chartists in the 1840s made the unfounded assumption that Muir would have supported universal suffrage. Further changes in perceptions of Muir and his ideals in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries are discussed, both abroad and at home, where he became a distinctly Scottish icon, right up until the relatively recent use by the Scottish Labour and Scottish Nationalist Parties. By examining the "malleability of [Muir's] legacy," Pentland provides an intriguing study of the way that political activists and their ideals can be appropriated to suit different arguments in different times.

As a *Festschrift* that actually works as a themed volume, *Liberty, Property and Popular Politics* does honor to Harry Dickinson, and it is recommended to anyone interested in the influence of politics during this period.

Nelson Mundell, University of Glasgow

Anna Plassart, *The Scottish Enlightenment and the French Revolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. viii + 246.

Anna Plassart's new book argues that, in our preoccupation with the Price-Burke-Paine debate in Britain in the 1790s, we have missed a different major intellectual approach to the French Revolution taken by contemporaries—that of the writers of the Scottish Enlightenment. These philosophers and historians were not caught up with the legitimacy of natural rights, or the nature of political institutions. Rather, they were concerned with social change, and convinced of the need to understand the effects of French political events, and especially republican military activity, on the development of European commercial society. Plassart therefore explains the otherwise puzzling fact that such major thinkers and opinion-formers did not seem to have contributed to the British discussion on the Revolution in France. They did in fact have plenty to say about it and about the lengthy European war that followed but, because they did not engage primarily with the political debate whose focus was in London, and took a very different angle, scholars have not paid attention to their analysis. It was not until the first decade of the nineteenth century, when the essays of the *Edinburgh Review* engaged with London politics as well as with Scottish philosophy, that metropolitan opinion on the European war began to be substantially influenced by Scottish Enlightenment thinking. Plassart's contention is that the writings of Scottish philosophers and historians on the French Revolution constitute both an important contemporary line of argument, dealing with the transformation of warfare, national sentiment, and international relations, and an essential foundation to understanding some of the major intellectual debates of the nineteenth century.

In Part I, Plassart explains the scholarly neglect of the Scottish philosophical response to the French Revolution and the roots of that response in David Hume's and Adam Smith's "science of man" project and view of the progress of human societies. Part II sets out the responses to the Revolution of John Millar, James Mackintosh, the Earl of Lauderdale, and Adam Ferguson and their attempts to place it in the historical context of the conjectural approach to history created by Lord Kames, Smith, and Ferguson. Finally, Part III demonstrates the recognition of the writers of the *Edinburgh Review* that conjectural history was ultimately inadequate to deal with the trajectory of the French Revolution toward violence and dictatorship, and their responses to this problem. Plassart traces and explains the differences of approach and emphasis among these Scottish writers throughout these decades, but she argues that they shared similar roots. Despite sometimes significant differences of opinion and political slant, the 1790s writers were all heavily influenced by Hume's and Smith's perspectives, she contends, while the ideas of those at work in the first decades of the nineteenth century were substantially shaped by the teachings and writings of Thomas Reid and Dugald Stewart.

Plassart is to be congratulated on having so clearly and convincingly articulated this alternative approach to the Revolution in France and the lengthy ensuing conflict, and her metropolitan explanation for its previous neglect is persuasive. Most of these philosophers are generally assumed to have expressed remarkably little in the way of political opinions, and such opinions as they did have (with the exception of Mackintosh's early views) are generally taken to have been fairly conservative. In fact, Plassart shows, the Scottish Enlightenment writers often demonstrated less crude hostility to the French Revolution, and more discrimination and perspective, than most other British commentators. She adds her voice to the Mackintosh scholars who have understood for some time that the popular perception of his "volte face" after *Vindiciae Gallicae* (1791) is too simplistic, and that his account of the Revolution and its aftermath was "more original and perceptive than contemporaries and scholarship have given him credit for" (p. 97). She also proposes a more nuanced understanding of Ferguson's views than the image

of the scholar wrapped in nostalgia for ancient Rome suggests. The book is well structured, with a clear and substantial argument, and its sweep—from the mid-eighteenth century through the 1790s to 1815—is unusual and welcome. Moreover, Plassart takes advantage of the opportunity to display some wonderful eighteenth-century Scottish writing. “To destroy independent nations, in order to strengthen the balance of power, is a most extravagant sacrifice of the end to the means,” Mackintosh told the House of Commons in a speech criticizing the work of the Congress of Vienna in April 1815 (p. 217). Three years earlier, Henry Brougham had pointed out in the *Edinburgh Review* that “the great bulk of society” had by that time “passed their whole lives, politically speaking, in a state of universal war; and they only know from history, that there ever was such a thing as peace in the world” (p. 188).

The book is entirely about the writings and speeches of these men, but their contextualization in the British debate about the French Revolution would be both strengthened and complicated by acknowledgement of the active engagement of the Scottish literati in British politics, and their connections with military action: Millar’s and Reid’s presence at the Glasgow dinner to celebrate the fall of the Bastille in 1791; Millar’s involvement in the production of the Glasgow peace petition in 1793 and his criticism of the University of Glasgow’s donation to the Voluntary Contribution of 1798; Mackintosh’s membership of the Whig Association of the Friends of the People in 1792, and his election to the Whig Club in 1795; Stewart’s friendship with various Scottish, English, and Irish radicals; Reid’s membership in the Glasgow Whig Friends of Liberty, and his donation of money to the French National Assembly in 1792; Ferguson’s sons’ service in the army and navy throughout the French wars; and so on. They did not write their books and essays from ivory towers. A terminological difficulty is introduced by the fluidity of British identity in the eighteenth century. “Britain” is often used in opposition to “Scotland” (e.g., pp. 43, 58) or, by contrast, “English” is sometimes used when “British” would be more accurate (p. 199); loyalist Moderatism was not like English Dissent precisely because it was *not* Dissent, but rather Establishment (pp. 45, 60, 61); and the Society of the Friends of the People in Scotland was a much more radical body than its Whig counterpart in London (p. 50).

Plassart’s book therefore raises the question of how the writings she is discussing influenced, and were influenced by, the metropolitan debate on the French Revolution and the French wars. Which party-political writers did the Scottish Enlightenment writers read—and who was reading their work on the Revolution and the conflict? In particular, leaving aside the London press and metropolitan political activity, how did the philosophical arguments of the Scottish literati intersect with Scottish radicalism and loyalism, given what Mark Towsey has demonstrated about how well-read Scots were in their own Enlightenment literature? These questions perhaps go beyond the scope of what Plassart intended to achieve here, and indeed she is more interested in establishing the influence of these writings on nineteenth-century utilitarian and liberal ideology. She has made a strong case for the reintegration of Scottish Enlightenment thinking with British responses to the French Revolution, however, and the potential for this project to be taken further, perhaps via some two-way reception history, is intriguing.

Emma Macleod, University of Stirling

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Key to the Abbreviations

ESNIP=*The Enlightenment in Scotland: National and International Perspectives*, ed. Jean-François Dunyach and Ann Thomson. Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2015).

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New Jersey Institute of Technology
University Heights
Newark, NJ 07102-1982 USA
Tel: 973-596-3377
Fax: 973-762-3039
E-mail: sher@njit.edu