

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

No. 31 Spring 2017
ISSN 1085-4894

The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

VANCOUVER (ALMOST) UPON US

At press time in May, excitement is building for the society's 30th annual conference, to be held with the World Congress on Scottish Literatures at the Coast Plaza Hotel in Vancouver, BC, on 21–25 June 2017, on the theme of "Dialogues and Diasporas." ECSSS President Leith Davis has done a fine job putting together this conference, which represents the first time that ECSSS has met in the North American West.

Among the highlights at the conference will be two roundtables focused on new books written or edited by ECSSS members. The first, "Literature and Enlightenment," will be a round table on Thursday morning on *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture*, edited by Ralph McLean, Ronnie Young, and the late Ken Simpson—the latest volume in ECSSS's Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series, published by Bucknell University Press. Among the participants will be Ronnie Young and two of the contributors to the volume: Pam Perkins, whose chapter in the book is entitled "Regulating Reality by Imagination: Fact, Fiction, and Travel in the Scottish Enlightenment," and Deidre Dawson, author of a chapter on "Fingal Meets Vercingetorix: Ossianism, Celtomania, and the Transformation of French National Identity in Post-Revolutionary France." Besides co-authoring the introduction, Ronnie Young has contributed a chapter on "'Sympathetick Curiosity': Drama, Moral Thought, and the Science of Human Nature." Friday morning will feature "Adam Ferguson, the Moral Life, and the Enlightenment Project"—a roundtable discussion of a new book by ECSSS Executive Board member Jack A. Hill, *Adam Ferguson and Ethical Integrity: The Man and His Prescriptions for the Moral Life*. Participants will include Xandra Bello, Michael Brown, Mike Kugler, and Katherine Nicolai, with Jack Hill responding. These events will be the North American launches of the books under discussion, both of which are reviewed in this issue.

The conference will include more than two dozen concurrent sessions and roundtables over Thursday and Friday, with Saturday set aside for plenary sessions. Allan Ramsay, Robert Burns, Sir Walter Scott, John Galt, James Hogg, and Anne Grant and

other women writers will be among the Scottish literary figures from the long eighteenth century who will receive special attention, and a roundtable on the Scottish Literature Digital Humanities Project will focus on the early Edinburgh Enlightenment, Scottish travel, Gavin Turnbull's poetry, and Scottish chapbooks. Other panels will cover historical thought and politics in the Scottish Enlightenment, piracy and land control, Scottish identity issues in the face of social class and displacement, and the significance of the extraordinary Gaelic collection of Adam Ferguson's successor as chaplain to the Black Watch, Rev. James McLagan. There will also be a banquet and dance on Saturday night and an optional excursion on Sunday to Fort Langley, which will complement a plenary talk by Pam Perkins the previous day on Scots and the Hudson's Bay Company.

More information is on the conference website at <https://dialoguesanddiasporas.wordpress.com>.

GETTING READY FOR GLASGOW

The 2018 ECSSS annual conference will be held at the University of Glasgow, 17–21 July, on the theme of "Networks of Enlightenment." As well as being one of the leading centers of the Scottish Enlightenment, linked with Francis Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Thomas Reid, John Millar, Colin McLaurin, Joseph Black, James Watt, and the Foulis Press, the university is closely connected with anatomist and collector Dr. William Hunter (1718–83), whose collection forms the basis of the Hunterian Museum. The conference will mark the tercentenary of Hunter's birth, along with that of Hugh Blair (1718–1800), the eminent Presbyterian preacher and professor of rhetoric and belles lettres at the University of Edinburgh. In addition to examining both Hunter and Blair and their many connections within the wider milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment (medical, scientific, literary, religious, academic, and social, among others), the conference is particularly interested in proposals related to the theme of Enlightenment networks. "Networks of Enlightenment" is broadly conceived to capture areas of interdisciplinary interest in Scottish intellectual and cultural life including, for example, networks related to philo-

sophical and literary activity, medicine and science, clubs and societies, English and international connections, religion, social and economic improvement, publishing, correspondence, collecting, and political, radical, or abolitionist networks. We hope ECSSS members will join us next year for what promises to be a stimulating event in the West of Scotland.

The conference will offer an opportunity to visit the newly remodeled Kelvin Hall, which now houses William Hunter's legacy to the university, the great Hunterian Collection (<http://kelvinhall.org.uk/university-of-glasgow>). This historic building, adjacent to the university campus, has been redeveloped in a unique partnership between the University of Glasgow, the National Library of Scotland, and Glasgow City, providing access to the resources of the Hunterian Museum, the NLS, and Glasgow Museums, and offering modern facilities for researchers in areas such as arts, heritage, and material culture.

To celebrate the wider networks of the Enlightenment, we are also planning an afternoon excursion into Ayrshire to visit the Robert Burns Birthplace Museum, taking in nearby examples of grand houses from the period. For further information, see the Call for Papers which is enclosed with this issue and also posted on the society's webpage (www.ecsss.org), or contact the conference organizer, Ronnie Young, at ronnie.young@glasgow.ac.uk.

2019: CONGRESS IN EDINBURGH

ECSSS has traditionally held its annual conference with the International Congress for Eighteenth-Century Studies every eight years: Bristol in 1991, Dublin in 1999, Montpellier in 2007, and Rotterdam in 2015. However, in 2019 the Congress will be held at the University of Edinburgh from 14 to 19 July under the sponsorship of the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, and we could not possibly resist joining the action. Planning has been going on for some years now, with ECSSS Executive Board member Mark Towsey representing ECSSS on the Congress planning committee. The theme of the Congress will be "Enlightenment Identities." Because Scottish topics are sure to permeate this Congress, ECSSS will dispense with its usual pattern of holding a "Conference within the Congress." Instead, our papers and panels will be integrated into the Congress. Therefore instead of submitting proposals to ECSSS, those wishing to participate should submit their proposals for papers and panels directly to the Congress after the CFP is issued in January 2018 (check for links on the websites of ECSSS, BSECS, and ISECS). This is going to be a very special event!

THE DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWSHIP

Spyridon Tegos of the University of Crete completed his successful tenure at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (IASH) at the University of Edinburgh early in March 2017 as the third Daiches-Manning Fellow, working on "Etiquette, Middle Class

Manners and European Civility in David Hume and Adam Smith."

After an extremely competitive selection process, Robin Mills, currently a teaching fellow in the Departments of European Social and Political Studies and History at University College London, has been named as the fourth Daiches-Manning Fellow. The recipient of a 2014 PhD at Cambridge University, Robin will be doing research at IASH on "Religion and the Science of Human Nature in the Scottish Enlightenment," as part of a larger project on the previously neglected role of religion in Scottish Enlightenment thought—including the application of scientific methods to religion, the evolution of "natural religion" over the full course of the eighteenth century, and the place of religion within Scottish historical theory during the second half of the century.

This year a number of improvements were implemented in the Daiches-Manning Fellowship, which is jointly sponsored by ECSSS and the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, and hosted by IASH. Applicants now send their applications directly to IASH rather than to ECSSS, using the standard IASH deadline at the end of February. The ECSSS Daiches-Manning Fellowship Selection Committee (Craig Smith—Chair, Deidre Dawson, and Mark Towsey) is still responsible for nominating the recipient of the fellowship, however, and we are extremely grateful to them for the effort they put into this process. For more information about the fellowship, go to <https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/daiches-manning-memorial-fellowship-18th-century-scottish-studies>.

The same page has a link for donations, which can be made directly to the Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund at the University of Edinburgh using major credit cards. Or send checks/cheques in US dollars or GB pounds to ECSSS.

CHANGES AT IASH

Changes have recently occurred in the administration of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (IASH) at the University of Edinburgh. Professor Jo Shaw, who has been the Director for several years, is moving on to accept a Leverhulme Trust Major Research Fellowship to study global citizenship. The new Director is Professor Steve Yearley, a sociologist who works on environmental sociology and science and technology studies. At the same time, Peta Freestone resigned her position as Administrative Manager of IASH in order to pursue her own writing interests. We have worked closely with Peta over the past three years in the administration of the Daiches-Manning Fellowship, and she was always extremely efficient and helpful. Peta has been replaced by Ben Fletcher-Watson, with whom we look forward to working on the administration of the fellowship in the future.

ECSSS AT ASECS

After our successful conference at the ASECS meeting at Pittsburgh in 2016, ECSSS returned to its regu-

lar role of sponsoring one or two panels at the annual ASECS meeting, this time in Minneapolis from 30 March to 2 April 2017. And as often in the past, our participation took the form of collaboration with the Irish Studies Caucus. At a panel on “New Directions in Irish and Scottish Studies,” jointly sponsored by both organizations, and chaired by Deidre Dawson, Michael Brown of the University of Aberdeen led off with “Unions for Empire? Brexit and the Dilemmas of Irish-Scottish Studies.” ECSSS President Leith Davis of Simon Fraser U. spoke next on “Cultural Memory Studies and/in the British Archipelago.” Then Dafydd Moore of the U. of Plymouth presented on “‘Too Frivolous to Interest the Public?’ Walter Scott, Richard Polwhele and Archipelagic Correspondence.” Finally, everyone adjourned to the joint ECSSS-Irish Studies Caucus luncheon. Thanks to Leith and Deidre for representing ECSSS at ASECS.

At next year’s ASECS meeting in Orlando, Florida, 22–25 March 2018, ECSSS will once again co-host a luncheon with the Irish Studies Caucus and will also sponsor two panels. “Rediscovering Adam Ferguson,” organized by Mike Hill of SUNY Albany, will seek to reconsider Ferguson in regard to a wide range of tensions in his life and thought, such as martial virtue *versus* commerce; political conflict *versus* order; individual *versus* group interests; Highland *versus* Lowland identity; and moral philosophy *versus* history. The second ECSSS panel, “Rediscovering Boswell’s *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (1785),” is being organized by Richard Sher in honor of longtime ECSSS member and Boswell/Johnson scholar John Radner, who died suddenly in early May (see below). It will seek to reconsider Boswell’s first attempt at Johnsonian biography *as a book*, with attention to topics such as the tensions between the journal and the published book and between journalizing and memory, editing and publishing arrangements, and revisions in the second and third editions in response to the reactions of critics, sympathetic readers, and offended parties. Those interested in participating should watch for the seminar list on the ASECS website (<https://asecs.press.jhu.edu>), or contact the appropriate panel organizer directly at mhill@albany.edu or sher@njit.edu.

ECSSS BOOK SERIES NEWS

Bucknell University Press, publishers of the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland series, has signed a contract with Rutgers University Press, which will replace Rowman & Littlefield as the distributor of its books during the course of the next year. According to Greg Clingham, Director of Bucknell University Press and a longtime ECSSS member, the new arrangement is expected to yield lower list prices for books in the ECSSS series, as well as the opportunity for discount purchasing of ECSSS titles by ECSSS members directly from Rutgers University Press rather than from the society. We also expect the stock of previously published Bucknell University Press books

in the ECSSS series to move to Rutgers University Press in due course, again at discount prices for ECSSS members.

Meanwhile, the latest (9th!) volume in the series—Ralph McLean, Ronnie Young, and Kenneth Simpson, eds., *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture* (2016)—is now available.

IN MEMORIAM: JOHN RADNER (1939–2017)

At press time we learned that the Boswell and Johnson scholar John B. Radner died suddenly of a heart attack on 9 May 2017 at the age of 78. A longstanding member of ECSSS, John had retired from the English Department at George Mason University in 2007. He received his BA and PhD from Harvard and was head tutor there from 1966 to 1971, before moving to Georgetown University and then George Mason from 1975 onward. John spent his research career moving toward one goal, a major book on the relationship between Boswell and Johnson, which finally appeared in 2012 as *Johnson and Boswell: A Biography of Friendship* (Yale University Press). It is a thoroughly researched, carefully argued work that constitutes by far the most detailed treatment ever written on this topic and shows a far more conflicted and contingent relationship between his subjects than one might expect. The book was co-winner of the Annibel Jenkins Biography Prize.

John was active to the end, and scarcely a month before his death he presented a paper on “The Unexpected Pleasures of Travel: Johnson in the Highlands and Hebrides” at the annual ASECS meeting in Minneapolis on 1 April 2017. At next year’s ASECS meeting in Orlando, ECSSS will sponsor a panel in his memory on Boswell’s *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (see above).

RSCHS GOES ONLINE

Students and scholars of eighteenth-century Scottish religion have long found the *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* to be an invaluable resource. But for many of us, this journal has been difficult to find. Now comes relief: the papers from back issues of the society’s records are now available free online at www.archive.org (or directly at <http://69.89.31.98/~schsorgu/records>). It’s an incredibly rich archive of dozens (or perhaps hundreds) of articles, including many of great importance for our period.

SANDFORD THATCHER SEEKS MSS

Many ECSSS members will be familiar with Sandy Thatcher, who was an editor at Princeton University Press for twenty-two years (1967–89) and then Director of Penn State University Press for almost as long (1989–2009). During that time he was responsible for many books on Scottish philosophy by ECSSS members, including David Fate Norton, *David Hume: Common-Sense Moralist, Sceptical Metaphysician* (1982) and Frederick Whelan, *Order and Artifice in Hume’s Political Philosophy* (1985; new edition 2017)

at Princeton University Press and, at Penn State University Press, the *Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid*, edited by Knud Haakonssen, Paul Wood, Alexander Broadie, and others (2002–), and M. A. Stewart and John P. Wright, eds., *Hume and Hume's Connexions* (1994)—both co-published with Edinburgh University Press—and David B. Wilson, *Seeking Natural Logic: Natural Philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2009). Now retired as a full-time editor, he has been acquiring books in political philosophy for University of Rochester Press, whose publishing operations are handled by Boydell & Brewer but whose editorial decisions are made independently and governed by a faculty editorial committee at the university. Anyone working on a book in the field of eighteenth-century Scottish political philosophy is welcome to send him a proposal at sgt3@psu.edu.

THE CONFERENCE SCENE

Centre for Cultural Policy Research, Glasgow U.
1707: The National Press, Civil Society and Constitutional Identity in Scotland, 4 Nov. 2016

Almost all the participants in this one-day symposium were ECSSS members, including Alex Benchimol, Karin Bowie, Ralph McLean, Nicholas Phillipson, Rhona Brown, and Murray Pittock.

Center for the Study of Scottish Philosophy at Princeton Theological Seminar
Science in the Scottish Enlightenment, 10–12 March 2017

This conference began with a panel discussion of Jack Hill's *Adam Ferguson and Ethical Integrity*, with Toni Carey, Gordon Graham, and the author (as well as a paper submitted by Jan Swearingen). Another highlight was a symposium titled "Between Philosophy and History" that featured Gordon Graham and James Harris. Other ECSSS members who gave papers were Nathaniel Wolloch on Adam Smith and natural resources; Gregory Todd on Newtonianism in the early Scottish Enlightenment; Matthew Eddy on scientific tools of Scottish realism; and Toni Carey on Byron, Newton, and Adam Smith.

Hume's Dialogues: A Symposium, 17 May 2017
Talks included Gordon Graham on "Hume on Evil: The Implications of an Indifferent Will."

Philosophical Significance of the Scottish Tradition, 9–11 March 2018 (proposals by 1 Nov. 2017 to cssp@ptsem.edu)

Mediterranean Society for Enlightenment Studies
Enlightenment, Religion, and the Historical Imagination, 23–25 May 2017, Jerusalem

Although no longer explicitly tied to the Scottish Enlightenment, the newly named MSES continues to bring Enlightenment principles to a tension-filled area of the world, under the thoroughly enlightened leadership of Dionysis Drosos of the University of Ioannina. This year's conference included talks on Adam Smith presented by ECSSS members Spyridon Tegos and

Nathaniel Wolloch.

ASLS Annual Conferences

Literature and Religion in Scotland, 1–2 July 2016, University of Glasgow

Speakers included ECSSS members Michael Kugler, Evan Gottlieb, and Juliet Shields.

Scotland 1715–1780: Literature, Culture, Art and Music, 10 June 2017, David Hume Tower, University of Edinburgh

Speakers include Gerard Carruthers on misconceptions about Scottish poetry; Ronnie Young on Allan Ramsay's Scots proverbs and Enlightenment print culture; and Murray Pittock on the Allan Ramsay Edition.

Hume Society

Annual conference, 17–21 July 2017, Brown University, Providence, R.I.

This conference will include a book panel on James Harris's *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*, featuring Jim Moore (who covers the book in his review essay in this issue) and the author.

La Nouvelle Ville d'Édimbourg et les villes nouvelles en Écosse, 1767–2017

5–6 Oct. 2017, Université de Picardie Jules Verne, Amiens, France

Clarisse Godard Desmarest is organizing this international conference, commemorating the 250th anniversary of the Edinburgh New Town, with keynote lectures by fellow ECSSS members Tony Lewis and Murray Pittock. Go to <https://corpus.sciencesconf.org>.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

David Armitage finished his three-year term as chair of the History Dept. at Harvard U. and used the extra time to publish *Civil Wars: A History in Ideas* (2017); David was also elected a fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge, and a corresponding member of the Real Academia de la Historia in Madrid...**Karin Bowie**, now senior lecturer at the U. of Glasgow, won the 2016 Royal Historical Society David Berry Prize for an essay on public opinion in early modern Scotland that is forthcoming in the *Scottish Historical Review*...**John Cairns** delivered the annual Stair Society lecture on 19 Nov. 2016, on "Reforming Legal Education in Edinburgh: Roman Law, 1792–1800"...**Gerry Caruthers** delivered the annual Fletcher of Saltoun Lecture in the Burns Room of the Scottish Parliament on 3 Nov. 2016, following **Karin Bowie**, who was so honored in Sept. 2015...at the invitation of **Mark Wallace** of Lyon U., **James Caudle**, now a Perthshire resident, was the featured speaker at the Arkansas Scottish Festival in Apr., speaking on Boswell in London and on the Scottishness of James Boswell...**Ronald Crawford** has been appointed Honorary Visiting Professor in History at the U. of Strathclyde...in Aug. 2016 **William Donaldson** gave a talk at the College of Piping in Glasgow as part of the

“Piping Live” festival on the older manuscript and printed sources for Highland bagpipe music (available at www.piperspersuasion.trad.org.uk/w-donaldson-h-bagpipe-and-scottish-society)...**Ian Duncan** delivered the Packer Lectures in English at UCLA in Apr. 2016; he will spend the fall 2017 semester as a fellow of the Council for the Humanities at Princeton...**Alex Du Toit** has moved from the Lochaber Archive Centre in the West Highlands to Special Collections at Goldsmiths’ College, U. of London...**Matthew Dziennik** is now assistant professor of British and British imperial history at the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland...**Matthew Eddy**, promoted to a readership at Durham U., was a senior fellow at Durham’s Institute for Advanced Study in 2015, followed by a visiting fellowship at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science in Berlin, researching the mnemotechnic methods of notekeeping learned by Margaret Monro, daughter of the Edinburgh anatomist Alexander Monro *primus*...in addition to her work advancing the Eighteenth-Century Arts Education Research Network (EAERN) at the U. of Glasgow, **Elizabeth Ford** reports that A-R Editions will publish her complete edition of the sonatas of the Scottish composer William McGibbon (1690–1756)...on 17 May 2017 the Association Franco-Écossaise sponsored a talk by **Clarisse Godard Desmarest** at the Old Scots College in Paris, on “La Royal High School et l’Athènes du Nord”...**Gordon Graham** spoke on “Hume on Evil” at “Hume’s Dialogues: a Symposium,” at Princeton Theological Seminary Library on 17 May 2017...**Anita Guerrini** has received a Standard Grant from the National Science Foundation for research (featuring William and John Hunter) on skeletons and early modern anatomy...**Mike Hill** has been promoted to professor of English at SUNY Albany...**Sandro Jung** has been enjoying an 18-month Humboldt Foundation Senior Fellowship at the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel, Germany...**Rosaleen Keefe** earned her PhD in English at the U. of Rhode Island in May 2017 with a dissertation on Scottish Enlightenment rhetoric, and was the Fleeman Fellow at St. Andrews U. in spring 2017...after a sabbatical year in Göttingen, **László Kontler** will be a Fernand Braudel Fellow at the European U. Institute in Florence in fall 2017 and a Leverhulme Visiting Professor at Cambridge for the first half of 2018...in summer 2016 **William Lowe** retired from the History Dept. at Ashford U. in Clinton, Iowa...**Emma Macleod** is now senior lecturer in history at the U. of Stirling...**Gideon Mailer** has been promoted to associate professor with tenure in the History Dept. at the U. of Minnesota...on 20 Oct. 2016 **Karen McAulay** spoke in the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society lecture series on “The Legal Deposit Music at St. Andrews: Scottish Airs, Irish and Hebrew Melodies and Other Late Georgian Favourites”...**Vincenzo Merolle** continues to publish his journal on European intellectual history, the latest issue of which appeared in Dec. 2016...**Nic Miller**, whose new book on John Millar will be no-

ticed in next year’s issue, is now an ERC Research Fellow at the Institute of Social Sciences, U. of Lisbon...**Robin Mills**, a teaching fellow at University College London, was the recipient of three fellowships in 2017: a Visiting Library Fellowship at St. Andrews U.; a Herzog-Ernst Short-Term Postdoctoral Scholarship at Gotha Research Centre, U. of Erfurt; and the David Walker Fellowship in Early Modern Studies at the Bodleian Library, Oxford U...**Hiroshi Mizuta**’s magnificent library at Nagoya U. Library, including much Scottish material, is catalogued in *The Mizuta Library*, ed. Eriko Nakai (Routledge, 2015)...**Carla Mumford** has been promoted to professor of English at Penn State U., where she was the 2016 winner of the Malvin and Lea Bank Award for Outstanding Liberal Arts Teaching...in Dec. 2015 **Ruth Perry** was interviewed about “Auld Lang Syne” on NPR’s *All Things Considered* radio program...the sixth volume of **J.G.A. Pocock**’s *Barbarism and Religion* was co-winner of the 2015 Istvan Hont Memorial Prize at the St. Andrews Institute of Intellectual History (awarded 2016)...**Silvia Sebastiani** has won a fellowship at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton for 2017–18, to pursue research on orangutans and the boundaries of humanity in the thought of Lord Monboddo, among others...after forty-two years of teaching, **Richard Sher** will retire this summer from the Federated History Dept. at New Jersey Institute of Technology and Rutgers U., Newark (but not from his ECSSS duties!)...**Juliet Shields** spent the spring 2017 semester as a Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh...in May 2017 **Joel Sodano** received his PhD in English at SUNY Albany with a dissertation on English fiction read through the history of emotion, which won the Distinguished Dissertation award; he spent the year as a fellow at that university’s Institute for Teaching, Learning and Academic Leadership...**Mark Spencer** has been promoted to professor at Brock U...**Ryu Susato** moved from Kansai U. in Osaka to Keio U. in Tokyo in Apr. 2017...**Rivka Swenson** is the new ASECS Affiliates Coordinator as of 1 July 2017...**Paul Tonks**, now a member of the Executive Committee of the Korean Society of British History, has been awarded a three-year Visiting Research Fellowship at King’s College London from summer 2017...in Apr. 2017 **Mark Towsey** and **Siobhan Talbott** had what Mark calls “a bona fide ECSSS baby,” Alastair Eric, whose birth followed by one week Siobhan’s being awarded an AHRC Leadership Fellowship! Mark has also been named co-editor with James Raven of a new Boydell & Brewer book series, “Knowledge and Communication in the Enlightenment World”...**Jay Voss** got his PhD at the U. of Texas in 2016 with a dissertation on “The Publication History of Hugh Blair’s *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* in the British Isles, 1765–1820”...**Jack Russell Weinstein** was guest editor of a special issue of the *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* on “Adam Smith: Context and Relevance” 15.1 (2017).

The 84th Regiment of Foot (*Royal Highland Emigrants*): Immigration and Foreignness during the American Revolution

By Matthew Dziennik
United States Naval Academy

The relatively free exchange of goods, ideas, and, above all, labor is crucial in our integrated, globalized world. But while goods and ideas raise few concerns among most people in the Western world, the exchange of labor is the subject of intense debate. Although these debates are multifaceted—and not always rational or clear—the supposed connection between immigrants and their countries of origin remains a source of unease. Cultural origin is often assumed to trump the new environment as a determinant of an immigrant's outlook and attitudes. The idea that immigrants use their origins to shape the environment—rather than being themselves shaped by the act of emigration—allows many of us to distill the complexity of human behavior down to simple and frequently misunderstood cultural norms. Historians of pre-modern immigration have, unwittingly or not, given credence to this idea. Popular histories—especially in a North American context—depict how migrants brought with them from the Old World ideas that subsequently formed the basis for settler identity and culture in the New World. In a truly globalized, rapidly changing world, historical examinations of how immigration, ethnicity, and culture were constructed in the past must acknowledge these assumptions if they are to provide a useful guide to public perceptions.

Historians of eighteenth-century Scotland have a great deal to contribute to these debates. Histories of the Scottish diaspora are immensely popular, and few Scots need be reminded of the claims that their nation established the basis for rugged individualism, free market capitalism, and populist democracy—that it “invented” the modern Western world. But scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland can also bring more nuanced insights to bear on the subjects of diaspora and identity. Scotland's position within a multinational state, and its long history of exporting its human capital to different lands, provide a powerful insight into debates over immigration. Whether we consider Scottish links with Continental Europe, the power of foreign courts in sustaining Jacobitism, the significance of links between Scottish Enlightenment thinkers and intellectuals from across Europe and beyond, or the migration of Scots across the Atlantic to the Americas, we know that eighteenth-century Scotland and its people were fashioned by connections that often paid little heed to national boundaries and cultural barriers. The Scottish diaspora was shaped not simply by their experiences in Scotland but also by the act of emigration and the environments in which they settled.

This brief article is an attempt to explain the importance of environment in shaping the outlook of Scottish emigrants during the American Revolution. From an examination of the 84th Regiment of Foot (*Royal Highland Emigrants*), it becomes obvious that even in that most sacred of national spaces—the armed forces—Scottish opponents of the Revolution were motivated neither by ethnicity nor by cultural background. Explanations of Scottish support for the crown tend to emphasize a number of ethnic paradigms, the central tenet of which is deference to traditional social structures and hierarchies. Loyalism, in this reading, becomes the product of an attachment to homeland and a social world that prevented Scots from fully grasping the ideological underpinnings of the revolutionary conflict. Regiments themselves are often regarded as having little connection to the colonies. An older historiography—e.g., William Canniff, *The Settlement of Upper Canada* ([1869], 1978); Paul Smith, “The American Loyalists: Notes on Their Organisation and Numerical Strength,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd Ser., 25 (1968): 259–77—tended to dismiss them as “foreign” and leave them out of the quantitative reckoning of “proper Loyalists.” More recent scholarship on Loyalism—e.g., Christopher Moore, *The Loyalists: Revolution, Exile, Settlement* (1982); Keith Mason, “The American Loyalist Diaspora and the Reconfiguration of the British Atlantic World,” in *Empire and Nation: The American Revolution in the Atlantic World*, ed. Eliga Gould and Peter Onuf (2005), pp. 239–59—has suggested that links to America might have been “weaker, or more ambiguous,” given the regiment's geographical origins. Nevertheless, change had been a root cause of emigration, and Scottish experiences of such change shaped their reactions to the conflict. Simplistic assumptions about the motives for counter-revolutionary activity, the “foreignness” of Scottish servicemen in the American Revolution, and the assumed attachment of immigrants to their homelands can all be tested and challenged through a study of the 84th Foot.

Although the *Royal Highland Emigrants* were created early in April 1775, just prior to the first shots being fired at Lexington and Concord on the 19th of that month, the recruitment of Scots—particularly Gaels—to defend Britain's interests in the Americas had been on-going since the winter of 1774. Several veterans of the Seven Years' War, including Sir Allan Maclean of Torloisk, John Small, and Alexander Macdonald, had been enlisting men in New York and North Carolina for a number of months before secret instructions were issued by the governors of those colonies to form an “association” of Loyalist Highlanders in early April 1775. Many of these enlistees had recently come to the colonies, arriving in the context of the Ayr Bank collapse in 1772 and the accompanying decline of the cattle trade in the Highlands and Islands. Rivalry between Sir Allan Maclean and the other officers led to the creation of two battalions of the *Royal Highland Emigrants* (the first under Maclean and the second under Small), and members of the regiment—sometimes in company strength or less—fought in almost every theatre of the American War for Independence, from Newfoundland and Quebec to North and South Caroli-

na. The two thousand soldiers of the regiment were a significant part of the disproportionate number of Scots who actively fought against the revolutionaries. In recognition of their services, the *Emigrants* were regimented as the 84th Foot in 1779, the first of six Loyalist provincial regiments to receive this honor.

Its name notwithstanding, the regiment did not draw its manpower from a single source. While many senior officers of the period—including the king—favored ethnic-based regiments, recruiting problems invariably led to diverse enlistments. According to beating orders that have survived among the papers of the Macleans of Lochbuie in the National Records of Scotland, the regiment was ordered to recruit Highlanders and “all other Loyal subjects” in North America. Surnames, while unhelpful as a statistical guide to ethnic identity, do suggest a decline of Gaelic representation in the regiment from 1776 to 1783. The regiment’s establishment in 1779 strengthened central control over the unit and led to an increasing diversity in the ranks. A return of 1783 listed 119 Scots, 174 Irishmen, 133 foreigners, and 94 Englishmen in the 1st battalion. The regiment fielded an entire company of French Canadians under Francois Dambourges, and in 1779 the governor of Quebec reported to Sir Henry Clinton, commander of British forces in North America: “The Emigrants are composed of men of all nations.”

Far from revealing the “foreignness” of the *Emigrants*, the diverse nature of its recruitment points to the pan-Atlantic framework that sustained counter-revolutionary activity. Officers such as Sir Allan Maclean and Alexander Macdonald maintained networks that stretched across the Atlantic region and kept in contact with various individuals throughout the war. Recruiting activities brought together around seven hundred men from New York and North Carolina as well as more than a thousand from other sources, including deserters from the Continental Army, French Canadians, men recruited directly in Scotland, and even a number of individuals from the prisons of London. These networks went beyond the enlistment of soldiers. Officers such as Murdoch MacLaine—a former merchant with contacts throughout the Atlantic World—used his commission to provide patronage to friends and relatives. New York and Glasgow merchants were a source of credit for the purchase of commissions. Sir Allan Maclean engaged a merchant in Glasgow to provide money for the recruitment of men in the colonies. These relationships were critical in forming a diverse and disparate body of men into an effective force. What finally emerged was not a Scottish regiment but an Atlantic formation which, despite considerable communication and institutional barriers, constituted an effective regiment for the crown.

If the recruits had little in the way of ethnic unity, they did share one important trait: many were marginalized members of colonial society. Deserters, French Canadians, and recently arrived immigrants were drawn to service not from shared cultural interpretations of opposition to republican ideals but from their positions outside the mainstream colonial life. Among Scots in North Carolina, for example, there was a high correlation between Loyalism and recent migration. For recent arrivals, it was not at all clear what benefits the Whig interpretation of the British constitution could offer to immigrant groups, particularly groups who were the direct targets of anti-British venom. North Carolinians were already equating Gaels with enslaved Africans, indigenous Americans, and other so-called “savages” before the Scots took up arms in early 1776. One Scottish Loyalist reported being referred to as a “cannibal” by pro-revolutionary colonists. George Washington himself described the Scots as “universal instruments of tyranny.” Scots may have felt an understandable ambivalence about colonial conceptions of rights when the universalism of those rights disguised a particularism in their application. This is to say nothing of the role of tensions within immigrant communities in determining allegiance. The Highlanders of the Mohawk Valley had to contend with the antagonism of another local minority, the German settlers of Albany. One Highlander stated that his community “thought it prudent ... to take up Arms” because of the Germans’ support for the revolutionary cause.

While political marginalization was a factor, economic marginalization was probably more important in the decision to enlist. The prospect of regular pay, secure and meaningful employment, and the possibility of escape from agricultural or industrial labor all drew immigrants to service. Immigrants were likely to have fewer opportunities and less effective avenues for social or economic advancement. Treatment of these marginalized laborers was not always good and, despite an enduring historiographical assumption that Scottish officers were more socially connected to their men than their English, Irish, or colonial counterparts, there were several cases of *Emigrants* officers “selling” their men to other units for profit or career advancement.

Economic marginalization is the factor that best explains the relationship between immigrant status and the choice of allegiance in revolutionary America. On 10 August 1775 the *Quebec Gazette* carried a notice stating that enlistees in the *Royal Highland Emigrants* were “to engage in the present troubles in America only” and that those enlisting would be rewarded with land amounting to two hundred acres per private soldier. These land grants were graded depending on rank, rising to five thousand acres for field officers. This offer compared favorably to the land settlement on which other provincial units were raised. Indeed, privates serving in the *Royal Highland Emigrants* could expect to receive double the land allowance granted to their fellow Loyalists.

Land was a crucial reward for military service. For immigrants who had faced deteriorating conditions of land tenure across the Atlantic, the prospect of land was deeply significant. The rank-and-file of the *Emigrants* were men of modest means, often sub-tenants working on land rented by others, suggesting that they used their military labor to secure land in the absence of credit. Donald Cameron possessed no land and made his living from three cows that he was permitted to graze on the twelve acres owned by Angus Cameron near Johnstown, New York. He joined the *King’s Royal Regiment of New York* in 1776 but transferred to the *Royal Highland Emigrants*,

where the land grants were of greater value. One colonial enlistee from the Mohawk Valley, Samuel Farrington, had owned just twenty acres before the war and had been a sub-tenant to another farmer. By the 1780s, in his submission to the Loyalist Claims Commission, he noted that between the four members of his family, they had several hundred acres of land in Upper Canada, and were tenants only of the king. Reports from immigrant Scots in other regiments likewise celebrated the prospect of "200 acres of free ground of my own in this country" and the sense that "if it had not been for this war this is the best country in the world."

Emigrants officers, while generally more financially secure, acknowledged the importance of land. Late in 1775 Alexander Macdonald wrote directly to William Howe, Britain's senior general in the colonies, to warn him that promises of land grants would have to be kept. To John Small, Macdonald was more blunt: "if the government will Not consider them when Matters are Settled I think they are ill treated." Macdonald even complained that his men would be "ten thousand times better off than the officers" with rewards of land rather than money. This statement, though made for rhetorical effect, speaks to the importance of land as a means of financial and social security. Macdonald was obsessed with the Staten Island property he had purchased following the Seven Years' War. In April 1776 he told a friend that "the Affairs of America must be Settled" if he was to gain any advantage from his land or improve it. As American independence became a possibility, Macdonald began to express fears over the loss of "many and Large tracts of land." Another *Emigrants* officer noted that "it would be the devil of a hardship...to give up my farm ...afterall the slavish fatigue I have endured in bringing it into some shape."

If land was so crucial to allegiance, why did it draw Scots toward imperial loyalty? After all, the armies of the Continental Congress were equally stocked with marginalized immigrant laborers. Large numbers of Germans, African Americans, and indigenous Americans served in the Continental Army, and in most Continental regiments, immigrants from Ireland often comprised a third of the manpower. Their motives were equally inspired by marginalization and the hope for greater opportunities.

Scots, however, had good reason to equate military service for the crown with the prospect of land. Land had been a crucial part of the demobilization of Scottish regiments after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, and there was little reason to assume that the defeat of the American rebels would not see further grants to ex-servicemen. Governor Josiah Martin of North Carolina was quick to realize that the provision of land attached immigrants to the government. In March 1775 he had informed the colonial secretary, the Earl of Dartmouth, that despite attempts to prevent them, recently arrived Highlanders had begun squatting on royal lands because the land office closures gave them no access to land through official means. By November Martin had grown in confidence. He detailed how he had begun to implement a land policy to a group of Highlanders who arrived on 21 October, "thinking it more advisable to attach these people to government by granting as matter of favour and courtesy to them what I had not power to prevent than to leave them to possess themselves by violence." Until the end of the war, Scottish immigrants continued to be offered land settlements in return for enlistment, and Charles Cornwallis returned to this idea upon his arrival in North Carolina in April 1781.

What does this tell us about Scottish connections to the colonies? Clearly, immigrants were attached to the land and the prospect of economic betterment through service in their host nation. But we can go further, to suggest that the act of emigration had a powerful impact on weakening connections between emigrants and their homes. There is an enduring assumption that Scots tended toward cohesive settlement in the Americas and that a "habit of obedience" led them toward deference to the clan gentry. The case of the 84th Foot raises serious questions about this assumption. First, the act of emigration was a radical step that had already gone some way toward undermining traditional cohesion. Bernard Bailyn's study of American immigration, *Voyagers to the West* (1986), noted that only half of Highland immigrants—those most associated with clannishness—arrived in the Americas in family groups. While tacksman-led emigrations retain a powerful hold over our image of eighteenth-century emigration, it was equally common for young men to arrive in the colonies alone, in search of economic betterment.

Second, there is little evidence that tacksman-led emigrations produced social cohesion in the Americas. Officers who joined the *Royal Highland Emigrants* found that their assistance in bringing over groups of people did not translate into effective recruiting patterns. John Macdonald of Glenalladale, the leader of the 1772 South Uist and Lochaber emigrations to St. John's Island (now Prince Edward Island), could convince only around a dozen of his tenants to join his company. While Glenalladale was on active service, around half of his tenants left his estates to take up better tenancies on neighboring properties. Other *Emigrants* officers experienced similar problems and felt an acute sense of betrayal in the failure of their "clans" to join them in their war against the revolutionaries. Even Flora Macdonald, the paradigm of generous tacksman leadership, later lamented: "The common Highlanders...parted with my husband [an officer of the *Emigrants*]...and their other leaders." In the most fertile recruiting grounds, officers were told that they could expect few enlistments until other forms of seasonal employment were at an end, further suggesting a link between economics and recruitment. One *Emigrants* officer told a friend that if three hundred men could be recruited among the immigrants of Nova Scotia, he would "give [his] head for a football."

When the 84th Foot demobilized in Canada following the war, problems of social cohesion continued to plague British efforts to establish reliable communities of loyal settlers. The 1st battalion was offered lands in Ontario, while the 2nd battalion, under Small, settled in Nova Scotia. Small reported that around seven hundred of his men took lands in Nova Scotia, but only about half of the settlers remained there very long. In the absence of easy

communications, access to markets, and the support necessary to build a life in a comparative wilderness, many chose to pursue economic betterment away from their land grants. Small had warned his superiors that efforts to settle large numbers of men at the same time were doomed to failure, but his warnings were not heeded. Efforts to settle the soldiers together invariably led to certain lands being notably inferior to others, occupied by neighbors.

The fact that the eventual grants were often less than half of what these men had been promised upon enlistment did not help matters, and many turned to the governor of Nova Scotia, John Parr, for redress. Efforts to replicate the social hierarchies of the military in these settlements by having the officers subdivide their lands to willing tenants were also doomed to failure, because few of the enlisted men could be convinced to take up lands that they did not directly rent from the crown. Many veterans also chose to neglect their farms in favor of the high wages offered by paid labor. One former officer, Hector Maclean, complained that he could not make his farm profitable owing to the costs of hiring his former soldiers. If officers and their access to credit and networks of patronage were crucial for the viability of new settlements, it does not follow that their men were entirely dependent on their largesse.

Far from having no stake in the conflict or in the American colonies, Scottish immigrants—and the 84th Foot in particular—were acutely aware of the implications of their service and what it meant for their future in America. The offer of land grants by the crown gave settlers the confidence that Loyalism would result in expanded holdings. British victory, they thought, would ensure the viability of the continued emigration of their families and friends from Scotland. Their Loyalism was not motivated by a connection to Scotland but rather by a connection to crown authority in the colonies, which seemed to offer the best guarantee of secure settlement and enhanced opportunities. It is noteworthy that of the Scots who supported the activities of the revolutionaries, most had spent a considerable length of time in the colonies. They had not become less Scottish, but they had ceased to be newcomers and marginalized immigrants. Loyalists made political decisions based on their status in a new land, not as Scotsmen constrained by the shadow of their homelands.

Historians of eighteenth-century Scotland—especially those focused on the diaspora—are well placed to bring a more nuanced approach to debates surrounding immigration. Eighteenth-century Scotland was a net exporter of human capital, and the story of Scotland cannot be told without taking into account those who left. The connection of these emigrants to their host societies was very real, and the act of emigration made them aware of the significance of their new environments. While “foreign” in the strictest sense, their understanding of the Atlantic world incorporated a genuine appreciation for America as a place for economic betterment. The *Royal Highland Emigrants* fought not for king and country, or even from an attachment to their traditional social structures, but for their own future in North America.

A native of Kingussie in the Central Highlands, Matthew Dziennik (mdzienni@usna.edu) is Assistant Professor of History at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. He is the author of *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (Yale University Press, 2015), which examines the service of the 84th Regiment of Foot and other Highland regiments during the Seven Years' War and the War for American Independence. He would like to extend his sincere thanks to The MacLaine of Lochbuie, who graciously permitted him to examine the papers of several officers of the 84th Foot.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2016–31 Dec. 2016

Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2016: £20,686.16

Income: +£857.00 (dues, book orders, and donations)

Expenses: -£653.00 (£633 for conference travel grants; £20 bank adjustment)

Balance 31 Dec. 2015: £20,890.16

Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2016: \$19,561.70

Income: +\$5808 (dues, book orders, and donations [checks]: \$4308; ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship: \$1500)

Expenses: -\$6897.20 (newsletter printing & prep: \$1435; website fees (BlueHost): \$355.97; equipment and supplies (Staples): \$360.89; Pittsburgh conference: \$1325 [Exec. Board dinner meeting: \$510.32; 30th-anniversary reception: \$792.28; photocopying: \$22.40]; Bank of America forms and fees: \$121.21; donations to Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund, U. of Edinburgh: \$3273.63; NJ state non-profit society filing for 2017: \$25.50)

Balance 31 Dec. 2016: \$18,472.50

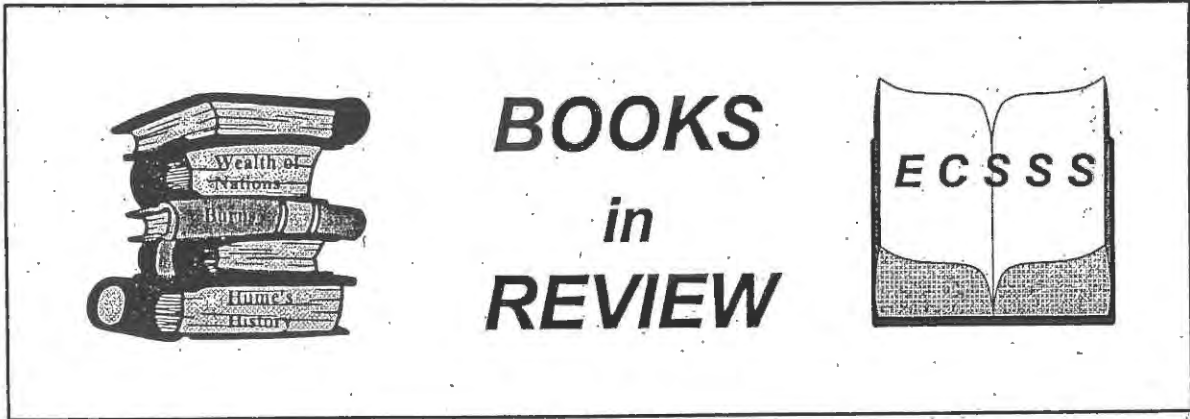
PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2016: \$359.11

Net Income (including PayPal fees): +\$2242.45 (dues, book orders, and contributions)

Balance 31 Dec. 2016: \$2601.56

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2016 [vs. 31 Dec. 2015]: £20,890.16 [£20,686.16] + \$21,074.06 [\$19,920.81]



**Review Essay:
Hume: An Intellectual Biography**

By James Moore, Concordia University

James A. Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015; Pp. vi–xii + 621) should be read as a response to Norman Kemp Smith’s challenge in *The Philosophy of David Hume* (1949): “One day, we may hope, someone equipped with a sufficient range of interest and understanding will treat Hume in all his manifold activities: as philosopher, as political theorist, as economist, as historian, and as man of letters. Hume’s philosophy, as the attitude of mind which found for itself these various forms of expression, will then have been presented, adequately and in due perspective, for the first time” (pp. vii–viii). Harris’s book—the most ambitious attempt of this kind—is a thoughtful and elegant account of Hume’s writings: philosophical, political, economic, historical, and literary. It is not a biography David Hume. It is an *intellectual* biography which explores, in *breadth* and in *depth*, the extensive reading and reflections that found expression in the remarkable range of Hume’s publications.

In “My Own Life,” Hume declared that “almost all my life has been spent in literary Pursuits and Occupations.” Harris proposes “that we take seriously Hume’s description of himself as having intended from the beginning to live the life of a man of letters. He is best seen not as a philosopher who may or may not have abandoned philosophy in order to write essays and history, but as a man of letters, a *philosophical* man of letters, who wrote on human nature, on politics, on religion, and on the history of England from 55 BC to 1688” (p. 2). Harris makes a forceful case against what he takes to be a currently fashionable reading of Hume’s writings, in which everything that Hume wrote was an elaboration of the principles established in his first work, *A Treatise of Human Nature*: “In his first book, it is claimed, Hume set himself a task that he spent the rest of his life completing.... There was no real development in Hume’s intellectual life, no new ideas of any significance, no important sense in which his interests changed with the passing of the years. If that is so, then it is still doubtful whether Hume had an intellectual biography worth writing. There is a system to describe, but not much of a story to tell” (pp. 12–13).

As Harris tells that story, Hume’s intellectual life did not begin at the University of Edinburgh, which he entered at age ten. Following introductory classes in Latin and Greek, Hume attended lectures on logic and metaphysics presented in the scholastic manner; at best, Harris writes, those lectures would have given the youthful Hume “an edifice to destroy, not a path to follow” (p. 39). The professor of moral philosophy, William Law, offered no classes, and there is no evidence that Hume ever attended his public lectures. The professor of natural philosophy, Robert Steuart, created a physiological library, and Hume remained a continuing member of it after completing his course of studies. Harris thinks it possible that it may have been from Steuart, “or at least from his library, that Hume took the conviction that the only respectable way of pursuing philosophy was by appeal to experience” (p. 40). Nevertheless, although Hume went on to study law at the university for two years, his university years cannot be considered a formative period of his intellectual life.

In 1726 Hume purchased and signed a copy of Shaftesbury’s *Characteristics*. Harris believes that Hume found “an Antidote to University” in the work of Shaftesbury, who considered the philosophy taught by professors “dronish, insipid, pedantick, useless, and directly opposed to the real knowledge and practice of the world and mankind” (quoted on p. 44). He thought that the philosophy of the ancients, and of the Stoics in particular, offered the best prospect for genuine self-knowledge (p. 45). During the late 1720s Hume fell into a depression by attempting to achieve self-knowledge as some of the ancient Stoics proposed, by suppression of the passions. In the early 1730s Hume turned in his reading to “Mandeville and Bayle as an Antidote to Shaftesbury” (p. 51). Mandeville presented his understanding of human nature in direct opposition to Shaftesbury in “A Search into the Nature of

Society" (1723), and in an extended dialogue between an admirer of Shaftesbury's philosophy and an advocate of Mandeville's work, published in 1729 as Part Two of *The Fable of the Bees*. The main themes of Part Two were refined by Mandeville in *An Enquiry into the Origin of Honour* (1732). In that work Mandeville discovered the origin of modern honor in Gothic notions of chivalry and gallantry, themes that Hume would develop in his earliest extant piece of writing, "An Historical Essay on Chivalry and Modern Honour" (p. 485, n. 95). Hume, like Mandeville, derived much stimulation from the work of Bayle (p. 61).

Harris is more diffident about Hume's enthusiasm for the philosophy of Francis Hutcheson. He believes that Hutcheson must have been "a significant source of inspiration" for Hume (p. 69) but also observes that Hume was consistently opposed to the notion that special faculties or senses can explain the phenomena of the mind. In this light, Hume would have rejected the supposition of a sense of beauty and a moral sense, as Hutcheson understood these terms. Ultimately, "Hutcheson mattered to Hume not because Hume agreed with much of either his moral philosophy or his theory of beauty, but because he could engage with his ideas in the same critical and productive way as Hutcheson had engaged with Locke and Shaftesbury. Mandeville can be regarded as having provided Hume with the tools necessary for that engagement" (p. 75). It is not surprising, given his strong case for the influence of Mandeville on Hume, that Harris describes Hume as an "Anatomist of Human Nature."

In his examination of *A Treatise of Human Nature*, Book I, Harris takes Hume's point of departure to be Locke's theory that the understanding consists of ideas. We have no understanding of substances or things in themselves, nor do we have any idea of the modes that inhere in substances. Hume was pushing "the inherent scepticism of Locke's concentration on experience...much further than Locke himself did" (p. 87). Hume challenged accepted ideas of cause and effect, of a world external to our perceptions of that world, and of a self different from the perceptions in our own minds. He considered Berkeley's critique of abstract ideas "one of the greatest and most valuable discoveries that has been made of late years in the republic of letters" (Hume quoted on p. 87), meaning that general or abstract ideas are nothing but "a function of language," and "the world as we experience it...is a world of sensuous particularity" (p. 88).

As Harris presents Hume's theory of the understanding, Hume's skepticism about causation, the external world, and the self come first in order of presentation. He suggests that Hume found a way of avoiding total skepticism in "the account of natural judgement given by Malebranche in *La Recherche de la Verité*" (p. 92). He attaches particular significance to Hume's letter to Michael Ramsay from August 1737, where Hume asks his friend to read Malebranche's *Recherche*, Berkeley's *Principles of Human Knowledge*, the more philosophical articles of Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique*, and Descartes' *Meditations* (pp. 83–84). All these works provided reasons to be skeptical, but Malebranche, in particular, offered a response to skepticism, in ideas that "come to *feel* as vivid and compelling as the sensations that experience constantly presses upon us" (p. 93). These ideas have the liveliness or vivacity of *impressions*; they are credible ideas, as Hume described them at length in his discussion of the nature of belief, in Book I, Part III of the *Treatise*.

It is a curiosity of Harris's presentation that he makes no reference to the experimental method of reasoning or the association of ideas in his examination of Book I of the *Treatise*. He refers to the association of ideas for the first time in comments on the *Abstract* of the *Treatise*, published in 1740. He finds it remarkable that "the *Abstract* was in essence a recapitulation of the main argument of Part Three of Book I of the *Treatise*.... There was barely any mention of the arguments contained in Parts Two and Four" (p. 119). In the *Abstract* Hume declared that "if anything can intitle the author to so glorious a name as that of an *inventor*, 'tis in the use he makes of the principle of the association of ideas" (quoted on p. 119). The association of ideas related in the imagination, judgment, and reasoning by their resemblance, contiguity, and causation enlivens ideas, imparting to those ideas the vivacity of impressions. It was also a central theme in Hume's analysis of the passions in Book II of the *Treatise*.

Harris remarks that Hume's division of the passions into indirect passions and direct passions was unprecedented (p. 105). He explains this division by observing that the direct passions—desire and aversion, joy and grief, hope and fear—were the passions that the ancient Stoics and "modern refiners of Stoic typology" considered of first importance. Hume considered the direct passions of little interest; he deferred mention of them to the penultimate section of the final parts of Book II, where he wrote: "None of the direct affections seem to merit our particular attention, except hope and fear, which we shall here endeavour to account for." The passions that were of particular interest to Hume were pride and humility, esteem by and for others—the passions that Mandeville considered of first importance: "What Hume found in Mandeville's treatment of pride and of self-liking seems more likely to have been, first, a vivid and persuasive account of the sheer variety of the things that we are given pleasure by and take pride in, and second, an insightful exploration of the extent to which passions such as pride and shame are intensified by a sensitivity to the opinions of other people" (p. 107).

Harris thinks it possible that Book III of the *Treatise*, of *Morals*, "as originally conceived by Hume had just two parts, one on those virtues that deserve to be called artificial, and another on those that may be called natural" (p. 124). He substantiates this reading by an examination of Hume's letters to Hutcheson, in 1739–40, which suggest that Hume composed Part I, "Moral Distinctions deriv'd from a Moral Sense," in response to critical observations made by Hutcheson in the manuscript of Book III. Harris is very clear, also, that Hume was reworking arguments made by Hutcheson in a distinctively Humean (i.e. skeptical) manner. Hume's response to Hutcheson's theory that justice and rights have their origin in public and private benevolence was presented in Book III, Part II,

Section I. This was also perhaps a later addition to the manuscript. Hume's treatment of justice and the origin of government is presented as skeptical arguments based upon properties of the imagination (p. 128). Finally, when Hume describes the natural virtues in Part III of Book III of the *Treatise*, he has in mind "the pleasure taken by us all in wisdom, good sense, wit, eloquence, good humour, a handsome face, a shapely body, and the advantages enjoyed by the wealthy. The man—or woman—who possesses all of these traits and advantages is, as the argument of 'Of Morals' suggests, the very model of virtue" (p. 139).

In "My Own Life," Hume expressed disappointment with the reception of the three volumes of the *Treatise*. Harris discounts Hume's judgment in this matter, because "the truth is that their reception was not so very poor at all. They were relatively widely reviewed, and, if the reviews were largely negative because uncomprehending, surely that was only to be expected in a book so full of new opinions and terminology" (p. 140). When the first volume of *Essays, Moral and Political* appeared in 1741, it was prefaced by an Advertisement in which Hume described himself as one of those "new Authors, who feel some Anxiety concerning the Success of my Work." Harris believes "there is no reason to take Hume's disingenuousness in the Advertisement as a sign that he was already disowning his first book. It is more likely that he was simply trying out a quite different style of writing" (p. 162). Harris examines the essays from four different points of view: those that take Addison's essays in *The Spectator* as a model; those on party politics from an impartial point of view; those which attempt to reduce the study of politics to a science; and those on philosophy, ancient and modern. He believes Hume "arranged the pieces collected in the two volumes of *Essays, Moral and Political* in such a way as to prevent the reader being given the impression that any single line of thought was being developed" (p. 195). It was a literary form that also "had the potential to find a wide readership for philosophical argument and analysis" (p. 197). In this remark, Harris is anticipating Hume's decision to recast the philosophy of Book I of the *Treatise* as *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding* (1748).

Hume wrote in "My Own Life": "I had always entertained a Notion, that my want of Success, in publishing the *Treatise of Human Nature*, had proceeded more from the manner than the matter." Harris remarks: "In view of some very obvious differences in the way of matter, this was a curious judgement, but, still, it is certainly true that in the later book there was a great alteration of manner" (p. 221). Whereas the *Treatise* contained "virtuoso displays of argumentative ingenuity, and with pronouncements designed to shock," in the "later book" the author's voice was, "by contrast, engaging and solicitous, careful in its advertisements of respect for reader's sensibility and politeness.... The 'manner', in other words, and as the title of the book promises, was that of the essayist" (p. 221).

Hume was also at pains to identify his skepticism as Academic, rather than Pyrrhonian: he insisted that "such a scepticism" would never (in Hume's words) "undermine the reasonings of common life" (quoted on pp. 224–25). Hume returned to the distinction between Academic and Pyrrhonian skepticism in the concluding "essay" or "section" XII, where he allowed for the usefulness of Pyrrhonian skepticism as an antidote to superstition but again insisted on the superior merit of mitigated or Academic skepticism. Hume's determination to distance his philosophy from Pyrrhonian skepticism is evident in his choice of those "Parts" of Book I of the *Treatise* that were excluded from *Philosophical Essays*. He chose not to include Parts II and IV of Book I, where he reworked the arguments of Pyrrhonian skeptics, notably Bayle, on the ideas of space and time, reason, the senses, and personal identity, culminating in the melancholy and delirium of the conclusion.

An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals (1751) may have been "initially intended... as a series of essays. At two points, both in a footnote, the book was referred to as 'these essays', a locution that was corrected in the Errata to 'this enquiry'" (p. 254). Harris observes that the *Enquiry* "appeared intended to display from the first a singleness of purpose," and perhaps that is the reason why the argument was not presented as a succession of essays. Hume was attempting "to pare down his moral philosophy to its most essential elements" (p. 254). He would focus on the *principles* that we have in mind when we distinguish qualities of character that are *good* from those that are *bad*. When we distinguish *virtues* from *vices*, we consider the *usefulness* and the *agreeableness* of those qualities to the *possessor* and to *others* (p. 255). Hume had employed those principles in his discussion of the natural virtues and vices in Part III of Book III of the *Treatise*, but there the application of the principles had been explained by sympathy. In the *Enquiry*, "the mechanism of sympathy was another thing that was missing..., just as explication of the mechanism of the association of ideas was missing from the *Philosophical Essays*" (p. 258). Similarly, the insistence in the *Treatise* on the artificiality of justice and the explanation of the rules of property and allegiance by the exercise of the imagination was not rehearsed in the *Enquiry*. "What Hume emphasized in the *Enquiry* was that justice has its sole origin in reflection upon considerations of utility" (p. 257).

All these differences between the moral philosophy of the *Treatise* and the *Enquiry* are well observed by Harris. His explanation of these differences by the more closely focused line of argument in the *Enquiry* is also convincing. I find more controversial his claim that Hume had no concept of the *honestum*, as Cicero understood it. I take the *honestum* to be synonymous with the foundation of morality in the debates among moral philosophers of the early eighteenth century. Harris remarks that Hutcheson understood the foundation of morality, the *honestum*, as benevolence, "good in itself, quite apart from its consequences. This was Hutcheson's way of giving reality to the Stoic *honestum*" (p. 256). I believe that this is entirely correct as a statement of Hutcheson's position on this matter. Other philosophers in the early eighteenth century had a different understanding of the foundation of morality: Gilbert Burnet understood it as reason; for John Balguy, it was love of truth; for John Clarke of Hull, it

was self-love; for Archibald Campbell, it was desire for esteem. The *honestum* had various meanings in the writings of Cicero. In *De Officiis*, the *honestum* served to provide a foundation for *utilitas*, for the useful and agreeable. This was also the way that Hume understood the foundation of morality. In Section V, Part II of the *Enquiry*, Hume remarked that “usefulness is only a tendency to a certain end,” and, in a footnote, he takes that end to be “humanity or a fellow-feeling with others.” Later in the same part and section, he considers it unimaginable that a man would tread “on another’s gouty toes,” and he identifies “the feelings of humanity” with an aversion to cruelty. In the first section of the *Enquiry*, he remarks that there has been “a controversy started of late, concerning the general foundation of morals: whether they be derived from Reason or from Sentiment.” In the last section of the *Enquiry*, Section IX, he identifies this foundation as “the sentiment of humanity” and adds, “though this affection of humanity may not generally be esteemed so strong as vanity or ambition, yet being common to all men, it can alone be the foundation of morals.”

The *Enquiry* was supplemented by “A Dialogue,” in which the diversity of morals was described in fanciful terms by a character named Palamedes. The diversity of morals was then explained, by the author, writing in the first person, by the different ways in which different ancient and modern societies have understood and applied the principles of utility and agreeableness. Harris suggests that Hume’s interest in the diversity of morals was prompted by reading Montesquieu. This suggestion seems plausible, in light of the use made in “A Dialogue” of proper names in Montesquieu’s *Persian Letters*. It may be relevant to add that the name Palamedes may have been suggested to Hume by the article on “Zeno,” the Eleatic, in Bayle’s *Dictionary*, where Bayle states that Plato called Zeno the Palamedes of Elea. The article on Zeno was the source of Hume’s discussion of space and time and extension in the *Treatise*, Book I, Part II. Hume explained to a critic of the *Enquiry*, James Balfour, who had ascribed to Hume the sentiments of Palamedes, as well as the opinion of the narrator, that it was the narrator who spoke for Hume. It was, in short, a dialogue between a Pyrrhonian skeptic, Palamedes, and an Academic skeptic, Hume.

Hume remarked in “My Own Life” that *Political Discourses* (1752) was “the only work of mine that was successful on the first publication” (quoted on p. 288). Harris believes that Hume had been thinking about the subject matter much earlier, perhaps when he lived in Rheims and La Flèche. In his early memoranda, Hume appears to have taken an interest in the theory of John Law that commerce would benefit from an increase in the supply of money and from government indebtedness. Montesquieu had commented on the same point in *The Spirit of the Laws*, Book XXII, Section 17. Hume wrote a long letter to Montesquieu in April 1749, in which he challenged Law’s theory. Montesquieu was impressed by Hume’s letter, which he considered “pleine de lumière et de bon sens.” It is remarkable that the subjects treated in the *Political Discourses* are treated in the same order in *The Spirit of the Laws*. Hume sent Montesquieu a copy of the *Political Discourses* in 1753,

Hume had finished a first draft of *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion* in 1751 (p. 289). It was modeled on Cicero’s dialogue *De Natura Deorum*, a parallel that would have been evident to Hume’s readers by his choice of names for the principal participants: Philo, Hume’s skeptic, was the teacher of Cotta, Cicero’s skeptic, and Cleanthes, Hume’s Stoic, was the teacher of Balbus, Cicero’s Stoic. The subject of debate was whether “God is intelligent, or benevolent, in anything like the sense in which human beings are intelligent, or benevolent” (p. 448). The arguments for the intelligence of God were presented by the Stoic, Cleanthes, and subjected to critical scrutiny by Philo in Sections II–VIII; Cleanthes’s case for the benevolence of God, again challenged by Philo, was made in Sections X and XI. Harris believes that it is reasonable to suppose that Hume would have been interested in Colin Maclaurin’s case for the intelligence of the deity in *An Account of Sir Isaac Newton’s Philosophical Discoveries* (1748). He would have found arguments for the benevolence of God in Henry Home’s *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751), where it is said: “We need but open our eyes, to receive impressions of him almost from everything we perceive” (quoted on p. 450).

Since Hume had difficulty making the Stoic case for the intelligence and benevolence of the creation, he appealed to Gilbert Elliot and others for assistance. Hume “returned to the manuscript of the *Dialogues* in the spring of 1776. He wrote two new paragraphs expanding upon the idea that the difference between scepticism and philosophical theism is merely verbal” (p. 454). Harris concludes: “It seems unlikely that Hume imagined that he would convert any of his contemporaries...to the opinion that the distinction between theism and scepticism was ‘merely verbal’” (p. 456). Yet he was determined to have the *Dialogues* published, posthumously, notwithstanding the misgivings of his closest and most trusted friends. Harris had remarked earlier: “These were the kinds of discussions that Hume wanted to believe were possible in his own time and place. One of the ways the *Dialogues* can be read is as an imagined modern-day realization of the Ciceronian *libertas philosophandi*” (p. 298).

In 1752 Hume was appointed librarian of the Faculty of Advocates, “an ideal situation for a man about to commence writing a history of Great Britain” (p. 307). The notes to Hume’s history “suggest that Hume worked exclusively from printed sources—and that almost all of the books that he used were available for consultation in the Advocates’ Library” (p. 326). There were, however, formidable problems with the sources available to Hume. They were, for the most part, narratives composed by historians who brought sharply opposed political theories to their understandings of the past. And there was a problem of style. They reproduced original documents at such length that readers found it difficult to follow their narratives. Hume described the challenges he faced in a letter written in January 1753: “Style, judgment, impartiality, care,” he wrote, “everything is wanting to our historians” (quoted on p. 308).

Hume had already reflected on the political theories that informed these general histories. He was impressed by the formidable erudition of Robert Brady, who had demonstrated that there was no ancient constitution of English freeholders, that in the feudal society which followed the Norman invasion, property rights were in the gift of the king (p. 310). Brady was a Jacobite, a political persuasion that Hume had examined in his essay "Of the Protestant Succession." Brady was answered by James Tyrrell, a Whig and a friend of John Locke, in *The General History of England* (1697–1704). It was a history constructed on the premise that there had been an original contract between the English people and their king, another theory that Hume had subjected to critical examination. Laurence Echard wrote *A History of England* (1707–1718), in which events unfolded by divine providence, the subject of Hume's essay, "Of Passive Obedience." Paul de Rapin-Thoyras presented *A History of England*, which purported to be an impartial account of the English past; his claims to impartiality would be called into question by Hume. Bolingbroke cited Whig historians, including Rapin, against the Whig government of Robert Walpole (pp. 314–15). There were other, more recently published general histories: one was by William Guthrie (1744–55), another by Thomas Carte (1747–55). Harris links Guthrie to the Walpolean Whigs (p. 317); Carte was a Jacobite, who had great admiration for Brady (pp. 390–91). Harris is right to remark on the availability of these general histories to Hume, even though he maintained an "almost complete silence with respect to the general histories that had gone before his own" (p. 326). Hume's *History of England* (1754–62) can be read, perhaps most profitably, as a skeptical reflection on the general histories that preceded it.

Hume began his history in the seventeenth century because, in his judgment, it was not until the reign of James I that the Commons had the power to challenge the authority of the Crown (p. 329). The Parliament of 1621 was, in Hume's words, "remarkable for being the epoch, in which were first regularly formed, tho' without acquiring these denominations, the parties of Court and Country; parties, which have ever since continued, and which, while they often threaten the total dissolution of the government, are the real causes of its permanent life and vigor" (quoted on p. 340). Hume followed the appearance of political parties by remarking on a sequence of political debates in the seventeenth century between Court and Country: in 1621, when the House of Commons first asserted itself; in 1628, in debates on the Petition of Right; in 1640, when Parliament first delivered its Grand Remonstrance to the King; in 1680, in debates on the exclusion of James, Duke of York, from succession to the Crown; in 1685, and again in the Post-Revolution convention. In representing these debates to his readers, Hume constructed arguments showing how reasonable men, parliamentarians and monarchists, would have conducted themselves. The intention, Harris explains, "was to encourage 'the philosophical spirit' in the reader...and to encourage recognition of how finely balanced the arguments were in favour of, on the one hand, the partisans of liberty, and, on the other, the partisans of the crown" (p. 340). Hume also introduced "disquisitions" on manners, finances, arms, trade, and learning, following the reign of James I, the Interregnum, and the Revolution.

When Hume turned from the constitutional conflicts of the seventeenth century to *The History of England under the House of Tudor* (1759), he recognized that "Absolutism was a Tudor, not a Stuart, innovation" (p. 370). Harris does not devote much space to Henry VII and Henry VIII. His primary interest is Hume's description of the government of England under Queen Elizabeth. It was under her administration, Rapin claimed, that the English "were the happiest people under the sun" (quoted on p. 371). Bolingbroke "discerned in her reign the beginnings of an independent House of Commons and of a limited monarchy" (p. 371). Hume perceived her reign very differently. The powers that Elizabeth permitted Parliament to exercise were minor: the tanning of leather, the milling of cloth, the preservation of pheasants and partridges (p. 372). Insofar as Parliament achieved freedom of speech on matters of significance, it was due to the forthright manner of Puritans like Peter Wentworth, whose speeches contained "the first rude sketch of those principles of liberty which happily afterwards gained the ascendant in England" (quoted on p. 374).

Whig and Tory historians of medieval England were divided in their responses to four critical questions: 1) What was the composition of the Saxon parliament, the Wittenagemot? 2) Was William the Conqueror truly a conqueror? 3) What was the significance of Magna Carta? 4) Were the commons represented in Parliament prior to 1265? In his responses to these questions, Hume sided with Brady and Carte against the Whig historians (p. 404): "his view was that arguments put forward by Brady against the boroughs having had representatives in the Wittenagemot were conclusive. The language used to describe the members of the council was aristocratic" (p. 394). William the Conqueror was indeed a conqueror; but it was not obvious, as Brady and Carte claimed, that the Normans brought with them a conception of succession based on primogeniture (p. 395). Magna Carta was not a codification of ancient English liberties. Its principal articles tended to increase the power and independence of an order of men who were already too powerful (p. 397). The first representatives of the commons in Parliament were summoned by the Earl of Leicester, Simon de Montfort, to support his rebellion against Henry III. But the first regular representation of the commons was initiated by Edward I in 1295. This was, Hume believed, "the first faint dawnings of popular government in England" (p. 400).

Harris's book concludes with reflections on Hume's participation in the salons of Paris and his quarrel with Jean-Jacques Rousseau. He believes that Hume may have regretted the publication of that episode in his life: "It did not fit with the image he drew of himself in 'My Own Life', and was not so much as alluded to there" (p. 421). Harris adds in an afterward that Hume also omitted to mention "the two occasions on which Hume's name was unsuccessfully put forward for a university chair, and also the attempts in the mid-1750s at the excommunica-

tion of Hume, along with Kames, from the Church of Scotland" (p. 462). And, finally, in a letter to William Strahan, in June 1776, Hume complained that he had yet to receive "any suitable returns of approbation from the public, for the care, accuracy, labour, disinterestedness, and courage of my compilations" (quoted on p. 471). Harris concludes: "There seems to have been something in Hume that prevented him from acknowledging, perhaps even to himself, the success he undeniably had" (p. 471).

Harris's intellectual biography of Hume is a formidable scholarly achievement. Every section of every chapter is clearly written and elegantly expressed. It should be required reading not only for Hume scholars and historians of philosophy but also for students coming to Hume and eighteenth-century studies for the first time. It is also inevitable that those of us who have spent some time thinking about Hume will find matters on which we disagree with Harris and with one another. Hume would not have wanted it otherwise.

Jack Hill, *Adam Ferguson and Ethical Integrity: The Man and His Prescriptions for the Moral Life*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2017. Pp. xxxiv + 253.

Years ago Duncan Forbes wrote that David Hume's writings are "terrible campaign country." You could say the same about Adam Ferguson. But Jack Hill's new book suggests he is up for the challenge. Hill emphasizes Ferguson's biography as a Presbyterian Highlander who had to adapt not only to Edinburgh's polite establishment but also to the academic world after beginning his career in the clergy. He argues that the moral philosopher's distinctive method was as much about his multicultural outlook as it was about his empirical method and religious convictions. Ferguson was a dialectical ethicist, moving back and forth from the rude to the polite, from the empirical to the transcendent, from ethical theory to practical daily life. In several ways Hill's Ferguson will be familiar. Perhaps one of the most distinctive of Scottish Enlightenment figures, he carried his Perthshire background, his training for the ministry, his experience in the military, and his interest in the natural sciences from his early adulthood into his moral philosophy instruction and writing.

Hill relies less for guidance on the history of sociology, or the German philosophical tradition. Stoic, civic humanist or libertarian readings of Ferguson have instructed Hill, but less so than one might expect. Hill's particular contribution is to sort out Ferguson as an ethicist focused on integrity and probity. Hill hopes that with this kind of historical recovery the Scotsman can help us navigate our own difficult campaign country, living well in a morally debilitating capitalist consumer culture and a vastly distracting post-modern digital landscape.

Ferguson's ethical theory was, Hill argues, largely Aristotelian. Integrity meant to live a happy, virtuous life. Illustrated by Ferguson in "epitomes of moral dynamics," he defended the cardinal virtues as proper moral action within mini-scenarios (p. 111). Confronting the early forms of modern industrial capitalism, Hill's Ferguson sermonized in favor of a more benevolent form of economics. A thick moral culture must mediate those relationships, limiting the reduction of individuals to mere parts in the whole, maintaining the psychological health of the citizen and the integrity of his community. I still wonder, as Ferguson worked this out, how the laborer's role in manufacturing was like the soldier's role in an army. From another angle, what distinguished habit from discipline?

Ferguson's religious convictions remain ambiguous. Reading Hill, I was left to wonder if Ferguson's Highland background really was more basic and enduring than his Presbyterian inheritance. Was he a religious or early social science thinker? Did he pursue a theodicy, or a moral anthropology? Ferguson puzzled his contemporaries, and remains remarkably complex. Hill strives for nuance, but he seems to encourage us to choose among apparent alternatives.

Ferguson's providentialist moral philosophy challenged Hume's project of a naturalized "science of human nature." Ferguson considered it just as empirical but rooted in the intricate, complex interdependence of the natural world. Facing his first moral philosophy class, Ferguson was well-armed with defenses from the physico-theologians, including the divine harmonization of human capacities and the balance of interests and passions. This is part of the reason I would not read the *Principles* as the primary guide to Ferguson's thought. Ferguson scholarship often does neglect the prosaic *Principles* in favor of the more energetic *Essay*. But he revised his lectures for publication into the *Principles* partly to confront the birth of modern republicanism in the French Revolution. Reading the *Essay* guided by the *Principles* is tempting, but I think it misses the historian's duty to see Ferguson's slow evolution as a thinker.

Hill has written a remarkably personal book, even supplemented with photos from his own collection. He concludes with a series of reflections on Ferguson's contemporary relevance for moral and political integrity. He includes a unique supplement in which Ferguson's teaching of ethics should provoke and encourage our own teaching across the humanities. There is much to discuss in this, especially in making sense of Ferguson's heavily masculine account of integrity as well as his own history of partisan service and exploitation of Georgian Britain's patronage network. I admire Hill's verve in calling on Ferguson to help challenge contemporary moral reflection as well as the teaching of ethics. But I don't see how Ferguson's legacy encourages the reader's activist response to the quandaries of modern life. Hill agrees that Ferguson's politics were not remotely democratic, his notion of citizen zeal quite inward. In a 1782 letter to Christopher Wyvill, Ferguson politely declined to join the Yorkshire Association's plans for constitutional reform. How then was Ferguson still a "reformist" (p. 201)? I applaud Hill's admonition to consider seriously the needs of America's most vulnerable and impoverished. But enlisting Fergu-

son's moral or political philosophy in order to energize, for example, increased state intervention (pp. 202–203, 207, 221) is anachronistic.

In his *Autobiography*, Alexander Carlyle recalled how he and John Home had tried to recruit the talented minister George Logan to refute David Hume's "dangerous and heretical" philosophy. When in 1773 Ferguson learned that James Beattie's *Essay on Truth* had both refuted and "killed" Hume, he wrote Adam Smith, "I should be very glad of the first, but sorry for the other." With Hill's book to help us, perhaps we are a bit closer to seeing Ferguson's project illuminated in such a setting.

Mike Kugler, Northwestern College (Iowa)

Alice E. Jacoby, *From the Flood to the Reign of George III: Developmental History and the Scottish Enlightenment*. Xlibris, 2016. Pp. 192.

In this book, the late Alice E. Jacoby undertakes a monumental project—an in-depth analysis of what she terms "Developmental History", sometimes referred to by scholars as "conjectural" or "stadial" history—and contextualizes it within the Scottish Enlightenment. The result is a clear and insightful textual analysis of the writing of Developmental History in eighteenth-century Scotland. According to Jacoby, Developmental History is a "science of man" that uses observation and the study of history to examine human experience. This science of man is predicated on two criteria: that the progress of history equates to unintentional consequences resulting from selfish, human action, and that there are two main patterns of economic and social change that all societies pass through (pp. 7–8). The first argument is that societies transition from a state of savagery through to barbarism and finally to a state of refinement. The second position argues that each society progresses through a series of stages: fruit-gatherers, hunters/fishers, animal herders, then to agricultural development, and finally to commercial societies. Jacoby identifies several Scottish authors as the "school" of Developmental Historians: Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames, James Dunbar, John Millar, Gilbert Stuart, John Dalrymple, John Logan, William Robertson, and Adam Smith (as well as "hesitantly" including William Alexander). Although Jacoby incorporates other eighteenth-century authors into her discussions, these figures constitute the bulk of her study.

The book begins by addressing the topic of causation, which these authors define as instincts, senses, propensities, habits, manners, or a uniform human nature and "man's inherent progressive tendency" (p. 20), an argument which is at the core of Developmental History. The second chapter addresses the view that societies move from a simple state to one that is more complex. Here, Jacoby embarks on an expert discussion which dissects each thinker's argument about how societies develop to a commercial or refined state. She takes the argument further by exploring how the school uses Developmental History to deal with specific periods in history. Her textual analysis and the detail with which she presents each author's use of the methods of Developmental History mark this as the stand-out chapter of her book. Chapter 5, "The Developmental Historian as Craftsman," spells out the scientific methodology by which the practitioners of this school were able to use facts and observation to create a historical narrative. They relied on historical sources and travel accounts, as well as "rational conjecture" (p. 89), for the facts that provided the foundation for their works.

Jacoby then seeks to discover the origins of this school. She examines its eighteenth-century context, both intellectually and socially, to try to pin down why these thinkers embarked on this unique historical project. This section of the book is not as strong as the preceding chapters. While it looks to classical literature as well as European ideas at large, and specifically tackles the context of eighteenth-century Scotland, it lacks an engagement with wider contemporary sources that influenced the Scottish historians. Furthermore, because *From the Flood* has not developed sufficiently beyond Jacoby's 1966 Emory University Ph.D. thesis (Alice Jacoby Wheeler, "Society History in Eighteenth-Century Scotland"), the majority of the author's scholarly reading on the topic is rooted in research published before the mid-1960s. The failure to incorporate more recent scholarship on the intellectual history of the Scottish Enlightenment is particularly evident in this section of the book.

The book concludes with a discussion of the reception of the Developmental Historians' works and methods in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. By demonstrating the importance of these historians in their own time, the readership of the key texts, and the overall response of the authors, Jacoby successfully saves these thinkers from the criticisms of nineteenth-century authors. She finds that their most lasting influences were on scientists of the nineteenth century, such as Charles Darwin, but does not give a very detailed account of this proposition and ends the work rather abruptly.

In crafting her argument about historical methodology, Jacoby is able to draw on other elements of the thought of these philosophers—their understanding of the nature of culture, society, and history, as well as the social element of their intellectual pursuits—but she does not delve too deeply into these extraneous topics. By concentrating on Developmental History itself, Jacoby offers the reader a detailed, analytical, and reasoned history of this element of the intellectual history of the Scottish Enlightenment. The strength of this work is that it provides the reader with necessary tools to move on from her sound analysis and pursue further questions. What does the scientific methodology used in Developmental History reveal about the larger intellectual missions of these authors? How can their views on history inform scholars about ways to connect perspectives on topics such as law, religion, morality, and science? How does this very particular school of historical thinking relate to the broader Scottish Enlightenment endeavor to establish a "science of man?" How can this study help scholars better under-

stand the individual thinkers analyzed in this work? *From the Flood* is a testament to Alice Jacoby's lifelong scholarship, and it will remain a fitting tribute to her memory.

Katherine Nicolai, Independent Scholar

Jeffrey Smitten, *The Life of William Robertson: Minister, Historian, and Principal*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017. Pp. ix + 268.

There has long been a need for a modern biography of the historian and clergyman William Robertson, one of the leading literati of the Scottish Enlightenment. This fine study by a distinguished literary scholar succeeds splendidly in filling this gap. Robertson was an influential figure from the 1750s onward, when he became active in the disputes over the patronage question and began to rise up the ranks of the Church of Scotland. For around three decades he acted a leading role within the Moderate wing of the Kirk. He also became principal of the University of Edinburgh, where he oversaw an ambitious program for renewing the run-down infrastructure of the university, though many of his projects were not realized before his death in 1793. His literary fame, which extended beyond Britain to Continental Europe and North America, rested on his historical works, which dealt with subjects ranging from classical antiquity and ancient India, to the history of Scotland, Europe in the age of the Reformation, and South- and Mesoamerica. Smitten skillfully interweaves discussions of Robertson's private life, public career, and literary and intellectual interests.

One reason why Smitten's book is so important is that it is grounded in deep and thorough knowledge of the archival material, though with Robertson, as with so many other figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, few sources survive that are concerned directly with his personal circumstances. To compensate for this dearth of information, Smitten draws on much contextual material, allowing him to reconstruct the details of Robertson's life and career to a remarkable degree. Smitten examines Robertson's family background, including the career and outlook of his father, a minister first at the small Midlothian parish of Borthwick, before his translation to Lady Yester's and then Old Greyfriars in Edinburgh. The book contains a particularly interesting discussion of several unpublished sermons by Robertson senior, acknowledging the usefulness of the light of nature for morality, though also, unsurprisingly, emphasizing its insufficiency for salvation.

Direct information on Robertson's education at the University of Edinburgh is sparse, but Smitten manages to piece together a picture of the education Robertson would have received. The main direct evidence of intellectual development during his student years is the essay on historical probability that Robertson composed for John Stevenson's logic class, which offered a fairly conventional account of the standards of "moral truth," that is, truth resting not on intellectual certainty but on authority. Some of the arguments about the influence of teachers on Robertson's later views are necessarily speculative, given the limitations of the evidence, but Smitten shows how Robertson's outlook was at least broadly aligned with the ideas of professors such as Charles Mackie, the first occupant of the chair of universal history at Edinburgh. Of particular interest here is Smitten's discussion of John Gowdie, whose lectures Robertson attended after he moved to Divinity Hall to complete his training as a minister. Smitten argues that Gowdie's teachings might well have shaped Robertson's Moderate beliefs. At the least it is probable that both clergymen's beliefs were expressions of the same broader currents within the Presbyterian Kirk. Smitten also raises the issue of Arminianism, which has often been credited with exercising a major influence on the emergence of moderate Calvinism in Scotland. There was certainly interest in the controversy between Arminians and orthodox Calvinists at the Synod of Dort in 1619, though the extent to which Moderates like Robertson can be characterized as "Arminian" seems uncertain. A similar reservation applies to the influence of Newtonian natural philosophy. Robertson may have attended the lectures of the famous Newtonian mathematician and natural philosopher Colin Maclaurin, who died organizing the defense of Edinburgh against the Jacobite rebels in 1745, and he would certainly have been aware of Newtonian principles. But it is doubtful that features of Robertson's later historical writings can be explained by his familiarity with Newton's thought. Smitten argues that Newton's thought and Robertson's both reflect a belief in incremental progress, evident in Robertson's only published sermon, *The Situation of the World at the Time of Christ's Appearance* of 1755. That sermon, however, does not necessarily evince a belief in the incremental nature of progress. Robertson's argument is that, as a result of the revelation of the gospel of Christ, the modern age is vastly superior to classical antiquity in terms of the "mildness" of its manners. The history of God's revelation to humankind therefore marks a clear turning point in the form of the coming of Christ into the world. Although the effects of that revelation are not immediate or universal, the revelation itself—Robertson's main interest—is not an incremental process.

Smitten also analyzes Robertson's unfinished translation of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*, a text which had attracted the interest of Francis Hutcheson at around the same time. Smitten suggests that Robertson's interest in the *Meditations* was stimulated by George Whitefield's speaking tour through Scotland and the gathering at Cambuslang in 1742. This was attended by thousands of worshippers, many of whom reported experiencing a spiritual regeneration that manifested itself in "Crying, Faintings, Tremblings, and other such like bodily Agitations" (p. 45). Without question Robertson was opposed to these "enthusiastic" forms of religious belief. It is perhaps less clear that he regarded Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations* as an antidote. Although there is a sharp difference between the Stoic emphasis in the *Meditations* on freedom from the tyranny of the passions and the emotional behavior of the revivalists at Cambuslang, there also appears to be no clear-cut evidence that Robertson was drawn to

the *Meditations* for that reason. In fact, much as Robertson admired the intellectual achievements of the ancient Stoics, he was also critical of the limitations of their non-Christian, pagan beliefs. Robertson's project of translating the *Meditations* does coincide with the events at Cambuslang, but it is not certain the two are causally linked. Smitten additionally argues that the style of Robertson's translation is part of his opposition to revivalist enthusiasm; the calm, polite diction of Robertson's text vindicated "the claims of reason, progress, and civic virtue" (p. 50). Robertson certainly aspired to a "polite" literary style, which he would develop in his historical works, and it is possible that he used this prose style to reinforce his opposition to revivalism, but there appears to be little direct evidence for that view.

The most pressing ecclesiastical issue for Robertson was the patronage question, around which the Moderate party in the Church of Scotland formed from 1751. Smitten discusses Robertson's involvement in that controversy, as well as his other activities during the 1750s, such as his participation in two relatively short-lived ventures, the Select Society and the *Edinburgh Review*. His discussion of Robertson's articles in the *Edinburgh Review* is especially useful. Robertson was of course also prominent in other disputes with the orthodox or Popular party in that decade, such as the controversy over John Home's play *Douglas* and the attempt by the orthodox within the General Assembly of the church to have David Hume and Lord Kames censured for their philosophical beliefs. This period also saw Robertson compose his first major historical work, the *History of Scotland*, which appeared in 1759. According to Smitten, Robertson's "impartial" characterization of Mary Queen of Scots in that work was an important expression of his Moderate vision. Smitten attributes considerable weight to the ideas in Robertson's student essay on historical probability, arguing that Robertson's epistemological principles explain his restraint in judging Mary, who emerges as a complex and contradictory character from his account, neither a heroine nor a villain. Here, as elsewhere in Robertson's historical works, Smitten sees the influence of the Swiss theologian Samuel Werenfels, whose writings, he believes, shaped Robertson's views on probable judgments.

Robertson was involved in many projects during the 1760s, including the campaign of the Poker Club for a Scottish militia and the publication of the *Ruins of the Palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro in Dalmatia* by his cousin Robert Adam in 1764. But the most significant developments in Robertson's career were his appointments as Historiographer Royal in Scotland and as principal of the University of Edinburgh. In the latter role, Robertson strove to initiate a far-reaching program of growth and improvement, of which Smitten offers an excellent account. Church affairs, in which Robertson played a prominent role, absorbed much of his attention too, as did the preparation of his second major historical work, the history of Europe under the reign of Charles V, which came out in 1769, followed by his *History of America* in 1777.

In his later years Robertson experienced a steady decline in health, leading to his withdrawal in 1780 from his leadership role within the Moderate party. Yet even as late as 1784, Robertson took part in the renewed controversy over patronage, when the traditional annual protest by the General Assembly to Parliament concerning patronage ceased, and Robertson resisted attempts by the Popular party to have this protest reinstated. By the time his last work, the *Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients Had of India*, appeared in 1791, his health had deteriorated considerably, and he died in 1793.

One of the difficulties in any general biographical study is to place all important aspects of a person's life into a single, coherent narrative. Smitten does this with great skill, moving between Robertson's private life, professional career, and literary activities. Although there is a substantial literature on Robertson's historical writings, his personal history, which offers crucial contextual information for understanding his works, has never before been recovered and discussed as fully and perceptively as it is here.

Thomas Ahnert, University of Edinburgh

Alistair Mutch, *Religion and National Identity: Governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the Eighteenth Century*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xviii + 264.

One does not often encounter books about spiritual life from business school faculty. But then again, Alistair Mutch's somewhat misleadingly titled *Religion and National Identity: Governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the Eighteenth Century* is not about religion or national identity in the way we usually think about them. Mutch is professor of information and learning in the business school at Nottingham University, and he uses his background in matters of information, organization, and accounting to produce a valuable, if somewhat heavy-going work that looks at the organization and practice of Scottish Presbyterianism in the eighteenth century as under-examined features of religious life and, ultimately, national identity.

Where most scholars of Scottish religion have looked at such things as doctrine, general ecclesiology, and personal experience, Mutch is most interested in organization and practice, as well as—as befits his profession—record-keeping. Eighteenth-century Presbyterians, he finds, were uncommonly attentive to keeping records, at the levels of congregations and kirk sessions and presbyteries. Indeed, it was the duty of the sessions to make close inquiries into the lives of their church members, and of presbyteries to conduct annual visitations, an important part of which was to inspect those records, examining them both for thoroughness and form, while, of course, maintaining records of their own. One feels for the session clerk of Kinfauns, who was subject not just to a rebuke but public censure by the presbytery of Perth for a record book "insufficiently Clerked, there being, ma[n]y words ill spelled...the book not sufficiently margined," and the minutes "too curtly marked" (p. 71).

The argument of this book obviously recalls the work of Max Weber; the intensely methodical character of record-keeping and the simultaneous pursuit of accounts and accountability is compatible both with the personal "spirit" of capitalism and the mutual watchfulness found in Protestant sects. It bears a relationship as well to Margot Todd's 2002 book *The Culture of Protestantism in Early Modern Scotland*. Todd, like Mutch but for an earlier period, mined the carefully kept Scottish kirk session records in order to explore the role of the institutions of Presbyterianism in effecting the work of Reformation. Todd also was not only dependent upon but also cognizant of the unusual intensity of Presbyterian record-keeping, but Mutch's work is more interested in the practice itself than in the social transformations those records reveal.

To Mutch, organization was not only the agent of reformation but in many ways its essence, leading to a methodical style that would form an important element of Scottish character. In the later part of the book, Mutch shifts his focus from the details of Presbyterian practice to their relationship to questions of religion and identity. Here the book becomes at once more lively and somewhat less sure of foot. It is certainly suggestive in linking the emphasis on record-keeping in Scottish religion to similar styles in other aspects of Scottish life, from education to commerce to accounting. It accounts, he believes, for the proliferation of Scots and Scottish influences in those professions, although it might be noted that a substantial Scottish presence in a number of related trades, both at home and abroad, began well before the period covered.

Much of that part of the argument comes from a comparison of Scottish with English parishes, which, by the author's calculations, did not approach Scottish levels in record-keeping. Mutch reads into this a style of organization and analysis among Scots that relied more on system and deduction than on intuition or personal character. It is from there that Mutch draws his inferences about Scottish identity. Those are intriguing ideas, albeit ones that go well beyond any sort of available or obtainable evidence. I wonder as well whether Anglican parishes really constitute either the most reliable or the most useful comparison, as the differences in practices and record-keeping were matched by differences in theology, sermon-style, and the experiential side of religion, among other things. A more revealing comparison might be with New England, a similarly Calvinist society, and one in which towns and congregations were at least as attentive to record-keeping, although not, because of their Congregationalist form, to a higher level of supervision such as the presbytery.

It does, on occasion, seem as though the book would be helped by an effort to reintegrate some of the more traditional religious subjects into the narrative: the beliefs and the spiritual lives of eighteenth-century Scottish Presbyterians. Issues such as church patronage, the acceptability of an unorthodox text such as *The Marrow of Modern Divinity*, the Secession, and the evangelical revivals deeply affected many of these parishes. All appear in passing in often-fleeting references. It is hard to think they would not have helped to illuminate some of the internal parish disputes the book explores. That is not, however, the book Mutch has chosen to write. For those of us who do attend to those other aspects of religious life, this book provides a great deal of provocative information about what lay behind the experiences we think we understand.

Ned Landsman, Stony Brook University

John M. Dixon, *The Enlightenment of Cadwallader Colden: Empire, Science, and Intellectual Culture in British New York*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016. Pp. xi + 243.

"Imperialism, elitism, and conservatism are not the usual stuff of the American Enlightenment," John Dixon writes. Arguing that "most of our traditional narratives" of the Enlightenment "concentrate heavily on libertarianism and the American Revolution," Dixon contends that by examining Cadwallader Colden (1688–1776) and people like him in the context of transatlantic Enlightenment movements, especially as these movements coursed through Scotland and extended to the Continent and across the Atlantic, we gain a better sense of the richness of the eighteenth century. Thus, the "general picture that emerges is not one of American detachment from Europe, but one of extensive and dynamic transatlantic exchange" (p. 7). In Dixon's view, the Scottish Enlightenment and its impact on New York have not been fully recognized by historians of the period. Beyond the usual figures known to have a "transatlantic reach" (Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Thomas Reid, and Adam Smith), Dixon seeks to show how people like Colden and other Scots in his social, political, and learned circles had a major impact on scientific and political life. He argues that "the sizable impact in America of learned Scots born around 1688 remains underappreciated. This generation came of age during a difficult period of religious tumult, famine, and exodus, but simultaneously benefited from modernizing academic reforms, the support of an aristocracy interested in scientific improvement, and the thrill of living at what seemed like a crucial point in intellectual history—a moment of sweeping philosophical change and scientific breakthroughs" (p. 12).

Dixon shows that precisely because of the difficulties Colden and people of his generation faced as youth, they were highly self-conscious about their great potential for making significant contributions to the Atlantic world. Such awareness could lead to smugness, as Dixon shows in the case of Dr. William Douglass as well as Colden. But Scotland, he argues, "was more socially, politically, and culturally dynamic in 1700 than many historians have been willing to acknowledge" (p. 25). Whether we think of Boston, where Douglass (the only practitioner with medical training) challenged the Mather-Boylston alliance in their plan for smallpox inoculation, or of New York, where Colden circulated scientific tracts among well-placed intellectuals and politicians like Robert Hunter and William Burnet, these Scots were surrounded by people with less international polish. Among learned Scots,

“Wit and intelligence” were “markers of local social and political distinctions” (p. 4). The New York intellectuals with whom Colden associated—a group which at different times included Robert Hunter, William Burnet, and James Alexander, along with Lewis Morris, Philip Livingston, and Archibald Kennedy—were able to consolidate their political power and mostly hold at bay the local would-be leaders (such as Peter Schuyler) whom they considered crude and lacking erudition. The governors used their power to create appointments in order to establish, in effect, an intellectual circle of well-educated Scots in New York.

Dixon argues that “Cadwallader Colden was arguably the most important of the several educated Scots who immigrated to America in the early eighteenth century” (p. 12). Basing his work on several important documentary editions but especially on Colden’s unpublished treasure trove of scientific and political papers and notes at the New-York Historical Society, Dixon analyzes printed and unprinted sources in an effort to shore up his claim. Colden’s life spanned momentous years in Britain and North America. He grew up in trying economic circumstances in Scotland (being the son of a cleric) yet managed to pull together enviable learning in natural science. After fitful beginnings in Philadelphia, Colden landed in New York, where he put himself forward as a physician, learned scientist, and land surveyor. By 1720 he was New York’s Surveyor General and held a seat on the provincial Council. He had an expert knowledge of history, geography, and Iroquoia. In 1727 Colden put that knowledge to use for Britain and the New York colony with his *History of the Five Indian Nations*, published in a beautiful edition by William Bradford. Colden had relied on numerous French sources for his book, but by presenting a map of Iroquoia and making it appear in English, Colden gave the impression that all of Iroquoia was English. With the publication of this volume, Colden became the new authority for English readers. He claimed to be offering a new English alternative for British imperialism in light of the nasty French, and the effort paid off. Colden’s book became a key resource for establishing British imperial policy. Despite the international success of this book, however, Colden developed a reactionary and lasting dislike for interest politics and popular mobilization. He abhorred the violent reactions to political problems in New York, preferring the retired life of a gentleman scientist to a career as a politician.

Dixon documents how Colden managed his manuscript and print circulation to strategic effect. Like many of his generation, Colden relied on the circulation of scientific correspondence, and he was assisted in this endeavor by the London merchant and plant collector Peter Collinson, a Fellow of the Royal Society. Colden’s major efforts in science relate to theories of active matter. In autumn 1745 he shared his new physics of active matter with several scholars. He then printed in New York *An Explication of the First Causes of Action in Matter, and of the Cause of Gravitation*, which claimed to solve mysteries of the universe that had perplexed ancient and modern philosophers. In August 1746 Colden sent it to London, where it was reprinted, and it was subsequently reprinted again in Germany and Paris. Dixon explores what he calls Colden’s “grand followup” to this work in 1751, the costly and commercially unsuccessful *Principles of Action in Matter*.

By midcentury, Yale-educated professionals took over New York intellectual life. They clashed with Colden, who accepted the post of Lieutenant Governor in 1761. As the Stamp Act crises emerged and the years wore on toward revolution, Colden grew entrenched as a Crown loyalist, and he faced increasing pressure from the colonists. In 1765 a Stamp Act mob burned his effigy and his property. He died in 1776, dispirited.

Of several intersecting themes in this excellent book, one of the most compelling relates to the dominance of the Scottish Enlightenment in eighteenth-century American culture, particularly in New York. It is relatively easy to conceive, in the long shadows of Franklin and Jefferson, the centrality of the French Enlightenment in American scientific and intellectual culture, but Dixon ably shows the importance of Scottish influences. He charts valuable Scottish contributions to natural science, complementing Scots’ efforts in moral, social, and economic sciences. He makes a good effort to explore the contentions in the scientific community regarding Newton’s contributions to the study of matter, placing Colden in the center of the exploration of active matter in the eighteenth century. Through the work of Colden, Scots also had an impact on British imperial knowledge prior to midcentury. Colden provided English-speaking readers with first-hand geographical knowledge that would guide decision-making in Britain and Europe. Dixon’s outstanding discussion of *The History of the Five Indian Nations* clarifies how Colden’s maps, information-passing, and knowledge of Indian affairs structured British imperial thinking for decades. This helpfully dense, well-researched, and engaging intellectual biography repays careful reading.

Carla J. Mulford, Pennsylvania State University

Gideon Mailer, *John Witherspoon’s American Revolution*. Published for the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Williamsburg, VA. Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017. Pp. xi + 425.

John Witherspoon presents a vexing problem for scholars of eighteenth-century Scottish culture and its outposts. Does a leopard ever change its spots? Is it really the case that Witherspoon, the acerbic and satirical voice of counter-enlightenment in mid-eighteenth-century Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, was transformed upon his translation in 1768 to the presidency of the College of New Jersey at Princeton into a champion of the enlightened values he so roundly rejected back in the old country? Did the author of the wicked anti-Moderate caricature, *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* (1753), dramatically reinvent himself across the Atlantic as an enlightened modernizer set on revamping a musty curriculum? Of course, emigration and a bracing voyage across the Atlantic could blow away

the most clingy and clarty of cobwebs. Still, the Witherspoon problem—as it has traditionally been posed—seemed to rest, somewhat unconvincingly, on too vivid and pointed a contrast between the Old and New World Witherspoons. Now, in the wake of Gideon Mailer's impressive and substantial debut, the problem certainly needs to be reframed.

Mailer's achievement is not only to overhaul our understanding of Witherspoon's second career but also to correct a major flaw in the historiography of the American Founding era. A lightly informed assumption has hitherto prevailed that whatever America inherited from eighteenth-century Scotland was a product of the Scottish Enlightenment. Andrew Hook's superb scholarship on Scotland's bequest to American literature in *Scotland and America* (1975) serves to remind us that two distinct strains—of enlightenment and proto-romanticism—fed into American culture from the mid-eighteenth century onward. Mailer adds a very important third strand of Scottish influence, which we have known about, tangentially perhaps, from the likes of Leigh Eric Schmidt's *Holy Fairs* (1990), on the role of Scottish communion seasons in shaping American religious revivalism, but which has never been so clearly disentangled, as it is here, from the American reception of the Scottish Enlightenment. This is the legacy of the Auld Lights, a current of orthodox Reformed theology that runs back to the Covenants and the Westminster Confession of the mid-seventeenth century, and which thrived in the eighteenth, both in the sub-cultures of Scots Presbyterian dissent among the Cameronians and Seceders, and within the Kirk itself, in its more nettlesome and intractably Adullamite quarters. It was also exported across the Atlantic, sometimes directly, or via the Scots Presbyterianism of Ulster emigrants. Within the eighteenth-century Church of Scotland, the Popular-Evangelical opposition to the Moderates was, to be fair, variegated and far from uniformly unenlightened; nevertheless some Auld Licht critics were exercised as much by theological deviation as by the offences of lay patronage. Unsympathetic eighteenth-century contemporaries, including Episcopalians within Scotland and observers without, still viewed Scots Presbyterianism through the lens of its turbulent seventeenth-century past, one of resistance, rebellion and—somewhat unfairly, as we shall see—king-killing. Mailer quotes Horace Walpole, who allegedly quipped of the American Revolution, "Cousin America has run off with a Presbyterian parson" (p. 25). Too often, Mailer complains, the religious origins of the American Revolution have been couched exclusively in terms of the sermon culture of New England Congregationalism, with much less attention paid to the ideologies of Auld Licht Presbyterianism. Moreover, when a wider, inter-denominational approach has been deployed, most notably in Alan Heimert's classic study *Religion and the American Mind* (1966), the divisions introduced by the Great Awakening have been, as Mailer notes, forced—with a stilted insensitivity to the complexities of the evidence—into revivalist and rationalist camps. Indeed, within the Presbyterian tradition, its political theology of resistance was the common heritage of both the champions and the critics of the Awakening. Mailer includes an exaggerated report from a Scottish visitor to the College of New Jersey in November 1774 that the student orations at the college commencement were "full of the old Cameronian resisting sentiments" (p. 225). He also discusses Rev. John Carmichael's published sermon of 1775, *A Self-Defensive War Lawful*, delivered in the Presbyterian church at Lancaster, Pennsylvania. To a student of Covenanting political theory, the echoes are obvious.

As Mailer shows, Witherspoon's great-grandfather had signed the Solemn League and Covenant but, as he correctly insists, this did not make the filiopietistic Witherspoon an enthusiastic republican; far from it. A prominent loyalist, the Reverend Jonathan Odell, an Anglican minister and poet, specifically denounced Witherspoon for his promotion of "the good old cause," namely "The hate of Kings, and glory of the Kirk;" but things were not quite as black-and-white as this invective made out. Witherspoon adhered, like the Covenanters of the seventeenth century, to a loyalist position. Indeed, Mailer shows a Witherspoon who turned first during the 1770s against the authority of Parliament, but at this stage—and even as late as April 1776—not against the King, for he had come to favor some kind of confederal arrangement within the Empire under the authority of the Hanoverian monarchy. Here Mailer's work intersects fruitfully with the recent surprising findings in Brendan McConville, *The King's Three Faces: The Rise and Fall of Royal America, 1688–1776* (2007) and Eric Nelson, *The Royalist Revolution: Monarchy and the American Founding* (2014) on the enduring culture of monarchism in Whig America.

Mailer successfully switches between the biographical and the broader picture, devoting considerable space to Witherspoon's pupils, including most famously James Madison, but the primary matter in hand is the conundrum of Witherspoon's seemingly "Janus-faced" career: "orthodox and evangelical in Scotland, anthropocentric and philosophical in America" (p. 179). Much is at stake here. That Witherspoon was the only clergyman to sign the Declaration of Independence has given rise to the understandable "temptation" to align him with the Hutchesonian philosophy of communal happiness (p. 219). Received opinion assigns a central role to Witherspoon in the dominant Moderate-Didactic phases of the American Enlightenment. But Mailer's Witherspoon is a more decidedly ambivalent character, whose relationship to the Enlightenment—even the Enlightenment at its most tentative and subdued—was complicated and far from straightforward. Of course, Witherspoon championed a learned ministry both in Scotland and America, but this was a standard Auld Licht trope. Citadels of learning were there to propound orthodoxy and the well-established themes of Reformed scholasticism. Witherspoon's stance on higher education eludes the simple American contrast between revivalist Log Colleges and the backsliding liberalism of learned seminaries. The polemics of Witherspoon and his Ayrshire allies directed against what they saw as the shallowness of Moderate erudition offer a poignant illustration of the deeply learned illiberalism so characteristic of unenlightened European orthodoxy. Mailer cogently sets out an ironic, multi-layered saga of contemporary

eighteenth-century “misperception” and retrospective “scholarly imprecision” which have accompanied Witherspoon’s reputation—for good as well as ill (p. 142). Indeed, the greatest irony in Mailer’s book resides in some of the local assumptions behind Witherspoon’s appointment at Princeton. Was an uninvolved outsider brought in from far-off Scotland as a supposed healing force? Witherspoon was unsullied by the contests of the Old Side and New Side elements within middle-colony Presbyterianism, which were roughly, but only very approximately, congruent with the positions of traditionalists and revivalists. The compromise Union of 1758, which reunited the Old Side Synod of Philadelphia with the New Side Synod of New York, was a delicate structure, and distance in Witherspoon’s case was assumed to bring with it a kind of emollience; by a further irony (given Witherspoon’s far from emollient past in Scotland), this proved surprisingly close to the mark. The sour, derisive Witherspoon of his years in north Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, when his satires gave heart to the forces of local anti-Moderatism, yielded to a more balanced personality and less unbending style of leadership in the College of New Jersey and on the wider political scene in America. However, as Mailer stresses, the central message of Witherspoon’s doctrine, its evangelicalism, had not changed.

The key to understanding Witherspoon, Mailer contends, lies in his conviction that conversion was an imperative for fallen humankind. At the core of Witherspoon’s oeuvre were his neglected *Essay on the Connection between Justification by the Imputed Righteousness of Christ and Holiness of Life* (1756) and *A Practical Treatise on Regeneration* (1764). Far from being a “conduit for enlightened sensibility in America,” Witherspoon introduced rather a sharp reminder of the inescapable gravity of the Fall (p. 36). As Mailer notes, Witherspoon mimicked the “conceptual terminology”—though not the concepts themselves—of moral sense ethics (p. 181). Scottish moral philosophy gave him a way of describing “the role of emotions in the experience of faith and conversion” as well as “the state of sensory awareness that followed regeneration” (p. 408). Misreception was almost guaranteed. Indeed, Witherspoon’s “tempered approval” of certain limited aspects of David Hume’s thought further compounded the confusion (p. 331). Though “an infidel in opinion,” Hume was, Witherspoon suggested, “of great reach and accuracy of judgment in matters of criticism” (quoted on p. 204). Yet even the chilled-out American Witherspoon never fell into the trap—as he continued to perceive it—of a naturalistic or even a humanistic moral philosophy: “Men of lax and corrupt principles, take great delight in speaking to the praise of human nature, and extolling its dignity, without distinguishing what it was, at its first creation, from what it is in its present fallen state” (pp. 264–65). The fashionable chimera of a moral sense never obscured for Witherspoon the historical reality of the Fall and its ongoing consequences.

Mailer’s volume constitutes a landmark in Scottish-American historiography. Inevitably, in a work of this scale scholars will quibble here and there at some of the fine-grained parsing of concepts, and there are a few minor slips, but the main thrust of the stories Mailer tells is very compelling indeed. His challenges to established historical orthodoxy are sounder than some of the seemingly well-entrenched positions he seeks to overthrow. Nor is his a story without nuance. He examines the multiple ways in which Witherspoon’s “Presbyterian evangelicalism could compete with, combine with, or even supersede the civic influence of Scottish Enlightenment thought in the British Atlantic world” (p. 12). Mailer’s account is largely a public one, of Witherspoon’s writings and sermons, of his role as educator and politician. Nevertheless, there are occasional glimpses of the inner Witherspoon, and the elusive whims of a somewhat secluded personality. Witherspoon—who remarried as a widower at the age of sixty-eight to a twenty-four year old bride, herself admittedly also a widow—was a pillar of righteousness and staunch enemy of hypocrisy; or at least of a certain kind of hypocrisy, namely dissembling over questions of doctrine. But was there always something of the Tartuffe in Witherspoon’s makeup? As Mailer reminds us, the Moderate clergyman Alexander Carlyle, Witherspoon’s contemporary and former classmate at the University of Edinburgh, certainly thought so. Witherspoon, Carlyle recalled, had been a clever chap, “but of a disagreeable temper... flat voice and awkward manner,” which made social interaction difficult and thwarted his evident ambition (p. 44). Yet Carlyle also remembered the gayer Witherspoon of his youth, who loved fishing and the company of the fair sex, “so that I always considered the austerity of manners and aversion to social joy which he affected afterwards, as the arts of hypocrisy and ambition” (p. 45). Once across the Atlantic and out of the rut of old acquaintance and familiar expectation, the constricting social corsetry of the Tartuffe could be cavalierly discarded. It seems likely that Witherspoon—after all, one of the most ingenious writers in eighteenth-century Scotland, who was adept at the appropriation of literary personae—did change, allowing suppressed aspects of his personality to flower in a new context and, just as significantly perhaps, in a new leadership role. Nevertheless, Mailer’s major study shows that Witherspoon was no convert to the ethos of the Scottish Enlightenment. His temperament mellowed, but his ideas continued to flow in an Auld Licht rill.

Colin Kidd, University of St. Andrews

Jo Currie, Keith Mercer, and John G. Reid, eds., *Hector Maclean: The Writings of a Loyalist-Era Military Settler in Nova Scotia*. Kentville, Nova Scotia: Gaspereau Press, 2015. Pp. 266.

Hector Maclean (1751–1812) was a British officer who served in the American Revolutionary War and then settled in rural Nova Scotia. In this volume, handsomely produced by Gaspereau Press, Jo Currie, Keith Mercer, and John G. Reid present edited transcriptions of Maclean’s orderly book, diary, and some of his correspondence. The value of these primary documents to the historian and general reader is greatly enhanced by the editors’

contextualizing essays and extensive annotations, which explain Maclean's abbreviations, unfamiliar terms, and references to people, places, and events that might otherwise make little sense.

Maclean was born in London, with family connections that linked him to Mull. Jo Currie contributes her expertise to contextualizing this aspect of Maclean's story, while Keith Mercer and John Reid offer insight into his experiences in America. The three editors effectively situate Maclean's life within the broader patterns of British military service in the American Revolutionary War and post-war settlement in British North America. As the editors explain, Maclean's experiences "paralleled those of many others of his military rank and social class" (p. 11), but these experiences are uniquely recorded in the primary documents housed in the National Records of Scotland and the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan.

So what can one learn from this collection? The editors note that the documents shed light on many things, including military recruitment in Newfoundland, the Battle of Eutaw Springs in South Carolina, "the environmental and labour history of a military settler's farm" (p. 12), and the social and cultural life of the elites in Hants County, Nova Scotia, where Maclean settled. The work has much to offer readers with various interests; what they will glean depends in large part on the questions and knowledge they bring to their reading.

That said, for this historian, who once farmed in Cape Breton and now farms in Prince Edward Island, the book's most valuable contribution may be what it reveals about farm-making in Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth century. Maclean's diary and correspondence, with the editors' explanatory essays and annotations, offer glimpses of a rural past that can be difficult to discern from archival sources. The diary in particular, which records farm activities from April 1786 to April 1787, provides insight into the annual cycle of work on the farm.

Those attentive to climate history and the impact of a changing climate on rural life will appreciate Maclean's records of the weather at his farm and how it determined some of his choice of activity. Maclean began planting potatoes, sowing grain, and setting out his garden in early May. He noted that 3 May 1786 was a "Warm SunShining day" (p. 131), the sort of day to entice a farmer out to plant crops for a new season. And yet, as subsequent diary entries record, there were frosts still to come, in late May and again in June, "so severe as to kill the potatoe vines" (p. 147). Then in July and August, "all the potatoe vines on the Intervales blackened" (p. 173), and there were frosts again in September and October. Indeed, in 1786, there were frosts at Maclean's farm in every month of the growing season. In November, Maclean noted the return of snowy weather; he had last noted snow in his diary entries in the previous April.

The diary provides useful insight too into the character of the agriculture Maclean practiced and the breadth of the strategies he brought to bear on making a living from the lands he was clearing. In addition to planting potatoes and wheat, the diary records plantings of oats, rye, and Indian corn, as well as cabbages, cucumbers, radishes, onions, beans, peas, and turnips. His correspondence notes that he planted barley for his poultry. Maclean and his hired help also seeded down land for hay and planted apple trees. Maclean sowed most of his crops across many weeks in the spring, as one would expect, but he replanted his cabbage fields after harvesting them, and he seeded some of his grain in the fall. The entries suggest an attentiveness to farm strategies aimed at reducing risk as well as an intensive use of the available cleared land. The diary provides evidence too of the timing and duration of the work of harvesting, processing, and storing different crops, and the techniques used by Maclean and his hired hands. This includes an October entry revealing the unexpected dangers of using a flail to separate grain from straw: "Pleater cut his Eye brow thrashg" (p. 185). One wonders what else Pleater was doing at the time to make this possible.

There is much to be learned from the diary as well about the work of cutting fence posts, squaring beams for construction, making shingles, and acquiring firewood. Indeed, a close reading of the entries permits reasonable estimates of the time it took to perform a great number of farm tasks and the seasonality of these tasks, as well as insight into how Maclean used the different resources available to him.

Combining Maclean's diary and his correspondence, as the editors have done, helps us to contextualize the highly localized farm-making experience that Maclean recorded on a daily basis. One gets a sense of the scope of Maclean's world and the importance of his transatlantic connections, which served, among other things, to help secure the capital he needed to meet the costs of developing his property and maintaining his social standing. Maclean's correspondence also offers reflections on the farm-making experience that he details in the diary. Maclean came to believe that growing fodder for his livestock, which included a horse, two cows, pigs, and poultry, was the biggest farming challenge he faced: "Meadow & pasturage is my greatest want" (p. 107). No wonder he went to the expense of acquiring hay seed and sowing pasture and hay lands. But dealing with mounting debts, accrued in part because he used hired labor to speed farm-making, proved an even greater challenge. In 1784 Maclean noted in one of his letters that he had "made some progress in building & clearing but at an expence that I fear I will yet have reason to repent" (p. 89). Based on what he had learned of farm-making by this time, Maclean had come to think that "Farming in this Country is the least pleasurable & the least profitable of all employments for a Gentleman—the price of labour is too high." (p. 91). And yet, as the editors note, he persisted, and prospered, remaining in Nova Scotia until his death on the eve of the War of 1812. Currie, Mercer, and Reid's work helps us understand what lay behind the persistence of Maclean and others like him. It also helps us identify factors that pushed other early settlers to bid Nova Scotia farewell.

Michael Morris, *Scotland and the Caribbean, c. 1740–1833*. Routledge Studies in Cultural History. New York: Routledge, 2015. Pp. xiv + 256.

This volume is written by a lecturer in English and cultural history at John Moore's University in Liverpool. Though its roots go back to 1823, Moore's is a "new generation" university of the 1990s. Former chancellors include both Cherie Booth, the lawyer wife of Tony Blair, and an eminent rock guitarist. John Moore's is "progressive" in tone, claiming that its research has global reach. Michael Morris's modest contribution to that reach "participates in the modern recovery of the memory of the long forgotten relationship between Scotland and the Caribbean," as the opening blurb states. Given the number and quality of the books that have been written in recent decades on that theme, this is hard, especially on Alan Karras, whose *Sojourners in the Sun* (1992) analyzed the aspirations of Scots in the West Indies and showed how few lived to achieve them; Douglas Hamilton, whose *Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World* (2006) studied in detail the multifarious activities of the Scots in the Caribbean; and Iain Whyte, whose *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006) and *Zachary Macaulay* (2011) reassessed the Scottish role in the abolition of slavery. The chapter on "distancing strategies" in Scottish writers that Morris contributed to Tom Devine's *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past* (2015) made it clear, among his barrage of theoretical models, that he regards slavery as a subject whose "parallels with working-class exploitation" could be used in a fashion "both enlightening and politically energising" (p. 56). Morris is a self-confessed Joshua, blowing his trumpet under the walls of the Establishment's Jericho.

The book contains a general bibliography which can be recommended as a reading guide to the field. The extensive footnotes are at the back of each chapter. They can almost be read as a sequential narrative, supplying also nuggets of information such as that Dixie Dean alleged Bob Marley could name all the players in Celtic's European Cup winning team of 1967. What you would then be reading is clear and concise, even in the digressions that should be in the main text. However, that text is much less fluent and poses problems. Morris distinguishes between "an orthodox historical study" or "a straightforward work of literary criticism" and what he thinks he is writing, which he calls a "cultural history" (p. 1). He then preaches, avowedly to fellow believers, a woolly "progressive" philosophy rooted firmly in a neo-Marxist credo, which clings to Marx's teleology. Exploded before the end of the nineteenth century, that futurology lets you talk about overthrowing "Capitalism," so it is too satisfying to ditch. Morris also plunges into what he calls "Theoretical Orientations" (the title of his first chapter) with the enthusiasm often seen in "progressive" English departments in the USA. Creolization and national identity are major themes. He briefly packs in just about every relevant scholarly disputation among historians of empire, compressing fiercely but hovering on the verge of The Higher Incomprehensibility only occasionally. Following the ideas of a Haitian communist poet, readers can contemplate the figurative possibility of tracing Scottish threads on the cultural *métier à métriser*. Readers are also introduced to "a rhizomatic deterritorialisation" (p. 53). Less opaque are Morris's hunts for a usable "*lieu de mémoire*"—a term referenced nineteen times in the index, including in relation to Robert Burns on p. 99. That means something he can work up until it makes Caucasian Scots feel deeply guilty.

An important component of the book discusses Poetics, especially Pastoral, Georgic ones. Only two major eighteenth-century Scottish writers had any contact with the Caribbean—Tobias Smollett and Robert Burns—and the latter's connection is the non-event of his planned emigration to the West Indies to be a plantation bookkeeper. The success of the Kilmarnock Edition of his poems rendered this unnecessary. Morris would clearly like all Scots to be seized by the shame of Burns's self-contradiction, given his frequent trumpeting of Liberty. George Washington had no serious problems with a similar pattern of inconsistent self-righteousness, and to say Burns could be inconsistent is not news. Apart from discussing Scots pro- and anti-abolitionist prose (the latter denounced as shameful), Morris deals with a fair amount of pastoral poetry by expatriate and resident Scots, both male and female, either tackling or ducking the West Indian slavery issue, sometimes in demotic Scots. This is a useful minor deepening of our knowledge. The verse cited ranges from the mediocre to the lamentable.

Morris's "Red Atlantic" and incipient "Atlantic working class" (p. 59), derived from the Marxist historians Marcus Rediker and Peter Linebaugh, may just overstretch the evidence. More serious is Morris's refusal to engage with those who differ from him. They might argue, for example, that awareness and sympathy are basic civilized attributes, but personal guilt for something remote in time is foolish. Morris writes for a consenting "progressive" academic clique. Unfortunately, this feeds intellectual authoritarianism and hubris in its niche audience, something which, when perceived outside academe as arrogance, has served Donald Trump only too well.

Bruce P. Lenman, University of St. Andrews

Ralph McLean, Ronnie Young, and Kenneth Simpson, eds., *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture*. ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2016. Pp. vii + 299.

The cover image of this edited volume serves as a visual analog to its broader argument that "the Scottish Enlightenment had a far reaching impact on imaginative literature...at the same time [that] imaginative literature of the period enables us to begin to probe the boundaries of the Enlightenment" (p. 15). The glossy cover, sans dust jacket, allows for a sharp reprint of the detail from Charles Martin Hardie's *The Meeting of Robert Burns and Walter Scott at Sciennes House, Edinburgh*, which mythologizes the lone historical encounter between the two men. There, Burns's status is communicated through his imposing stature and proudly protruding chest; Scott's short

pants and wide-eyed visage betray his role as adolescent upstart. For the editors of this volume, it is not the meeting alone that is most significant but the milieu in which it takes place. Seated around the present and future poet laureates are Dugald Stewart, Adam Smith, Joseph Black, James Hutton, John Home, and Adam Ferguson, in whose parlor the men are assembled. Burns is backed, as it were, by the elder statesman and host of the party, while Scott is encouraged by one among the scene to stand and meet his gaze. Thus, in both the artistic rendering and the volume that claims it as a kind of frontispiece, Burns and Scott figure not as emblematic descendants of "Scottish Enlightenment" but, rather, as offspring, aesthetic outgrowths of the collective intellectual project we know, via David Hume, as the "science of man." The book's aim, then, is to attempt a reexamination of the key terms of its title, wherein the Victorian concepts we have received as "Literature" and "Enlightenment" are problematized within the paratextual discourse community of eighteenth-century Scotland.

The project is arranged to cover four loosely identified topics: first, the question of literary fiction *vis-à-vis* the "non-imaginative discourses" of philosophy, history, and the social sciences; second, specific aesthetic forms that deserve attention in light of the volume's collective reassessment (with poetry, drama, and balladry gaining most ground); third, explorations of the relationship between fictional literature and the influence of Edinburgh's cultural arbiters of taste; and fourth, the influence of Scottish texts beyond the confines of Britannia. This structural arrangement is exemplified by such chapters as David Allan's explication of the imaginative features of eighteenth-century historiography, Ronnie Young's discussion of a mutually evolving "moral agenda" in dramatic and literary-critical texts of the day, Brad Bow's reevaluation of Dugald Stewart as a kind of nationalizing patron of the arts, and Deidre Dawson's illustration of Ossian's influence on the patriotic imagination of Napoleonic France. The volume's thirteen individual contributions hang together remarkably well, such that the quadripartite concerns that dictate its structure provide useful subtext from chapter to chapter, regardless of content.

Moreover, there is a secondary agenda at play within *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture* that one might aptly call a recovery project within a recovery project. For on the whole, more attention is paid to lesser-known figures like Dugald Stewart, Hugh Blair, and Lord Kames than to the, by now, household names of David Hume or Adam Smith. On the imaginative end, while Scott, Burns, and Mackenzie certainly loom large, the volume's most incisive scholarly contributions may come through intimate assessment of as-yet underappreciated poet/dramatists such as Joanna Baillie, John Home, and Allan Ramsay, as well as the anonymous oral tradition that was the wellspring for ballad culture and Ossianism.

By and large, the editorial project succeeds at reconceptualizing eighteenth-century Scotland in terms of an inclusive, discursive "literary Enlightenment," and it will be interesting to see the extent to which future scholarship addressing "the Scottish Enlightenment" takes seriously the integrative claims asserted in this volume. With regard to the work as a series of constituent parts, this reader would have liked to see more consistent theoretical application of the archival observations presented across its chapters. As a very brief case in point, Corey Andrews' piece on the Mirror Club values breadth over depth by providing an exhaustive account of the *Mirror* and *Lounger* essays that perform literary criticism without attending to any concrete illustrations of how contemporary imaginative literature may have been responding to such taste-making tactics. By comparison, Sandro Jung's argument for tracing the canonicity of Scottish poetry through the publication record of an anthology called "The Scottish Poets" (published by the father and son team of Robert Morison, Sr. and Jr., from 1786 to 1789) is more compelling. Jung argues that the broad scope of "Scottish Poets," which reprints the work of writers from James I to James Thomson, establishes a "contact zone" for bridging the Renaissance and modern eras in a single arc of national literary production; thus, his analysis of book history demonstrates active overlapping concerns of Scottish "Enlightenment" and "literary" culture that proliferate as we continue to put pressure on those conceptual terms. The chapters throughout this volume attempt such theoretical heavy lifting to varying degrees of success, falling somewhere between those two poles.

The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture offers a well-conceived and valuable set of resources for the serious scholar of the eighteenth century and, one hopes, will serve as the opening salvo of an ongoing critical conversation.

Joel Sodano, State University of New York at Albany

Megan J. Coyer and David Shuttleton, eds., *Scottish Medicine and Literary Culture, 1726–1832*. Clio Medica: Perspectives in the Medical Humanities. Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2014. Pp. xi + 315.

Matthew Wickman, *Literature After Euclid: The Geometrical Imagination in the Long Scottish Enlightenment*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016. Pp. viii + 293.

Maybe there were *two* Scottish Enlightenments. A cursory comparison of these two volumes might suggest as much. Matthew Wickman's *Literature After Euclid* is a challenging and compelling account of the influence of mathematics and especially geometry on Scottish philosophy and literature. It thus would seem to interpret the Enlightenment as a set of formulae built on the abstract edifice of Euclidian geometry. Megan Coyer and David Shuttleton's collection *Scottish Medicine and Literary Culture* takes an equally compelling view of the mutual influence of medical practice and print media in eighteenth-century Scotland. Their Enlightenment is far from abstract, but dynamically social and highly experimental.

Of course, the books have much more in common than this preliminary comparison intimates. As Coyer and Shuttleton make clear in their useful introduction, scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment have known about the crucial role that experimental sciences played in its development, though it is only recently that we have become aware of how tightly interweaved literary and scientific discourse were. The “hero” of the volume is Dr. William Cullen, Physician Royal to the King in Scotland, President of the Royal College of Surgeons, and arguably eighteenth-century Britain’s most influential medical consultant. His extensive reflections on medical and scientific practice, published and otherwise, also apparently helped to instigate many of the defining concepts of modern philosophy and literary theory. Cullen’s physiological account of sympathy is seen by Craig Franson to have inspired Adam Smith’s theory of moral sentiments, and in particular those passages in which Smith considers pain, disgust, jealousy, and other bodily stimulations. Wayne Wild’s chapter on the origins of medical ethics in the works and correspondence of Cullen, George Cheyne, and John Gregory—featuring his extensive research into Glasgow University Library’s archive of Cullen’s personal correspondence, including that with his patients (now publicly available in the Cullen Project, www.cullenproject.ac.uk, directed by Shuttleton)—shows a similar sensitivity to the way print media provided the medical community with both a forum for their understanding of the nervous system and an instantiation of how writing, reading, and other forms of socialized communication could be instrumental to diagnosis and recovery. Shuttleton’s chapter shows how John Thomson’s *Account of the Life, Lectures, and Writings of William Cullen* (finally completed in 1859) played a crucial role in documenting the history of medicine in Scotland. Shuttleton details how Thomson’s research and writing were hampered by the selfish recalcitrance of Cullen’s squabbling descendants and the Edinburgh medical establishment’s enshrined “institutional structures” (p. 260); the impression one gets of Thomson’s process is that of a Cullenian “nervous body” in print form, open to all manner of outside stimuli, with both productive and reactive effects. Catherine Jones considers the extent of Cullen’s reputation in America by way of his student Benjamin Rush, a prominent Philadelphia physician and one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence. In the final chapter, Gavin Budge documents further the extent of Cullen’s influence on Scottish and later American thought primarily through his notorious student, John Brown, whose refinement of Cullen’s concept of “irritability” (the susceptibility of the nervous body to external overstimulation), Budge argues, lay behind much Romantic and post-Romantic psychology and sociology on both sides of the Atlantic.

Other chapters explore the intersections between a variety of medical theories and treatments of sensibility and circulation and parallel ideas of literary form and popular reception. Contributions by Robin Dix, Rhona Brown, and Lindsey Levy ably consider the way debates over embryonic growth, mental illness, and medical professionalization influenced the work and reception of (respectively) Mark Akenside, Robert Fergusson, and Walter Scott. In a glorious reading of Scott’s late and surprisingly violent *The Fair Maid of Perth*, Katherine Inglis argues that “blood—as a substance, and a symbol—is the organizing principle of the novel” (p. 210), and that the concern with revival and revenants in it and other Scott novels was indebted to contemporary experiments with blood transfusion. Megan Coyer’s chapter reads closely the work of Dr. Robert Macnish, a member of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow and a regular contributor to *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine*, for which he wrote a series of rather skeptical essays and tales under the Blackwood pseudonym “A Modern Pythagorean,” before becoming something of a convert to phrenological theory and practice himself. While satirizing the trends in Enlightenment medicine that eventually produced and popularized phrenology, the tales also invoke major principles such as mind-body dualism and physiological sympathy. Coyer stresses, however, that Macnish’s elaboration of these principles was in keeping with the spirit of *Blackwood’s* itself, a journal widely known for its insouciant and sometimes outlandish transgressions of literary decorum and philosophical reason. Just as the phrenological body, split between a deterministic physiology and a conscious soul, is seldom able to manage that division, so the mischievous *Blackwood’s* author is divided between public and private personae.

In contrast to the historical and interdisciplinary scope of *Scottish Medicine and Literary Culture*, *Literature After Euclid* is a more contemplative and focused study. Anchored on very close readings of two Burns poems (“To a Mouse” and “To a Louse”), a paragraph from Scott’s *Guy Mannering*, and some passages from James Thomson’s *The Seasons*, the book views the Enlightenment as an intellectual landscape, encompassing promontories of literary forms, epistemological problems, and social and emotional exchanges from a single perspective, that of Scottish post-Newtonian geometry. This is not to say that the book is historically narrow; on the contrary, Wickman moves easily between seventeenth-century science, eighteenth-century moral philosophy, and twentieth-century criticism. But the underlying premise is notably consistent, even as it is intellectually adventurous. For Wickman, the Scottish Enlightenment “was a late Euclidian era;” although all the Enlightenment philosophers had been trained in Euclidean principles and always defended the idea that geometric figuration was the foundation for our understanding of the natural world, they nevertheless “widely attested to the limitations of the tradition they (also) defended” and “were working at the limits of classical paradigms,” stretching them to engage with, if not exactly encompass, the variability of phenomenological experience (p. 50). Thus, when Harry Bertram, the hero of Scott’s second novel, fully titled *Guy Mannering, or the Astrologer* (1815), is said to observe the “varied curves, indentures, and embayments” of the southwest coast of Scotland (quoted on p. 57), Scott is invoking, according to Wickman, the account of Newton’s theory of fluxions by the Edinburgh mathematician Colin Maclaurin (1698–1746). In the simplest terms, Maclaurin’s thesis was that Newton’s mathematics allows geometers to introduce a

fourth dimension, time, into geometrical forms. This leads Wickman to assert a mathematical foundation for the way Scott's fiction generally "condenses" time into spatial description (p. 67) and, further, for the ways geometers from Euclid to Mandelbrot (including many Enlightenment-era Scots), as well as Scott critics from Lukacs to Ian Duncan and Ian Baucom, are all similarly *delineating* the contingency of temporal experience. Space prevents me from going into as much detail about Wickman's readings of Burns and Thomson, or about his remarkable discussions of Scottish science, mathematics, economics, and literature through to the present day. But the readings are, like the thesis they present, both comprehensive and exacting.

Literature After Euclid is not for beginners. While all readers will be able to glean how important mathematics was in the Scottish Enlightenment, a thorough understanding of Wickman's arguments may require some knowledge of contemporary French philosophy and its interventions in mathematics and science, such as Michel Serres's *The Parasite* (1980; trans. 1982), Alain Badiou's *Being and Event* (1988; trans. 2005), and Quentin Meillassoux's *After Finitude* (2008; trans. 2010). Nevertheless, Wickman's explanations of contemporary philosophy are notable for their welcome clarity. Other readers might be slightly disarmed by the book's unusual chronological arrangement, beginning with Scott and moving *backward* to Burns and Thomson, while at the same time moving cleverly, if sometimes abruptly, from seventeenth-century debates about Newtonian fluxions to twentieth-century criticism, modernist poetry, and various views of Scottish nationalism. The trajectory allows Wickman to recreate for his readers a "journey into the heart of mathematical darkness" (p. 16) which begins with noticing the presence of certain geometrical terms or formulae (figure, line, set, form) in the literature and then traces them back to their mathematical origins and forward to their historical implications. It also compels us to realize that our own historical habits of reading—from texts to structures to pasts to futures—are built on geometrical metaphors.

It is precisely in the way that this structure challenges the standard chronologies, periodicities, and disciplinary of most studies of the Scottish Enlightenment that its similarity with *Scottish Medicine and Literary Culture* becomes apparent. It is not as staid geometers, regurgitating age-old maxims about angles and hypotenuses, that Wickman brings the work of mathematicians like Maclaurin, Robert Simson, and Matthew Stewart to bear on his readings of Scott, Burns, and Thomson, not to mention Edwin Muir and Hugh MacDiarmid. Rather, his interest lies in the ways the *pressure* their experiments put on Euclidian geometry validated similar experiments with moral philosophy, lyric sentiment, and even Scottish nationalism. It was because of this experimental pressure on classical geometry, and not simply because of the influence of classical geometry per se, that Scottish writing was peculiarly attuned to the bizarre vicissitude of quotidian detail, while also making them appear effortlessly explainable as "common sense." The essays collected by Coyer and Shuttleton similarly share a fascination with the pressure that experimentation was putting on medical practice, sometimes with bizarre and even macabre results, to the point that it seems an almost Gothic sensibility pervaded the lives of Scottish doctors, their patients, and their readers in the eighteenth century. But the reflexivity with which the doctors and writers thought about this sensibility as a function of both physiological conditions and print circulation led them to formulate exactly the kind of nuanced, interpenetrative figures that Wickman sees as relying on geometrical ideals. The pressure the geometers and poets were putting onto received ideas of rationality was itself a manifestation of the changes already underway in medical science.

Here's another instance. Allan Beveridge's comprehensive catalogue of Robert Burns's accounts of his melancholia in letters to Dr. John Moore and others, in the Coyer and Shuttleton volume, demonstrates that Burns adapted the language of sentiment from medicine to poetry. Wickman cites the same letter, and again like Beveridge, uses Dr. James Currie's biography of the poet to foreground a similar interplay in Burns between the geometry and mensuration he learned as a schoolboy and his playful chafing against their rules and regulations in his poetry. Burns's poetry, like Thomson's, and like Scott's fiction, indeed like the whole field of Scottish literature, is a critical site for this experimental push, both these books suggest, not only in the way literature adapts mathematics and medicine but also in the way it motivates these sciences in turn.

Alexander Dick, University of British Columbia

Rivka Swenson, *Essential Scots and the Idea of Unionism in Anglo-Scottish Literature, 1603–1832*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2016. Pp. viii + 327.

Rivka Swenson defines "essential Scots," a cultural and political trope codified in the years immediately following the ascension of James VI/I and powerfully operative during the eighteenth century, as a species of primarily English anxiety. *Essential Scots* argues that during the eighteenth century, Scots were seen by English writers as capable of migrating without adapting; Scottishness was something that could "influence without being influenced" (p. 26). This peculiar "Scottish vector" was understood to be "impenetrable and potentially contagious," a threat to a melting-pot vision of Britishness that (like other melting-pot visions) paid lip-service to equality while reinforcing and naturalizing existing hierarchies.

Swenson argues that "the theme of essential Scottishness" became "part of invented national tradition" (p. 10) "from 1603 onward" (p. 3). In particular, the "literary-cultural figure of the essential Scot" who "refused to be alienated psychologically from origins and 'become' Anglo-British or even British...loomed large" in a new "national narrative" pioneered by Francis Bacon and then furthered, with variations, in the work of Daniel Defoe and later writers (up to Walter Scott) who attempted to "narrate an Anglo-British nation into being."

“From 1603 onward” is perhaps somewhat misleading, along with Swenson’s claim to correct other scholars’ tendency to begin studies of union discourse in 1707 or later. Bacon gets an insightful eight-page discussion here, but then attention jumps to Defoe and the seventeenth century recedes for good; *Essential Scots* is structured, after all, much like the precedent works Swenson criticizes. Swenson’s reading of Bacon is helpful and alert, to be sure; but though he may be the ideological forebear of most of the other writers featured here, Bacon cannot be made to speak for the entire union debate over the whole seventeenth century. Overall, Swenson does not offer the new, “longer view” (p. 27) that she rightly calls for.

Swenson is excellent when it comes to clarifying the largest payoffs of her study. She makes clear how eighteenth-century understandings (and exploitations) of “Scottishness” can illuminate widely significant questions, such as “the nature and bounds of self, the sources and ends of personality, the essential versus the developmental self, the self created by origins and the ‘original’ self-creating self, the correspondences or disjunctions between persons/parts and society/whole” (p. 29). For those who, during the eighteenth century, believed “the self” to be “permeable and inessential,” “the Scot” offered an exception (p. 5)—one that influenced the struggle to imagine “the British social body as an aggregate of individuals” (p. 11) and, in a broader frame, complicates modern efforts to define “nation.” (Consider, e.g., Ernest Gellner’s *Nations and Nationalism* [1983, 2008, p. 43], where the atypical case of Scotland “may indeed be held to contradict my model.”)

Swenson balances her emphasis on “the essential Scot” with the perception of an answering trope of “developmental Scottishness.” This notion shadowed the “essential Scot” idea all along but emerged most powerfully late in the eighteenth century, especially in the work of Robert Mudie and Scott, both ardent unionists. What Swenson has to say about this alternate imaginary is not entirely new, but it becomes sophisticated and provocative in the context of her earlier arguments about “essential Scottishness.” And as she demonstrates, the idea that Scottishness could be understood as a successful “subnational performance,” paired (in a perhaps overly binary fashion) with the “essential Scot” idea, helps to clarify warring assumptions behind today’s debates over the future of the UK. In Swenson’s account, essential Scottishness was the most powerful of the two imaginaries during the eighteenth century, both for unionists and for those who opposed union ideals; developmental Scottishness became newly powerful at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with results that last into the present.

The most important feature of the eighteenth-century’s constructions of essential Scottishness was that it tended to emerge in *narratives*, and especially narratives built on a certain limited set of patterns and assumptions. All the writers Swenson considers at length (Defoe, Tobias Smollett, Samuel Johnson, Susan Ferrier, Mudie, Scott) share an effort to construct “a narrative bolstered by persuasive data,” and imagine history as “a joining or accounting, wherein a sense of shared past could redound to a national sum” (p. 31). I found this argument especially compelling when it organized Swenson’s interpretations of writers identified/self-identified as Scottish unionists; but it also carries important implications for understanding the preoccupations and limitations of writing in resistance to the Union Articles during the first decade of the eighteenth century, a body of work for which Swenson’s arguments, though more focused on unionist writing, are vitally relevant.

Along the way, Swenson offers detailed, insightful, and often gripping close readings. Following Colin Kidd, Linda Colley, and other influential historians, she develops a convincing narrative in which unionist political thought sometimes opposes Scottish nationalist impulses and sometimes does not. The prose can be lugubrious at times, and there are lapses of both tone and pacing. Swenson’s remarkably capacious understanding can at times tip into breathless over-capaciousness, as if she wants to get every last thing said all at once, to touch every base and nod respectfully to everyone. Occasionally, too, she gets bogged down in the details she amasses and forgets to return to the larger deliberative purposes they were adduced to serve. But these moments pale in significance in comparison to the powers of synthesis and the interpretive flair Swenson offers here. She is a remarkable reader, and demonstrates an original, convincing thesis. This is an important book, one I plan to read again.

Toni Bowers, University of Pennsylvania

The Miscellaneous Writings of Tobias Smollett. Edited by O M Brack, Leslie Chilton, and Walter H. Keithley. London: Routledge, 2015. Pp. xxii + 489.

This impressive collection of Tobias Smollett’s miscellanies brings together his essential works of nonfiction in an accessible volume. Although scholars have used his prose works to buttress their essays, a sustained treatment of them is long overdue. The editors contend that this oversight is due to the lasting impression that his miscellanies are no more than “ephemeral hackwork” (p. xvi). Do the editors succeed in restoring Smollett’s place as a central figure in Scottish Enlightenment thought? Their judiciously selected pieces from Smollett’s voluminous prose writings definitely do “demonstrate Smollett’s range as a thinker and author and will serve to complement his long-standing reputation as a novelist” (p. xv). The editors, in short, make a compelling case for Smollett’s contributions to history, medicine, geography, literary criticism, and a host of other disciplines.

In order to impose some sort of order on this collection of texts, the editors decided to “begin at the end,” using *Humphry Clinker* (1771) to “establish the usefulness of Smollett’s miscellanies to the understanding of his entire canon of novels” (p. xvi). They opted for this structure to stress that, like his final novel, Smollett’s historical treatises and literary criticism play a significant role in drawing attention to social injustices and solutions to remedy them. While I will not second-guess their placement of texts, the decision may occasion some murmurings. Yet

even if the selections complement his last novel—with the possible exception of Lismahago's campaigns in the New World and cross-cultural contact with indigenes as depicted in *Humphry Clinker*—the volume's organizing principle roughly maps onto the three stages of Smollett's life: physician; writer and literary critic, testing his corpus against competitors like Henry Fielding and Voltaire; and historian of Scotland, determined to redefine perceptions of his homeland.

This review will comment on three areas: the introductory notes, the selections themselves, and some of the editors' suggestions about how these selections might offer new avenues for Smollett criticism. First, the introductory notes are efficient, as they provide background on the context and critical reception of the writing with precision but without losing nuance. The editors succinctly and expertly sum up each selection citing the one or two critics whose readings remain relevant. Take the selections from the *Critical Review*, a journal that Smollett edited for seven years. The editors reiterate how Smollett establishes himself as a successor to Alexander Pope (p. 192), point out that Smollett was heavily involved in the endeavor, and emphasize the journal's political independence. As the headnote explains: "respected reviewers provided a definitive sense of ethos to *Critical* in its bid to provide objective, well-informed, and disinterested reviews" (p. 195). The brevity of some headnotes is sometimes due, though, to the scarcity of criticism on Smollett's nonfiction. The editors, for example, cite Louis Martz's still influential book, *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett* (1967), to inform Smollett's *The Present State of the World*. While Martz's statements are indeed "still fresh, clear, and direct" (p. 293), they are also fifty years old. More recent criticism is available, such as Paul-Gabriel Boucé's chapter on *Present State* in Deidre Dawson and Pierre Morère, eds., *Scotland and France in the Enlightenment* (2004), but Boucé, too, laments the dearth of scholarship on this important compilation.

Second, while it is not possible to discuss in detail the range of material the editors provide, I want to emphasize that the selections reproduced herein both vividly reconstruct the pressing debates of the mid-eighteenth century and include nonfiction works that have much to add to twenty-first-century scholarship on, say, Christian-Islamic relations and cultural studies. And the editors deserve credit for compiling the volume without inundating us with material. The editors wisely decided to keep intact Smollett's reviews of contemporary plays that included ample excerpts; one review, for example, contains four pages of George Colman's *The Jealous Wife* (1761), a dramatization of Fielding's *Tom Jones*. This selection serves multiple purposes, revising Smollett's devastating critique of Fielding in his *Habbakkuk Hilding* (1752) (a selection also available in this volume) as well as allowing us to, in Smollett's words, "judge from specimens" (p. 254), or think through the ways in which eighteenth-century critics created a community of readers. Moreover, the long excerpts from eighteenth-century plays (within the reviews) prompt contemporary scholars to reassess the interplay between popular drama and novels and how each genre shapes society.

Third, as the editors imply, Smollett almost seems to be on surer ground as a historian than as a medical expert. While he certainly engages in the medical pamphlet wars of the day, Smollett immediately recognizes, for example, how Voltaire, if not the first historian to conceptualize the past in new ways, unmoors it from its teleological and theological rigidity. And here is one of the fascinating takeaways the editors provide that can trigger exciting new criticism on Smollett: "How much Voltaire's vigorous, startling and innovative approach to history influenced Smollett's own historiography can not be objectively quantified" (p. 86). Reading Smollett's "vigorous and lively" translations (p. 89) of Voltaire's *The History of the Crusades* (1752) can help us to revise our interpretations of *The Adventures of Ferdinand Count Fathom* (1753) and *Humphry Clinker* (1771).

I urge readers to consult this volume not only to enrich our appreciation of Smollett's novels but also to enjoy his varied writings (such as his engrossing translation of Voltaire's short story *Micromegas*). The selections from *Present State* on Scotland elegantly reinforce what the editors aim to convey about Smollett's nonfiction: they provide a measured history, especially of the Highlands and Islands, which blends painstaking research, medical advice, a confident and not overly tendentious nationalism, and distinct impressions of each region and peoples. Taken as a whole, this volume is a necessary addition for those interested in Smollett, Anglo-French relations, eighteenth-century medical pamphlets and criticism, Scotland, and historicism.

Denys W. Van Renen, University of Nebraska at Kearney

Ossian in the Twenty-First Century. Forum in the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*. Edited by Sebastian Mitchell. Volume 39, Issue 2 (June 2016). Pp. 159–250.

On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of Howard Gaskill's 1996 edition of *The Poems of Ossian*, the June 2016 issue of the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* dedicated a special forum to Ossianic scholarship. As Sebastian Mitchell, editor of the forum, notes in the introduction, Gaskill's edition was "the culmination, the zenith, of an initial phase of steadily accumulated interest" (p. 161) in Ossianic poetry that stretched from the early 1980s to the mid-1990s. That initial phase approached the poems as a "continental catalyst for a new style of artistic poetry" which nonetheless "lacked intrinsic literary merit" (p. 162). However, by the mid-1990s scholars had begun to depart from these early views and "there were discussions of the poems drawing from feminist theory, tenets of historicism and Edward Said's post-colonialism" (p. 164). Gaskill's edition, prefaced by Fiona Stafford, bridged these two phases; it offered academics and the general public a work which captured the complexities of the textual corpus produced by Macpherson as well as its place and influence in eighteenth-century Scotland,

Britain, and Europe. In the late twentieth century academics began to see Ossianic poetry as a framework for exploring a wide range of issues during the early modern period, such as the relationship between history and literature and the post-1745 history of the *Gàidhealtachd*. Moreover, the affordable price of Gaskill's edition allowed the general public to re-discover the poems Ossian and, in turn, informed the public conversation about Scotland's past during the crucial years of the Scottish devolution that led to the establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999.

The forum on "Ossian in the Twenty-First Century" is firmly grounded in the latter phase of Ossianic studies. It successfully captures the shift of the mid-1990s and illustrates how the then ground-breaking questions have gained in complexity over the last two decades. The topics covered in the six articles range from textual and paratextual analysis to the influence of Ossian in European figurative art. Sebastian Mitchell's introduction is particularly useful for outlining and contextualizing the evolution of the field, thus placing the forum within the modern tradition of Ossianic scholarship. Situating the various articles which follow in relation to each other helps to reinforce the forum's internal coherence.

Dafydd Moore's article considers James Macpherson's almost subversive use of footnotes in the 1762 and 1763 editions of *Fingal* and *Temora*. Moore suggests that Macpherson's references to classical authors such as Homer, and Virgil, and to the Irish historical tradition, transformed his editions of the poems into a "complex echo chamber of texts" (p. 175) in which Ossian was effectively socialized "within the corpus of heroic literature" (p. 175). This "dialogue with antiquity," Moore argues, highlighted the differences and similarities between Ossian and other epic traditions, ultimately helping Macpherson to reflect on the genre of the poems. On a similar note, Gerald Bär considers the dissemination of Ossianic poetry in Europe through the English, Spanish, and Portuguese translations of Goethe's *Sorrows of Young Werther*, which included fragments of the poems of Ossian. By tracing and contextualizing these translations, Bär highlights the variety of strategies followed in each of these nations and how they affected the reception of Goethe and the long-term perception of Ossian in their literary traditions.

Nigel Leask and Victoria Henshaw, on the other hand, explore the impact of Macpherson's Ossian in late eighteenth-century Scotland. Leask focuses on the complicated relationship between the Gaelic Highlands and those who undertook the "Highland Tour" in the aftermath of Macpherson's publications. He argues that while the topography of the Highlands seemed to validate the authenticity of Ossian in ways that Macpherson could not, many of those tourist-collectors who arrived in the late eighteenth century were pre-conditioned to engage with their surroundings through the prism of the heated debates about Scotland's past. Furthermore, Leask notes that as the nineteenth century approached, this fieldwork activity to authenticate Ossian faded in favor of collecting Gaelic popular culture, and that the poems "became a focus for cultural resistance to the imperatives of economic modernisation" (p. 184). Henshaw explores some of these networks of collectors of Gaelic poetry in late eighteenth-century Scotland. Using their correspondence as the main framework of analysis, she reveals the systematic nature of their approach and the motives underlying their efforts: from the preservation of the Gaelic language in post-1745 Scotland, to its use as historical evidence in the articulation of stadialism. Focusing on the poems, Juliet Shields contests the traditional interpretation of Macpherson's female characters and explores their active role in the action of epics as warriors, mourners, and representations of the nation. Finally, Murdo Macdonald considers the pervasive influence of Macpherson's translations on the figurative and landscape traditions in art across continental Europe from the late eighteenth century onward.

For those familiar with modern Ossianic scholarship, the forum provides an opportunity to engage with the more recent research on topics central to its development over the last two decades. However, those who are new to the field are likely to benefit the most, since the forum offers them an updated and nuanced framework from which to start. As Gaskill notes in the afterword, since the mid-1990s Ossianic scholarship has demonstrated the importance of Macpherson's translations for understanding Scotland's relationship with itself, with the rest of the British Isles, and with continental Europe. The current political landscape allows us to think that the questions posed by these poems are as relevant now as they were when Macpherson published them.

Xandra Bello, University of Aberdeen

Eric Gidal, *Ossianic Unconformities: Bardic Poetry in the Industrial Age*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2015. Pp. 226.

Translation has proven to be a notoriously difficult concept through a few millennia, often used by so-called "original" authors to set themselves apart from so-called "mere translators," while masking the massive re-writing in their own works. The term is also very often applied by scholars as if it is self-evident what it means and any divergence from that self-evident posture is then a "bad" translation or even "spurious," as Eric Gidal ranks James Macpherson's translation. It is indeed remarkable how often literary scholars, philologists, and others use the term, apparently without much theoretical or practical foundation in the art of translation. As there are now readers and extensive histories and series published by well-known publishers on the subject, there is no reason to miss the most basic knowledge in the field. Gidal certainly uses the term frequently in his book, both as a denotational term for the act of mediating a text from one language to another and as a metaphor to denote many things spurious and false. Perhaps one could metaphorically claim that translation is the vessel of the book and its sails, or engine in this case, is authenticity. But, luckily, the ship does weather the storm and arrives in the end.

The author opens *Ossianic Unconformities* with an ambitious claim: "I aim to unite literary history and

book studies with geography, cartography, and geology as to present and consider imaginative responses to environmental catastrophe" (p. 1). Very interdisciplinary and very interesting too, at times, but the introduction and the first chapter are dedicated to the old story of provenance and authenticity. That would probably be a wise thing to do, were it not for the selective reading behind the rewriting of the story. There are observable silences, such as Howard Gaskill, who barely makes it into the bibliography and is never cited in the notes, whereas the views of Malcolm Laing, Hugh Trevor-Roper, and Thomas Curley seem to be the basis for Gidal's conception of "authenticity." Despite his own words that he would prefer not to focus on precepts of "invention of tradition" and "literary truth," he does exactly that, when discussing both the provenance of the poetry and the antiquarian fantasies of Sinclair, Waddell, and others who used the Ossianic poems for their own purposes.

In the end, it is exactly this paradox that runs through the book and makes it highly interesting, even to those who have been working on Macpherson for some time. On the one hand, the critique of Macpherson and his rewriters follows the precepts of scholars such as Paul Baines and Peter Womack, noting that the poems of Ossian "can and have been read...as fantasies complicit with the very clearances and 'improvements' they would bemoan," and on the other, following a view from Ursula K. Heise, "a body of poetry in which locality and endurance are precisely the problem may offer valuable material for environmental reflection" (p. 14). Juxtaposing or juggling these views is not easy, and during most of the empirical work on cartography, geology, and geography by the antiquarians, the moral tones of "authenticity" and Marxist ideological critique remain stronger, but there are always passages that are open to the innovation of the fantasists; their unashamed "correcting" of Macpherson (mere translator) when constructing their own elegiac landscape of Scotland and Ireland in the face of "improvements" and industrialization, indeed the Clearances themselves, most of which took place after the publication of the *Poems of Ossian*.

That this Caledonian antisizygy turns up is in itself not surprising, even amusing, but Gidal does more than reconstruct that construct; he also finds a synthesis, notably not in antiquarian fantasies or bigoted debunking tracts, but in literature itself; in the final chapter on the voyages of Wordsworth and Jules Verne, culminating in almost a panegyric to the Ossianic poems, we find the literary creative forces of the poems at work. Wordsworth, who most certainly would have been a different poet if Macpherson not opened up the vista to making ballads venerable poetry, in prose and from the people, a method finely echoed in his preface to the second edition of the *Lyrical Ballads*, of course had a "fraught" relation with Ossian, but his ambivalence is well drawn out by Gidal and opens up to new reflections on Ossian and Wordsworth. The same can be said about the last and most unlikely author in the book, Jules Verne, whose novel title, *The Green Ray*, is even symbolic of the environmental synthesis (or should one call it translation?) of the old and new debates on the *Poems of Ossian*; they are indeed an elegy for the loss of nature that has happened since they were first published. They were never complicit in that destruction, but perhaps in their elegiac tone, they are metaphorically prophetic of how we will soon be thinking about the nature that is disappearing so fast in front of our eyes. Who knows, maybe we are the last of our race?

Gauti Kristmannsson, University of Iceland

Alex Benchimol, Rhona Brown, and David Shuttleton eds., *Before Blackwood's: Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015. Pp. xii + 163.

Consisting of nine chapters, the slim volume *Before Blackwood's* brings together detailed case studies focusing on individual periodical publications—both newspapers and magazines—that were published in Scotland in the course of the long eighteenth century. The contributions to the volume examine magazines such as Walter Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement* and James Anderson's *The Bee, or Weekly Intelligencer*, both of which predate *Blackwood's Magazine*. In addition, the final contribution by David Stewart offers a comparative consideration of *Blackwood's* and the *Scots Magazine* by paying attention to the distinct models of reader engagement and subject coverage that each of those publications advocated. Otherwise, *Blackwood's* is understood as a chronological cut-off point. The collection's subtitle, given on the title page, "Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment," encompasses the different examples of periodical publishing discussed in the volume, even though the term "Enlightenment" is used rather imprecisely.

The relational, comparative approach adopted by Stewart is productive and facilitates insight beyond the detailed micro-studies of the remaining chapters, each of which remains clearly focused on a single title, without any sustained comparative considerations involving other, competing titles or ventures. Comparative analysis of a different kind is promoted in Rhona Brown's stimulating essay on Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine* (1768–79), a painstaking account of the ways in which that periodical contributed to the pro-Scottish promotion of national-political agendas by reporting on John Wilkes's anti-Scottish efforts, including his editing of the *North Briton*. The *Weekly Magazine* is portrayed as a sensitive filter through which Wilkes's often incendiary views were mediated to Scottish readers. By contrast, Jon Mee's study of *The Bee* (1791–93) undertakes a broad analysis of the improvement agenda underpinning Anderson's project, embedding the editor's activities within the cultural-political developments of Enlightenment Edinburgh. While Mee's contribution highlights Anderson's ambition to promote the local, Scottish production of literature and culture, in line with the philosophical ideas of improvement of the time, a chapter by Megan Coyer concentrates on the ways in which medical debate was negotiated by the contributors of the *Edinburgh Review*.

The majority of the essays engage with magazines rather than newspapers. There are two laudable and ground-breaking exceptions, however, by Karin Bowie and Stephen W. Brown. Bowie sheds light on the pre-Act of Union reporting of the politically sensitive Worcester affair in the *Edinburgh Gazette*, among other controversial issues. Brown's wide-ranging, empirical account of the *Edinburgh Evening Courant* surveys the inclusion of advertisements across the eighteenth century and, in the process, furnishes a quantitative and qualitative account of the increasing financial revenue that publishers derived from this source. The kind of research undertaken by Brown will be essential for charting eighteenth-century Scottish newspaper publishing and its contextualization in terms of prevailing politics and market considerations. While Brown focuses on a long-running newspaper, Nigel Leask investigates the short-lived *Glasgow Magazine* (1795) and the manner in which its editors, trained lawyers, engaged with cultural-political debates, including the radical reform agenda for which poems by Robert Burns were occasionally recruited.

Altogether, *Before Blackwood's* brings together a range of different approaches to eighteenth-century Scottish periodical culture. The contributions are selective, admittedly, and—with the exception of those by Bowie and Brown—examine periodicals published in the second half of the eighteenth and first two decades of the nineteenth centuries. Nevertheless, the collection should be recognized as an important intervention in Scottish print culture studies. Studies of the kind represented by the essays in this collection will, in due course, help to generate a sophisticated map of Scottish periodical publishing in the long eighteenth century. As such, *Before Blackwood's* lays a firm foundation for large-scale works such as the forthcoming *Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press*.

Sandro Jung, Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel

Terry Seymour, *Boswell's Books: Four Generations of Collecting and Collectors*. New Castle, DE: Oak Knoll Books, 2016. Pp. 556.

Oak Knoll, publisher of bibliographies *par excellence*, has added another erudite and meticulously researched volume to its catalog. Terry Seymour, a well-known Boswelliana collector and aficionado, states that the object of *Boswell's Books* is to "reconstruct the library of James Boswell" (p. 27) by presenting a "complete picture of the known history of each book, from the time it entered the Boswell family library until the present day" (p. 83). Seymour's Herculean effort has recovered over four thousand texts for his virtual library, composed of the books, manuscripts, incunabula, presentation copies, and other printed material collected by four generations of the Boswell family of Auchinleck, Scotland. The scope of the catalog follows the dates of ownership by these four generations, covering the period from about 1695 to 1822, and includes not only material that would have resided at Auchinleck but also volumes purchased by the Boswells that remained at their various Edinburgh townhomes or the biographer's London townhome, most of which were never assimilated into the Auchinleck collection.

Readers will know of James Boswell the diarist and biographer of Samuel Johnson, but three other generations of the Boswell family were also instrumental in building, expanding, and cataloging the library and its holdings at Auchinleck. The Auchinleck house library was founded by James's father Alexander Boswell, Lord Auchinleck. He built the library with his father "Old" James's collections and his own purchases as a law student at Leiden and from his travels on the Continent. James Boswell inherited Auchinleck and its library upon Lord Auchinleck's death in 1782, and upon the biographer's death in 1795 the estate went to his son Alexander (often called Sandy), and he and his brother James the Younger greatly expanded the collection and made renovations to the physical space of the library at Auchinleck (Sandy expanded the collection by an estimated fifteen hundred volumes, and James the Younger owned over four thousand books at his home in London, although for practical reasons these have not been included in the catalog). The last male Boswell to inherit Auchinleck was Sandy's son James, who took no real interest in the family library, and the estate passed to the Mounsey and Talbot de Malahide families after his death. The Auchinleck multi-generational collection began to be dispersed in the 1880s, with large auction sales in 1893 and 1916–17 scattering the contents.

Seymour's primary goal is to "sort out what was truly Boswell's, what was legally his property and what was not his at all" (p. 28). To that end, he has gone to great lengths to verify the ownership of nearly every text listed in this catalog. Included in the introduction are photographs of the various signatures and bookplates of all five primary collectors. Seymour relies primarily on these ownership marks as evidence for inclusion in the catalog (with the necessary caveats, of course); his other criteria for inclusion are appearance in one of the five surviving inventories (no copies survive of a 111-page catalog of the collection that Sandy made in 1811) or the three surviving auction catalogs. Subscriber lists, auction records, expense ledgers, and references in Boswell's journals to books he may have bought or owned round out Seymour's verification process.

In order to assess the performance of the catalog, I put it through its paces with some test runs. When I received the book for review I was working on eighteenth-century interpretations and usages of Lucretius's *De rerum natura*, so naturally I wanted to see if Boswell and his family owned a copy. In fact, the Boswells owned twelve texts by Lucretius, including a very early Italian Renaissance copy of *De rerum natura* (1486); Thomas Creech's famous English translation of it in heroic couplets (the Boswells' edition was printed by the Foulis broth-

ers in Glasgow in 1759); and perhaps most interesting to Boswell scholars, an Italian translation (London, 1779) given to Boswell in 1781 by his lifelong friend, the famous Corsican General Pasquale Paoli, given to the Johnson Club in 1925, and currently in the Johnson House in London.

I made a second test to see which books mentioned in Boswell's journal made their way into his collection. Since I was working on *Boswell for the Defence, 1769–1774* while writing this review, I chose Baron George Lyttelton's *History of the Life of Henry the Second*. Boswell was a friend of Lyttelton, and he discusses *Henry the Second* with Paoli in a journal entry on 16 April 1772: "I spoke of historians, and particularly praised Lord Lyttelton because he gives us what is said on both sides." Although *Henry the Second* does not appear in the catalog (not a certain indication that Boswell did not own it), Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead* (1765 edition) and *Observations on the Conversion and Apostleship of St. Paul, &c.* (1763 edition) do appear to have been owned by Boswell, and the latter contains the inscription in Boswell's hand "By Lord Lyttelton" on the title page, as well as a note by the venerable Boswell editor Frederick Pottle positing that this was possibly a presentation copy from the author. On the other hand, Bishop Gilbert Burnet's *History of His Own Times* (1724) was owned by Boswell (Seymour's entry reads "JB read at home in Edinburgh, November 13, 1774" and "from vol. 2 on January 29, 1775"), as were eight other Burnet texts. In the journal and the *Life of Samuel Johnson*, Boswell and Johnson have an entertaining discussion about this book when Boswell spies it in Johnson's own library on 8 April 1773. Seymour's entries are valuable because many of them direct us to places in Boswell's journals where Boswell discusses the texts he owns, thus making the catalog more useful for Boswell research.

I have lived with *Boswell's Books* for a number of months now, and I have found no fault with it. This volume will be useful to Boswell scholars and enthusiasts, to bibliophiles, to libraries, and to those interested in eighteenth-century book collecting, as well as to anyone interested in the creation and maintenance of an eighteenth-century gentleman's multi-generational family library. Seymour's introduction contains a wealth of knowledge about Boswell family history and the cultural life of book collecting and the book trade. *Boswell's Books* is highly recommended for anyone working on James Boswell and his family, or on the history of the British book trade in the eighteenth century.

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

Hugh M. Milne, ed., *The Legal Papers of James Boswell, Volume 2, in Relation to Cases in which Boswell First Became Involved in the Period 12 November 1767 to November 1769*. Stair Society Publications Volume 63. Edinburgh: The Stair Society, 2016. Pp. xv + 465.

This carefully edited and definitive collection is the second (and probably final) in a planned series of volumes which print, with substantial annotation and framing prefaces and afterwords to each case, the legal writings of James Boswell (1740–95) from Nov. 1767 to Nov. 1769. Boswell, now primarily known as an imaginative author of biography and autobiography, was by profession and vocation a lawyer. Milne concurs with various Boswell scholars (cited pp. ix–x) that the lawyer's techniques honed in 1766–85 shaped the journalist and biographer's methods in 1785–95. For this reason, students of Boswellian forensic rhetoric should consult Milne's books to see early examples of Boswell's argumentative technique.

Milne's new volume prints, with annotation, the thirty-one cases for which records survive to some degree. It also includes the corresponding tranche of Boswell's manuscript *Consultation Book* 1766–72, a resource without parallel or analogue in the later periods of Boswell's legal career. Milne's edition will join the ranks of those important volumes of Boswell scholarship which, although they are not published in the Yale Boswell Editions, have been researched, developed, and written in alliance with the Yale Editions editors, both on the Yale campus and elsewhere. Indeed, Milne has been commissioned as editor of a Yale Boswell Research Edition volume of Boswell's journals covering 1766–69, which will be greatly enhanced by the existence of this authoritative edition of the extant papers on Boswell's civil law cases from this crucial period.

These cases are each given a serial number from LP 42 to LP 73, which will make reference to them by specialists much easier; several cases have sub-numbers, such as LP 63:1–4 (pp. 239–85). Furthermore, Milne uses different fonts to make it clear which segments of the book are his summaries and commentaries on the cases and which are the actual texts of the paper. The reader grows to depend on Milne's large-font executive summaries to explain the main points of law at stake in each of these cases, and in instances where his summary is only a few terse sentences, the reader is more likely to feel at sea in the original sources than in instances where Milne outlines the meaning and method of Boswell's argument. Even more of this glossing would have helped those not educated in the intricacies of Scots law to discern the meat and marrow of these cases.

We would wish to be able to consult similarly careful and ample editions of Boswell's law papers from 1770–85, 1785–86 being the point at which Boswell departed Scotland in search of success at the quite-different English bar. As is, this impressive volume—when paired with its predecessor, which I reviewed in the Spring 2014 issue of this periodical, pp. 26–27—gets us, in good order, from Boswell's first law cases to the year of his marriage. So, four years down, and fifteen to go. I suspect that at this point we have a statistically significant sample—perhaps around 20 percent—of Boswell's legal papers transcribed and annotated in these two heavy tomes. If this degree of detail were devoted to all years of Boswell's Scottish legal career, the series would presumably run to

about ten volumes. In a perfect world, clones of the industrious Mr. Milne would multiply, like the brooms in the “Sorcerer’s Apprentice” segment of Disney’s *Fantasia*, and all the books would be completed.

Milne has a very different attitude toward the sources than series such as *Notable Scottish Trials*, which cherry-picked interesting cases such as the Douglas Cause and the burglary trial of Deacon Brodie. The cases from 1767–69 are not intended to be Boswell’s greatest cases, or to display Boswell’s best legal arguments. One of the few that is known at all outside the archives—and familiar to readers of the *Life of Johnson*—is the case of the brutal schoolmaster John Hastie, who beat his students. That case made it in judicial review all the way to the House of Lords, at that time acting as the supreme court for Great Britain (LP 69, pp. 326–356, esp. p. 354 n. 77). Most of these cases deal with fairly mundane issues of land rights, both private and common (LP 44, LP 49), access rights (LP 53), leases (LP 58, 59, 66), squatters (LP 72), commercial partnerships (LP 51), debts (LP 51, 54), cow theft (LP 67), voter qualifications (LP 42, 52), town government (LP 61), property damage liability (LP 56), trucking (LP 73), defamation (LP 63), and much else. Much of the business hinges on antique concepts of feudal superiority, which will have waned or disappeared from modern law by 2017, and old charters are hauled out to prove use-rights or possession (as in LP 42, 43). Even the rights of voters and town governments, which might nowadays be construed as a civil rights or natural rights issues, get argued by means of reference to dusty feudal charters. The overarching impression after reading these cases is one of a deeply agricultural society (albeit one with fast-growing commercial elements), where questions of landownership, leases, livestock, and droving routes take up much of the court’s business and time. The Enlightenment and the polite and commercial people of the Habermasian public sphere have precious little to do with this world. The evidence in these cases also paints a portrait of a culture in which “the people above” hold most of the cards in courtroom proceedings, except when someone from the aristocracy or greater gentry such as Boswell opts to play the paladin for defending the weak against the strong. (The best known instance of this condescension, Boswell’s quixotic final defense of the recidivist sheep thief John Reid, made into a fine film entitled *Boswell for the Defence*, lies outside the boundaries of this book’s chronology, and its predominantly civil law themes).

Several notes of caution are in order. First, readers of Volume 2 will only be able to take full advantage of Milne’s scholarship if they have access to a copy of Volume 1, since much of the necessary explanatory material is only available there (see pp. vii–viii). This decision violates the “armchair rule” of scholarly editing but is understandable given pressures not to repeat material. Second, this book is not easily accessible to someone unfamiliar with the keywords of Scots Law, such as poinding, decerns, condescension, and advocacy. Nor are the cases necessarily gripping. Boswell himself described the complex Court of Session case of *William Lang v Margaret and Janet Stirling and Others* (LP 60) as a “tedious and expensive process” and a “dull and tedious cause” (pp. 225, 231), and he called another of these cases “a most disagreeable and ugly cause” (p. 239).

It is hard to evaluate Boswell’s success as a lawyer since it will always be unclear whether Boswell’s father, Lord Auchinleck of the Court of Session, helped his son obtain clients whom he might otherwise have missed out on, or hurt his son’s ability to bring in business. But Milne’s superb duo of volumes, now complete, when combined with the trade edition of the Boswell Papers for these years (misleadingly entitled *Boswell in Search of a Wife*) allows us to see Boswell going in search of a legal career, and finding it.

James J. Caudle, Auchterarder, Perthshire

Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman and Lindsay Paterson, eds., *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. 384.

This collection of nineteen essays covers the eleventh to the twenty-first century. The aim is to reflect current research and to be accessible both to the general reader and the student of the history of Scottish education. In an excellent introduction, which adds to the book’s value for general and academic readers alike, the editors provide a succinct outline of the history of Scottish educational provision and development. They summarize historical controversies on the issues of distinctiveness, quality, and accessibility, and outline how these issues are reflected in the collection.

In “Urban Schooling in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Scotland,” Lindy Moore begins by setting educational changes in their “political, religious, economic, social and cultural” context, examining how these were affected by war, weather disease and geographical location (p. 79). She observes that urban schooling was part of the burgh system, not the more widely known parochial structure, a point that is not always appreciated in a field dominated by study of the parish school. Towns provided a higher standard of academic provision than rural areas, but this was achieved only by overcoming major financial difficulties. Moreover, burgh grammar schools were normally restricted to boys already literate enough to tackle the Latin curriculum. Private enterprise was the main provider of basic literacy training, of female education, and of subjects not included in the traditional grammar school curriculum. Moore deals admirably with monitoring, staffing, and methodology. There is a separate section on schooling the poor, which points out that many bursaries were designed to benefit the middling rather than the poorest classes, for whom, Moore argues, education was of “relatively minor importance” (p. 93). Overall, Moore achieves a pleasing thoroughness in covering the topic. Her identification of issues that still require research, such as changing attitudes toward childhood and the spread of Enlightenment ideas through textbooks, is a

useful signpost for those working in the field.

Ewen A. Cameron, "Education in Rural Scotland, 1696–1872," highlights the problems of delivering education, not merely in the Highlands but also in areas like the southwest. Cameron deals with the parochial system but points out that private adventure schools and the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) were also important in supplementing gaps in parish school provision. This chapter contains a judicious account of the historiography of the debate on the effectiveness and distinctiveness of the parochial system. The author outlines the methodology used to examine literacy levels and acknowledges the particular difficulties of drawing definitive conclusions about the eighteenth century because of the paucity of data.

In "The Universities and the Scottish Enlightenment"—the only chapter to focus wholly on the eighteenth century, reflecting the wealth of recent scholarship in this area—David Allan argues that there was a strong developmental link between seventeenth-century improvements and eighteenth-century developments, rather than "a sudden dramatic escape from a totally benighted past" (p. 103). Allan identifies significant factors that constituted the foundation for developments during the Enlightenment, such as the establishment of research libraries and advances in medicine. He also contrasts the intolerance of the earlier period with the emergence of enlightened ideas of intellectual freedom and an expanded university curriculum, delivered in English rather than Latin.

John Finlay, "Legal Education, 1650–1850," is mainly descriptive, providing an especially valuable study of advances in this field. A wealth of information is given on the contributions made by different branches of the legal profession to the development and monitoring of educational standards, which resulted in more Scottish students choosing to study in Scotland rather than Paris or Leiden. Significant factors were the establishment of chairs of law at universities, the publication of new textbooks and teaching materials, and the development of an effective teaching methodology. Finlay argues persuasively that the growth of legal education and the existence of a substantial body of university-trained lawyers influenced not only Scottish law and but also Scottish culture. Douglas Sutherland's "Adult Education, c.1750–1950: A Distinctive Mission?" deals only briefly with the eighteenth century. Sutherland does, however, acknowledge the contribution of private enterprise in providing vocational education in fields like book-keeping, midwifery, and navigation.

"Schoolteachers and Professionalism, 1696–1906," by Christopher R. Bischof, explores the status of the teaching profession, contrasting the stable eighteenth century with the "tumultuous" nineteenth (p. 209). Bischof examines the social influence of teachers and the extent to which they acted as forces for change. Some more contentious issues would have benefited from more explanation, for example the staffing of the liberal education he describes as being available to some girls, and it would have been useful to have more detail on any eighteenth-century "church-controlled sessional schools" for the upper working classes (p. 211). In the limited space allocated to the eighteenth century, however, Bischof succeeds in clarifying an extremely complex field, the tension between apparent job security and insecurity, the imposition of additional civic and church duties, and the protectionism that enabled schoolmasters to decide who became teachers by choosing which pupils to encourage—in the process preventing women from teaching academic subjects.

As a result of the ambitious span of the period that this book covers, the eighteenth century is under-examined, squeezed between the more dramatic developments of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. Though six essays encompass periods that include the eighteenth century, there is often an imbalance in the amount of space devoted to it. In general, however, although there is sometimes a lack of depth, there is a good breadth of treatment, as urban and rural schooling, university and adult education, and the professional status of teachers are all examined. It is hoped that the areas in which coverage of the eighteenth century is cursory in this volume will challenge specialists in eighteenth-century education to advance future research.

Sandra McCallum, University of Glasgow

John Robertson, *The Enlightenment: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015. Pp. 147.

John Robertson's *Enlightenment* offers students of this subject, both new and old, a dense and fascinating insight into this much-studied and equally much-misunderstood subject. In some ways the title is misleading. Robertson packs in an incredible amount of information at a level well above that of a beginner. Divided into five chapters, the book highlights the key aspects of the Enlightenment, namely its engagement with religion (chap. 2), its preoccupation with improvement or "bettering" of the human condition (chap. 3), its various public expressions (chap. 4), and its place in the two fields of study most concerned with the Enlightenment, philosophy and history (chap. 5). In Chapter 1, he explains the purpose of this book: "to outline what the Enlightenment was in its 18th-century setting, and to explain why it has been so contested since" (p. 1).

Robertson puts his cards on the table at the very start, stressing the Enlightenment's association with philosophy, with the "modern" and with modernity. Taking the contemporary context as his point of departure, he also makes it very clear that he will not address the question why the Enlightenment still matters. By reconstructing both the philosophical idea and the historical phenomenon, Robertson hopes to "correct some misconceptions, and to offer a fresh perspective" (p. 2). He starts by addressing some of the contemporary definitions. He discusses the French *lumières* and the German *Aufklärung*, concentrating on the ideas of d'Alembert, Condillac, and Hume be-

fore moving on to Spinoza, Leibniz, Wolff, and Kant, who famously asked “What is enlightenment?” He then goes on to discuss the historiography, starting in early twentieth century, and its various concerns, noting the geographical, social, and intellectual expansions, which have led to a widening of the idea of the Enlightenment and a rejection of “the definite article before Enlightenment” (p. 13). Robertson dismisses this deconstruction to the extent of incoherence and argues for *the* Enlightenment as a “phenomenon of the European world” (p. 14). The result is a book which does not look at separate Enlightenments; neither the Scottish nor the Neopolitan cases receive special mention, despite Robertson’s previous work, although some of the greats, most notably Vico, Carmichael, Hutcheson, Hume, Robertson, and Smith, are discussed as part of his narrative of the development and subject matter of the Enlightenment.

Chapters 2 and 3 discuss the intellectual content of the Enlightenment: religion and improvement. By placing the former at the very heart of the Enlightenment, Robertson draws a clear line back to the seventeenth-century roots of concerns with the history and role of religion, and the distinction between the spheres of nature and revelation. He describes the challenges posed by scientific and scholarly practices and discoveries, showing their impact and motivations as less radical than some historians of the Radical Enlightenment have claimed. For Robertson, ideas about toleration are therefore firmly rooted in their historical and religious context. He continues this line in his discussion of the betterment of the human condition. The moral, social, and economic thought of the Enlightenment must be considered within the framework of contemporary society. Robertson argues that “the core of the Enlightenment’s contribution to Western thought” was “political economy as the prospect of human betterment, in this world rather than in the next, in the present over the past” (p. 80). This “progress of society” had as its counterpart an appreciation for the public’s opinion and concerns, as he writes in Chapter 4. Starting with Habermas’s public sphere, he examines the institutions of sociability which have long been identified with the Enlightenment: the coffee houses, masonic lodges and salons, and the print culture which both emerged from these and underpinned them. Robertson ends his final chapter on the intellectual content of the Enlightenment by discussing the relationship between the eighteenth-century public and the government, inevitably finishing with the French Revolution.

In his final chapter, Robertson addresses and then rejects the question of why the Enlightenment still matters (p. 119). Building on his earlier argument, he presents this question as moot. The process of “historians defending the ‘modernity’ of the Enlightenment against the philosophers’ ‘postmodern’ critiques” (p. 120) has only led to a misunderstanding of and confusion about the Enlightenment’s historical context. Robertson’s case for the Enlightenment is simple and erudite: “It is not the relevance of the past which the intellectual historian seeks, but the challenge of understanding how problems were formulated, addressed, and conceptualized in terms different from those we use now” (p. 130). This conclusion is as admirable as it is arguably disappointing. John Robertson’s *Enlightenment* is a fine example of examining the Enlightenment for what it was, in the best possible scholarly traditions. Students may find the conclusions of this terrific little book initially unsatisfactory, but upon reflection, they will understand them to be refreshing and insightful.

Esther Mijers, University of Edinburgh

Stephen Taylor, *Defiance: The Life and Choices of Lady Anne Barnard*. London: Faber & Faber, 2016. Pp. x + 388.

Stephen Taylor’s book is a welcome biography of a fascinating figure in eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century Scotland. Lady Anne Barnard was Anne Lindsay (1750–1825), the eldest daughter of James Lindsay, 5th Earl of Balcarres, and the brother of the 23rd Earl of Crawford. She has been chiefly known as the author of the ballad *Auld Robin Gray* (written in 1772, published under her name by Sir Walter Scott in 1823) and as a social figure and a catalyst for social change during her five years (1797–1802) in residence at the Cape of Good Hope as the wife of Andrew Barnard, secretary to Lord George Macartney, the first British governor of the Cape. But even before her Cape adventures, Anne Lindsay had a rich intellectual and social life. This book is written for a non-academic readership, and while engaging neither critically nor historically with Lady Anne’s writing and art, it clearly sketches the background and social context of her life, and tells her story in an appealing narrative.

Additionally, Taylor’s narrative is grounded in the huge Crawford archive housed at the National Library of Scotland and at the magnificent sixteenth-century Balcarres House in Fife, where Anne grew up. In drawing on Lady Anne’s unpublished memoirs and letters, Taylor provides a detailed and persuasive account of the growth of a mind that was intelligent, sensitive, flexible, and resourceful. While few areas of Lady Anne’s life and world are fully explored, Taylor gives a good sense of a privileged yet lonely young woman, engaging with Scottish literati at the home of her great-uncle Sir Alexander Dick and of her sister, Margaret, wife of the financier Alexander Fordyce. Lady Anne was wooed by many powerful men of the time, including William Windham, Viscount Wentworth, Henry Dundas, and Richard Atkinson, a businessman who made a fortune supplying the British government with munitions for the American War of Independence and in 1785 gave Lady Anne a legacy that secured her independence and enabled her in 1790 to buy a house in Berkeley Square, London. It was as one of the London *beaux mondes* that Lady Anne became the intimate friend of Maria Fitzherbert (mistress of the future King George IV), whom she accompanied to Paris in 1793. In that year she married Andrew Barnard, son of Thomas Barnard,

Bishop of Killaloe (later Limerick) and member of Samuel Johnson's Club, twelve years her junior.

Having used her influence with Dundas (then Minister for War and the Colonies) to procure a job for her husband, Lady Anne accompanied Andrew to the Cape of Good Hope in 1797. While there she produced the work that should distinguish her as a writer and artist, recording her experiences of colonial and indigenous life in diaries, journals, and letters and producing watercolors that represented both Europeans and indigenous people with warmth and insight. Although at a disadvantage as a woman, with a formal remit that extended no further than social obligations, Lady Anne wrote engagingly about social, cultural, and racial realities, about economics, politics, and colonial policy, about science, natural history, and local culture. Her Cape writings and art constitute a virtually unexplored cornucopia of insights and information about early colonial life at the Cape of Good Hope. Like other Scottish travelers to Africa (such as James Bruce and David Livingstone), Lady Anne played a role in the coming together of European and African cultures during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. While Lady Anne at the Cape was governed by the protocols of British colonial diplomacy, as a writer and artist she was not defined by them. Approaching her African experience with Jane Austen's saucy wit, Johnson's intelligent skepticism, Edmund Burke's rational conservatism, and Bruce's economic pragmatism, her writings invite discussion under various headings—travel, nature, fiction, drama, economics, policy, philosophy, history, and cultural anthropology. Lady Anne's Cape diaries and some of her letters to Dundas were edited in the 1970s and 1990s, when she was also the subject of several feminist readings. Her published writings, however, can and should sustain deeper, broader, and more diverse analyses. Indeed, serious consideration would reveal them to have provided Dundas with information and understanding about life and affairs in Africa that could not be obtained from Macartney or Barnard (able as they were), or any other administrators, including the remarkable Sir John Barrow, with whom Lady Anne had a productive relationship.

Furthermore, the freshness and immediacy of Lady Anne's record of colonial and indigenous life—both in her writings and her watercolors—are unrivaled by any of the other contemporary travelers to Southern Africa, including Anders Sparrman, William Paterson, Françoise La Valliant, Charles Thunberg, John Burchell, and Barrow himself. Indeed, the watercolors are works of genius and tell their own remarkable story. Lady Anne's artistic representations of the people, places, and landscapes of the Cape are superior to the illustrative framework of other Cape travel books of the period, or the work of Samuel Daniell, who published (with his brother William) *African Scenery and Animals* (1804–5), and who falsely accused Lady Anne of plagiarism. *Belle lettristic* and critical attention given to Lady Anne over the last century has seen nothing in the watercolors but the embellishment of a common world that she is assumed to share with others. Even the lovely large-format volume of the watercolors compiled by Nicolas Barker—*Lady Anne Barnard's Watercolours and Sketches: Glimpses of the Cape of Good Hope* (2009)—does not engage with the paintings' formal, aesthetic qualities or with their powerful human perception. A new Scottish artistic genius awaits discovery in Lady Anne's watercolors. While forthcoming work of mine analyzes and historicizes some of the paintings—thanks to the support of the incumbent Earl of Crawford and of Lord Balniel—the paintings (like the writings) need fuller attention. Only a handful of those at Balcarres were reproduced by Barker, and the collection calls out for high-quality reproduction, both in paper and digital format.

As indicated, Lady Anne's unpublished archive is greater and more diverse than the published work. The editions of the 1990s are out of print, and there are questions about their accuracy due to the state and inaccessibility of the manuscripts. New editions of the Cape diaries are needed. Deeper, more systematic knowledge than is possible from Taylor's quotations—of the unpublished memoirs, Parisian diaries, the diary of the sea journey to the Cape, and thousands of letters to people in government, at court, and in society—will reveal a woman of intellect, curiosity, information, and taste whose views of people, events, and institutions between 1770 and 1825 add substantially to the historical and critical record, and to the history of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Among Taylor's revelations—revealing of Lady Anne's humanity—is the existence of the child that Andrew Barnard fathered with a Koi slave during an 11-month period in 1802 when Lady Anne was in London and Barnard at the Cape, waiting to return the colony to the Dutch. When Barnard died in 1807, Lady Anne learned of the existence of the child—named Christina Douglas—in a letter from the British governor, Lord Caledon. Lady Anne's response was to adopt Christina, whose mother apparently was not in evidence, and to bring her to London, where she educated her, brought her up as her own, and left her a legacy to enable independence. Among Christina's skills was her beautiful, clear handwriting, for she acted as amanuensis for Lady Anne as she prepared her memoirs and Cape diaries for the use of her family, bound with the watercolors in the 1820s in sumptuous blue and gold leather folio volumes that are now in the library at Balcarres. Lady Anne's relationship with Christina speaks eloquently of her emancipated views, which inflect both her paintings and writings at the Cape, and which link her to the enlightened Scottish culture of which she was part.

Greg Clingham, Bucknell University

Trevor Royle, *Culloden: Scotland's Last Battle and the Forging of the British Empire*. New York: Pegasus Books, 2016. Pp. 409.

The title of this volume (offered by the History Book Club) suggests that Trevor Royle has composed still another account of the Jacobite uprising in 1745–46 and the pacification which followed. But this is not the case.

Although the first four chapters deal with the rebellion, Royle is concerned with the growing importance of the British land forces following Culloden, particularly in the War of the Austrian Succession; the attempt of the British, prior to the French and Indian War, to force the French out of Canada and forts constructed west of the colonies, as well as the island possessions in the West Indies; the struggle for economic control in India; and the European theatre of the Seven Years' War. Each of these conflicts educated the government in London in the increasing necessity of land forces, particularly where the Crown was developing mercantile interests.

Unlike Victoria Henshaw, *Scotland the British Army, 1700–1750* (2015) and Matthew P. Dziennik, *The Fatal Land: War, Empire, and the Highland Soldier in British America* (2015), which chronicle the use of Highland infantry, Royle is principally concerned with the continuity of leadership. Although Culloden was the earliest of these conflicts, its success is repeatedly cited throughout this story. The Duke of Cumberland, the second son of George II and the successful leader of the army in the north, not only impressed upon the government the need for more regiments and ordnance but also made sure that officers who served competently under him at Culloden and in the Lowlands were given positions of leadership in the campaigns to come. The influence of Cumberland at court was such that he was able to place his protégés—including Ligonier, Wolfe, Gage, Conway, John Forbes, Eyre Coote, Grant of Ballindalloch, Granby, Monckton, Townshend, and even the pusillanimous Sackville—in every critical conflict.

The importance of land-based troops might seem obvious to us, but in the eighteenth century it was widely believed, with reason, that Britain's superiority in sea power was sufficient to preserve security, protect trade, and advance imperial designs. Cumberland's persuasive power with Newcastle, and especially with the elder Pitt, changed that perception. Other developments in the use of infantry are given less space. Battalions became numbered (i.e., 51st Foot), but commissions were still bought and sold. Patronage remained essential. Field tactics with musketry, successful at Culloden, remained in use until the Napoleonic wars. Royle carefully describes specific battles and the alignment of battalions, pointing out courage and cowardice equally. His treatment is balanced and fair, especially with regard to Highland pacification. Prince Charles is credited with energy, courage, and "soldierly qualities," genuine aspects of leadership. Lord Amherst's racism is noted. The French are defeated but not despised. Especially interesting are the author's biographical accounts of leading officers, their families, and their connections. Royle is indebted to printed sources, but his preparation began with State and War Office Papers at Kew and various family collections at the British Library, Register House and the National Library of Scotland.

Henry L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

Atle Wold, *Scotland and the French Revolutionary War, 1792–1802*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. vii + 234.

Atle Wold's *Scotland and the French Revolutionary War, 1792–1802* is a revised version of his Edinburgh University doctoral thesis. Wold acknowledges that the 1790s have been well covered by historiography generally, and that, thankfully, there has been a growing body of historiography dedicated to the Scottish dimension in this period. Indeed, the works of Bob Harris, John Brims, John Brown and, prior to them, Henry Meikle, provide the broader context for this publication. However, Wold aims to build on this foundation by moving away from radical perspectives, individual issues, and concentration on the political career of prominent individuals, such as Henry Dundas. Instead, his work seeks to provide a comprehensive, up-to-date depiction of the Scottish experience from the perspective of Scotland's political authorities and their supporters. To do so, he begins with an examination of Scotland's political managers to the challenges of the 1790s and its relationship with central authorities in London, moving logically onto the infamous Scottish political trials, before undertaking an analysis of the nation's military and financial contributions to the execution of the war. Finally, the book ends with a survey of loyalist responses in the form of demonstrations and ideological contributions to the intellectual battle against radicalism.

Wold uses his source materials well throughout, providing detailed and intriguing analysis. See, for example, his elaboration of the fencible mutinies (pp. 78–80) which suggests that soldiers' grievances related to breach of contract, rather than a desire to side with political radicals, and the significance of this instance in informing approaches to the subsequent Scottish Militia Act. Another example comes from the book's second chapter, which highlights the ambivalence of Scotland's sedition law and the significance of debates on it during the political trials. Wold presents a fascinating outline of the common-law basis of this charge and the relationship between sedition and *leasing-making*. The latter involved nothing more than common slander against the king's person; the expression of a personal grudge. The former, however, involved not only the expression of a disgruntled perspective, but its articulation specifically to advance projects to subvert the whole system of government. Subsequently, Wold suggests convincingly that the prosecution's pursuit of sedition instead of leasing-making rested on the prominence sedition gave to the perpetrators' intent, enabling the prosecution to portray the radicals as determined to overthrow the British constitution and government (p. 55). This approach adds an interesting dimension to discussions of the trials, enhancing John Barrell's suggestion in *Imagining the King's Death: Figurative Treason, Fantasies of Regicide, 1793–1796* (2000), with which Wold concurs, that while pursuing sedition, the prosecution deliberately sought to aggravate the crimes of the accused in the eyes of the jurors and liken them to treason.

Wold's points are supported by a range of local examples which add depth and detail. A wealth of archival material is used, for example, to highlight perspectives on the coal tax and responses to its repeal, strengthening the suggestion that the government's willingness to adjust existing tax regulations and address individual concerns of "fairness," even to the overall detriment of Scotland's financial contributions to the British State (albeit unintentionally), went some way towards fostering loyalty (Pp. 118–120, 205). Similarly, Wold's final chapter draws on local pamphlets and newspaper sources to highlight Scots' adherence to the well-known facets of conservative arguments. This soundly supports his contention that Scots participated in a Britain-wide debate. However, more attention could have been given to demonstrating what exactly in Scotland's religious contributions provided them with a "distinctively Scottish aspect," as Wold claims (p. 213). Furthermore, in relation to ideological contributions, the suggestion that the "morals and manners" argument advanced by clergymen, and the use of religious references in political debate, offered "the most original Scottish contribution," is unfounded. As the work of several scholars including Robert Hole, James Sack, Johnathan Clark, and Emma Macleod has indicated, such arguments occurred nationwide, with the clergy, broadly speaking, acting as a significant force in contending for the political status quo.

Indeed, at times the contribution of Wold's investigations to existing scholarship is not so clear. Perhaps most important in this respect is Bob Harris's *The Scottish People and the French Revolution* (2008). Wold points to Harris's important input to discussions of Scotland in his introduction (p. 2), but he could have been clearer about how his work built upon, rather than merely restated, Harris's similar conclusions about, for example, the nature of Scottish loyalism. Wold engages so far as to suggest that emphasis on defense patriotism downplays differences between the context of the French Revolutionary War and the subsequent conflict with Napoleonic France (pp. 132–33). However, a more comprehensive discussion of where his work conforms to, or diverges from, Harris's would have been beneficial.

Finally, certain points could have been investigated further, though it is understandable that even such a comprehensive study must have boundaries. Ideally, elaboration of Highland contributions in the period could have been offered. Wold notes that recruitment in the Highlands was "a remarkable success" and that the government was aware of the benefits of recruiting in a region predominantly populated by clansmen "still used to...a social structure where the authority of the chief was not questioned" (p. 73). While acquiring Highland perspectives on the war itself presents many challenges, further analysis of why "the Highlands in particular...were not markedly weakened by the onset of radical politics or influence of revolutionary ideas of France" (p. 210), and to what extent people here perpetuated the unsavory attitudes to absolutist political authority noted in chapter six (p. 177), remains an intriguing (and perhaps frustrating) area for development. Nonetheless, Wold provides an interesting and detailed study of Scotland in the 1790s, and his text will certainly prove very beneficial to scholars investigating responses to the French Revolution in local, Scottish, and British contexts.

Fiona Duncan, University of Stirling

Clifford Siskin, *System: The Shaping of Modern Knowledge*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2016. Pp. xii + 318.

In *System: The Shaping of Modern Knowledge*, Clifford Siskin sets out to interrogate and define the idea of systems: what is meant by the word and how it has changed over time; the symbiotic relationship between systems and knowledge; how systems have been put to use and how they might be fashioned further in the pursuit of "new" knowledge. To achieve this, in what at times feels almost like a multidisciplinary narrative, Siskin presents "system" as a *genre* (and so, by definition, dynamic) and as a construct that is scalable. By approaching it in this manner, and using various histories that mostly cover the Enlightenment period, though ranging as far back as Galileo Galilei and as far forward as Stephen Wolfram, he sets out his argument for its importance in forming the containment of knowledge today.

Taking his lead from the prologue, Siskin starts the book by tracing the origins of the idea of "system" by examining Galileo and his fateful discovery of the three moons around Jupiter. This monumental moment in history led to Galileo's realization that there were, in fact, systems *within* systems, and Siskin analyzes what this meant as a development, finally, on Aristotle's organon, and then how it fed into Francis Bacon's efforts to procure and quantify knowledge. Looking at the proliferation of "system" in the seventeenth and particularly eighteenth centuries using *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online (ECCO)*, Siskin compares it with the word "essay" and, drawing on David Simpson, *Romanticism, Nationalism and the Revolt against Theory* (1993), examines the negative English preconceptions around "system" during this period, a term that seemed more French and radical than the preferred "essay." Siskin posits that some writers, like William Godwin and Thomas Robert Malthus—keenly aware of the political climate and censure that had affected many of their friends—hid their "systems" under the guise of other *genres* to escape unwanted attention.

In the second part of the book, Siskin thoroughly examines the varied uses of "system" during the Enlightenment, charting the many published titles that feature it explicitly and implicitly, and demonstrates how it developed over this period. He ponders its impressions on eighteenth-century society and spends time focusing on Adam Smith's utilization of "Master systems" to categorize knowledge. A few pages are given to covering the evolution of Smith's thought and the application of this idea, by examining Smith's motivations for doing so—

partly to ensure that Scotland had a place at the table in this period of blossoming intelligentsia and information—and evidence of them in his catalogue of work: the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) and the *Wealth of Nations* (1776). Siskin concludes that Smith's use of these "systems within systems" helped to facilitate the Enlightenment, not, in this case, as an example of specific ideas that aided its propulsion forward, but by promulgating a construct which could harness knowledge, while also fertilizing its growth and expansion.

Siskin returns to Smith in the third section (indeed, the Scot appears throughout with some regularity), as he covers how systems and Master systems have helped to shape modernity. He explains how a "system" could become "The System" and how, through the fiction and non-fiction of the Enlightenment, it became not only a construct people would utilize in the pursuit of understanding information and how it relates to other information, but one that would become a scapegoat when needed—people were "blaming the system." Conversely, as he notes, Smith didn't attribute blame to a system: he instead believed it was people incorrectly employing it that caused problems. Siskin, drawing on Smith's famous metaphor of the "invisible hand," shows how women came to be victims of this new political economy of blame during the inauguration of the modern state. The author finishes this segment by revealing how systems have shaped knowledge into the recognized disciplines of humanities, natural sciences, and social sciences.

Finally, and of particular interest to those who enjoy the pedagogical aspect of learning, Siskin ends his hook by considering the evolution of system in our society: where our own understanding of it may take us and how it can do so. He advocates, particularly in the study of humanities, the ideal of what he calls "*dedisciplinatory*" work—of managing knowledge unconstrained by the systems we have imposed on them, taking them out of the box, to allow the studying, teaching, and learning of completely new knowledge—instead of our current "*interdisciplinary*, with its baggage of preserving discipline" (p. 235).

Though it is not necessarily a bad thing, this book sometimes reads like an infectious lecture, and while the style may not suit everyone, it would be hard to disagree with Siskin's argument about system. Siskin may be guilty of slightly inflating the term's importance, but he nevertheless provides a focused and insightful narrative around the word "system," its idea, formation, and evolution, and how it helped to shape our understanding of knowledge in the present day.

Nelson Mundell, University of Glasgow

Briefly Noted

Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt, *Historic New Lanark: The Dale and Owen Industrial Community since 1785*. Edinburgh Classic Editions. Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xv + 268.

A new Edinburgh Classic Edition of Ian Donnachie and George Hewitt's 1993 study of New Lanark is a welcome event. The original work appeared at a ticklish time in New Lanark's history, when it stood on the verge of industrial heritage/tourist industry stardom as a restored cotton mill community, but was not quite there. Thus, the original work concluded with a chapter on the "ambitious plans for future developments" that were then "contemplated" (p. 210). Two decades later, a new chapter added to this edition by Ian Donnachie has the character of a victory lap. Most of those contemplated plans eventually came to pass—including the transformation of the restored Mill No. 1 into the New Lanark Mill Hotel (opened in 1998), a conference center and roof garden in Mill No. 2, and Robert Owen's Institute for the Formation of Character. Within a decade after the first edition, in 2001, New Lanark obtained the cherished goal of becoming a UNESCO World Heritage Site (one of only six in Scotland). With more than a quarter of a million visitors each year, New Lanark has arrived as both a remarkable restoration of Scotland's industrial past and a major international tourist attraction.

It is important to keep in mind, however, that the bulk of this book is an excellent, and extremely accessible, work of historical scholarship. It is not difficult to find discussions of New Lanark as an Owenite experiment, but the achievement of this book was (and is) to put the community first, by tracing it to the vision of a remarkable Scottish entrepreneur, David Dale, and placing it within the context of the development of Scottish textile manufacturing (including the search for industrial power that led Dale to the Falls of Clyde). Dale's son-in-law Owen (the subject of a 2005 biography by Donnachie which was also reprinted, in 2011) gets his due, but the three chapters on his days at New Lanark and its significance for his career as a social reformer are balanced by five chapters on the period before Owen arrived and after he departed. As far as I can tell, the historical part of the book has not been revised, but the bibliography has been helpfully updated. Kudos to all.

Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of 71 Scots Songs. Set by Alexander Stuart. With an Introduction by Kirsteen McCue. Scottish Poetry Reprint Series 11. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Libraries, 2017. Pp. xxiii + 166.

Received at press time, this lovely edition of a rare contemporary pocket-book is a treasure for those interested in the songs in Allan Ramsay's *Tea-Table Miscellany* from the mid-1720s. Besides the settings by the musician Alexander Stuart, the book features engravings by Richard Cooper, and was "printed & sold by Allan Ramsay" himself. Kirsteen McCue's introduction expertly explores its significance, explaining how the appearance of both a melody line and a bass line below it enabled "amateur players to make simple music. They might attempt

the pieces on their clavichord, spinet, or harpsichord, and they could also involve a fiddler or flute player to play the melodies, or someone to play along with the bass line, on their cello." There is a splendid frontispiece showing a man with a fiddle standing next to a woman who is seated at a harpsichord, "with a book akin to Stuart's propped up in front of them" (p. x).

This volume and the Scottish Poetry Reprints series of which it is a part continues the enduring legacy of the G. Ross Roy Collection at the University of South Carolina Libraries, which Patrick Scott continues to mine and make accessible to a grateful public.

Mark G. Spencer, ed., *Hume's Reception in Early America. Expanded Edition*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2017. Pp. xxxvi + 777.

First published by Thoemmes Press in two volumes in 2002, as a sort of prequel to the author's then-forthcoming work, *David Hume and Eighteenth-Century America* (2005), this comprehensive reader now appears as one very large paperback tome, which adds 38 new selections to the 87 that were in the first edition. For the study of Hume in America, Spencer's work is indispensable.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers University, Newark

RECENT ARTICLES BY ECSSS MEMBERS

Corey E. ANDREWS, "The Mirror Club: Periodicals as Tastemakers in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," in *SELC*, 171–84.

Charles Bradford BOW, "In Pursuit of 'Moral Beauty' and Intellectual Pleasures: Dugald Stewart and Edinburgh's Literary Culture, 1762–1810," in *SELC*, 153–69.

Karin BOWIE, "Newspapers, the Early Modern Public Sphere and the 1704–5 Worcester Affair," in *BB*, 9–20.

Rhona BROWN, "Thomas Muir and the *Edinburgh Gazetteer*: Reporting on the 'Friend of the People' before and after his Trial," in *TMH*, 168–84.

Rhona BROWN, "Wilkes and Scottish Liberty: The Reception of John Wilkes in the *Weekly Magazine*, or *Edinburgh Amusement*," in *BB*, 47–62.

Stephen W. BROWN, "Advertising and the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*," in *BB*, 21–32.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Thomas Muir and Kirk Politics," in *TMH*, 141–67.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Thomas Muir of Huntershill in Memory, Culture and Literature," in *TMH*, 1–19.

Gerard CARRUTHERS and Satinder Kaur, "Thomas Muir and Staff and Student Politics at the University of Glasgow," in *TMH*, 89–111.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Alexander Wilson, Scots Poet," in *Alexander Wilson, Enlightened Naturalist*, ed. E. H. Burt (Bucknell University Press, 2016), pp. 1–22.

Leith DAVIS, "Poems on Nation and Empire," in *OHBP*, 303–19.

Deidre DAWSON, "Fingal Meets Vercingetorix: Ossianism, Celtomania, and the Transformation of French National Identity in Post-Revolutionary France," in *SELC*, 209–30.

Alex Deans and Nigel LEASK, "Curious Travellers and Highland Journeys," in *SSL42*, 164–72.

William DONALDSON, "Poems on the Streets," in *OHBP*, 3–22.

William DONALDSON, "Whatever Happened to the Tune?," *Fontes Artis Musicae* 63 (2016): 321–24 (review essay).

Dionysios DROSOS, "On the Reception of Adam Smith's Moral Theory in Modern Greece and the Greek Edition of *Theory of Moral Sentiments*: Facing the Roots of Misunderstanding Moral Sentiments," *Adam Smith Review* 8 (2015): 5–18.

Ian DUNCAN, "Walter Scott and the Historical Novel," in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English, Volume 2: English and British Fiction 1750–1820*, ed. Peter Garside and Karen O'Brien (Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 312–31.

Ian DUNCAN, "Spawn of Ossian," in *Global Romanticism: Origins, Orientations and Engagements, 1760–1820*, ed. Evan Gottlieb (Bucknell University Press, 2015), pp. 3–18.

Ian DUNCAN, "The Discovery of Scotland: Walter Scott and World Literature in the Age of Union," in *Scotland 2014 and Beyond*, ed. Klaus Peter Müller (Peter Lang, 2015), pp. 301–19.

Vivienne S. DUNSTAN, "Two Booksellers in South-West Scotland in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: The Records of Ebenezer Wilson and James Meuros," *Journal of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society* 11 (2016): 43–63.

Matthew Daniel EDDY, "Useful Pictures: Joseph Black and the Graphic Culture of Experimentation," in *Cradle of Chemistry: The Early Years of Chemistry at the University of Edinburgh*, ed. Robert G.W. Anderson (John Donald, 2015), pp. 99–118.

Matthew Daniel EDDY, "The Interactive Notebook: How Students Learned to Keep Notes during the Scottish Enlightenment," *Book History* 19 (2016): 86–131.

- Matthew Daniel EDDY, "The Cognitive Unity of Calvinist Pedagogy in Enlightenment Scotland," in *Reformed Churches Working Unity in Diversity: Global Historical, Theological and Ethical Perspectives*, ed. Abrahám Kovács (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2016), pp. 46–60.
- Matthew Daniel EDDY, "The Child Writer: Graphic Literacy and the Scottish Educational System, 1700–1820," *History of Education* 45 (2016): 695–718.
- John FINLAY, "Legal Education, 1650–1850," in *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*, ed. Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman, and Lindsay Paterson (Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 114–32.
- Howard GASKILL, Afterward, in *JEC* 39, 249–50.
- James HARRIS, review essay on Istvan Hont, *Politics in Commercial Society: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith*, *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 14 (2016): 151–63.
- Andrew HOOK, "The Scottish Enlightenment and American Literary Culture," in *SELC*, 231–44.
- Andrew HOOK, "Enlightenment Emerges: The 18th Century," in *The University of Glasgow Library: Friendly Shelves* (Friends of Glasgow University Library, 2016), pp. 46–71.
- Derek JANES, "Fine Gottenburgh Teas: The Consumption and Retail of Smuggled Tea in Scotland and the North of England, c.1740–1785," *History of Retailing and Consumption* 2 (2016): 223–38.
- Catherine JONES, "Tobias Smollett, Travel Writing, and Medical Botany," in *SELC*, 53–76.
- Sandro JUNG, "'A Scotch Poetical Library': The Morisons of Perth, Print Culture, and the Construction of an Enlightenment Scottish Literary Canon," in *SELC*, 185–208.
- Sandro JUNG, "Ode," in *OHBP*, 510–27.
- Colin KIDD, "Enlightenment and Ecclesiastical Satire before Burns," in *SELC*, 95–114.
- Colin KIDD, "The Fergusson Affair: Calvinism and Dissimulation in the Scottish Enlightenment," *Intellectual History Review* 26 (2016): 339–54.
- Nigel LEASK, "Fingalian Topographies: Ossian and the Highland Tour, 1760–1805," in *JEC* 39, 183–96.
- Nigel LEASK, "'The Pith o' Senses and Pride o' Worth': Robert Burns and the *Glasgow Magazine* (1795)," in *BB*, 75–90.
- Nigel LEASK – see Alex Deans
- Ralph MCLEAN, "Hugh Blair and the Influence of Rhetoric and Belles Lettres on Imaginative Literature," in *SELC*, 137–51.
- Ralph MCLEAN, "The Decline of Latin in the Scottish Universities," in *Neo-Latin and Literary Culture in Early Modern Scotland*, ed. Steven J. Reid and David McOmish (Brill, 2016), pp. 264–84.
- Ralph MCLEAN, "'A Very Proper Specimen of Great Improvement': The *Edinburgh Review* and the Moderate Literati," in *BB*, 33–46.
- Minakshi MENON, "Medicine, Money and the Making of the East India Company State: William Roxburgh in Madras, c.1790," in *Histories of Medicine and Healing in the Indian Ocean World, Volume 1: The Medieval and Early Modern Period*, ed. Anna Winterbottom and Facil Tesfaye (Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), pp. 151–78.
- Nicholas MILLER, "The Perils of Progress and Gustatory Pleasure in the Scottish Enlightenment: Lord Kames on the Art of Cookery," *De achttiende eeuw (The Eighteenth Century)*, Special Issue on "Flavours of the Eighteenth Century," 48 (2016): 47–61.
- Nicholas MILLER, "Revealing the 'Little Society': Marriage between Sacred History and the Science of Man in Scottish Enlightenment Histories of Civil Society," in *The Changing Faces of Religion in Eighteenth-Century Scotland*, ed. Raquel Lázaro Cantero and Julio Seoane (Olms, 2016), pp. 227–50.
- R.J.W. MILLS, "Lord Kames's Analysis of the Natural Origins of Religion: The *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751)," *Historical Research* 89 (2016): 751–75.
- R.J.W. MILLS, "Alexander Ross's *Pansebeia* (1653), Religious Compendia and the Seventeenth-Century Study of Religious Diversity," *The Seventeenth Century* 31 (2016): 285–310.
- R.J.W. MILLS, "The Reception of 'That Bigoted Silly Fellow'—James Beattie's *Essay on Truth* in Britain, 1770–1830," *History of European Ideas* 41 (2015): 1049–79.
- R.J.W. MILLS, "Archibald Campbell's *Necessity of Revelation* (1739)—The Science of Human Nature's First Study of Religion," *History of European Ideas* 41 (2015): 728–46.
- Pam PERKINS, "Regulating Reality by Imagination: Fact, Fiction, and Travel in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *SELC*, 37–51.
- Ruth PERRY, "All in the Family: Wealth and Property in the Eighteenth-Century Novel," in *The Oxford History of the Novel in English, Volume 2: English and British Fiction 1750–1820*, ed. Peter Garside and Karen O'Brien (Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 407–23. [Smollett, Scott, and other British novelists]
- Ruth PERRY, "Ballads," in *Women's Writing in Britain, 1660–1789*, ed. Catherine Ingrassia (Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 210–25.
- Ruth PERRY, "Ballad," in *OHBP*, 547–62.
- Ruth PERRY, "Balladry and the Scottish Enlightenment," in *SELC*, 77–94.
- Murray PITTOCK, "Who Wrote the Scots Musical Museum? Challenging Editorial Practice in the Pres-

ence of Authorial Absence,” in *SSL42*, 3–27. (The W. Ormiston Roy Memorial Lecture)

Murray PITTOCK and Craig Lamont, “Spatial Humanities and Memory Studies: Mapping Edinburgh in the First Age of the Enlightenment,” in *SSL42*, 151–63.

Ian ROBERTSON, “The Bard and *The Minstrel*,” *Scottish Literary Review* 8 (2016): 133–42. [Beattie and Burns]

Patrick G. SCOTT, “William Reid and the First Newspaper and Chapbook Publication of Robert Burns’s ‘Written in Friar’s Carse Hermitage,’” in *SSL42*, 269–80.

Patrick SCOTT, “Robert Burns’s ‘Tho’ Life’s Gay Scenes,” *Notes & Queries* 63 (2016): 213–14.

Patrick SCOTT, “‘As I walk’d by mysel’: A Burns Autograph Manuscript and the Problem of Attribution,” *SSL42* (2016): 101–109.

Patrick SCOTT, “‘Not in Egerer’?: Robert Burns in Some Early Anthologies,” *Robert Burns Lives!* 245 (October 2016).

Patrick SCOTT, “A Scottish Contemporary of Burns: Alexander Wilson (1766–1813), Poet and Ornithologist,” *Robert Burns Lives!* 230 (April 2016).

Patrick SCOTT, “Burns and Broadside Publication: ‘The Chevalier’s Lament’ [and Edward Rushton’s ‘The Maniac’] at Auction in Macon, Georgia,” *Robert Burns Lives!* 216 (November 2016).

Patrick SCOTT and Craig Lamont, “The First Irish Edition of Robert Burns: A Reexamination,” *Scottish Literary Review* 8 (2016): 133–40.

Patrick SCOTT, and Craig Lamont, “‘Skinking’ and ‘Stinking’: The Printing and Proofing of Robert Burns’s *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (Edinburgh, 1787),” *Book Collector* 64 (2016): 601–16.

Silvia SEBASTIANI, “Frontières de l’humain: l’homme-singe dans le débat britannique sur l’esclavage (1770–80),” in *L’expérience historiographique*, ed. Antoine Lilti, Sabina Loriga, Jean-Frédéric Schaub, Silvia Sebastiani (Editions de l’EHESS, Coll. *Enquêtes*, 2016), pp. 201–218. [on the ‘man-ape’ debate about slavery, featuring Lord Monboddo]

Juliet SHIELDS, “Reviving Ossian’s Female Corpses: Mourners and Warriors in *The Poems of Ossian*,” in *JECSS39*, 211–21.

Mark G. SPENCER, “Placing Hume in the Enlightenment: ‘Ambassador from the Dominions of Learning to those of Conversation,’” *Enlightenment and Dissent* 31 (2016): 82–101.

Mark G. SPENCER, “‘Distant and Commonly Faint and Disfigured Originals’: Hume’s Magna Charta and Sabl’s Fundamental Constitutional Conventions,” *Hume Studies* 41 (2015), 73–80.

John STONE, “The Case for English as a Language of Culture in Eighteenth-Century Spain: The English Libraries of Count de Fernán Núñez and John Hunter,” *Cuadernos Jovellanistas* 8 (2014): 75–102.

John STONE, “Being Boswell’s Brother,” *Age of Johnson* 23 (2015): 205–38.

Ryu SUSATO, “Hume as an Ami de la Liberté: The Reception of His ‘Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth,’” *Modern Intellectual History* 13 (2016): 569–96.

Rivka SWENSON, “The Poet as Man of Feeling,” in *OHBP*, 195–209.

Paul TONKS, “Scottish Political Economy, Education and the Management of Poverty in Industrializing Britain: Patrick Colquhoun and the Westminster Free School Model,” *History* 101 (2016): 1–18.

Paul TONKS, “A Scottish Vision of the Commonwealth: Union and Empire in the Thought of Sir Alexander Murray,” *Korean Journal of British Studies* 12 (2016): 29–60.

Nathaniel WOLLOCH, “Natural Disasters and the Debate on the Unity or Plurality of Enlightenment,” *The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 57 (2016): 325–42. [mainly on Gibbon, but with some attention to Smith]

Ronnie YOUNG, “‘Sympathetick Curiosity’: Drama, Moral Thought, and the Science of Human Nature,” in *SELC*, 115–36.

Ronnie YOUNG, “Thomas Muir at Glasgow: John Millar and the University,” in *TMH*, 112–40.

Key to the Abbreviations

BB=*Before Blackwood’s: Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment*, ed. Alex Benchimol, Rhona Brown, and David Shuttleton (Pickering & Chatto, 2015).

JECSS39=*Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Special Issue: Forum on Ossian in the Twenty-First Century, ed. Sebastian Mitchell, 39.2 (June 2016).

OHBP=*The Oxford Handbook of British Poetry, 1660–1800*, ed. Jack Lynch (Oxford University Press, 2016).

SELC=*The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture*, ed. Ralph McLean, Ronnie Young, and Kenneth Simpson, *ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Bucknell University Press, 2016).

SSL42=*Studies in Scottish Literature* 42.1/2 (2016).

TMH=*Thomas Muir of Huntershill: Essays for the Twenty First Century*, ed. Gerard Carruthers and Don Martin (humming earth, 2016).

Eighteenth-Century Scotland (ISSN 1085-4894) is published annually by the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society (ECSSS) and is sent to all ECSSS members each spring. Submissions of articles, announcements, and news items are welcome. Address all correspondence to the editor: Richard B. Sher, Executive Secretary–ECSSS, New Jersey Institute of Technology, University Heights, Newark, NJ 07102-1982, USA.

ECSSS officers for 2016–2018: President, Leith Davis, English, Simon Fraser University; Vice President: Craig Smith, social and political sciences, University of Glasgow; Executive Secretary-Treasurer, Richard B. Sher, history, NJIT and Rutgers University-Newark (to 2022); Members-At-Large: Michael Amrozowicz, PhD candidate in English, University at Albany SUNY, and Katherine Nicolai, history, independent scholar; Webmaster: Nelson Mundell, PhD candidate in history, Glasgow University.

ECSSS Executive Board: Leith Davis (to 2020); Craig Smith (to 2020); John W. Cairns, law, University of Edinburgh (to 2018); Deidre Dawson, French, independent scholar (to 2020); Jean-François Dunyach, history, Université Paris–Sorbonne (to 2017); Jack Hill, Religion, Texas Christian University (to 2018); Catherine Jones, English, University of Aberdeen (to 2018); Ned Landsman, history, Stony Brook University (to 2020); Richard B. Sher (to 2022); Mark G. Spencer, history, Brock University (to 2018); Mark Towsey, history, University of Liverpool (to 2020).

Tell a Friend—or a Library—about ECSSS

If you appreciate this newsletter, others may, too. Please tell a friend or your university library about us. Increased membership will enable us to continue to provide members with excellent services at bargain rates. Our membership fees are payable to “ECSSS” in either U.S. dollars or pounds sterling. 2017 rates:

Individuals: \$35 or £21

Graduate Students, Retired, or Unwaged: \$18 or £11

Institutions: \$60 or £36

Supporting: \$60 or £36

Five-Year Supporting: \$240 or £144

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

Make Payments with PayPal.com
(send appropriate amount to funds@ecsss.org)

Visit Us on the Web at www.ecsss.org

For information on our Studies in 18th-Century Scotland Book Series:
<http://www.bucknell.edu/script/upress/series.asp?id=3>

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