

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

No. 33 Spring 2019
ISSN 1085-4894

The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society

EDINBURGH CONGRESS BECKONS

ECSSS has met jointly with the International Enlightenment Congress on many prior occasions (1991 in Bristol, 1999 in Dublin, 2007 in Montpellier, and 2015 in Rotterdam), but this will be the first time the Congress has met in Scotland since the 1960s. Instead of having a “conference within the Congress” in our usual way, ECSSS (which is one of the co-sponsors of the event) will be part of the general Congress program. The range of panels, round tables, and other activities will be staggering, with a great deal on Scotland.

The theme of the 15th International Congress on the Enlightenment (Sunday 14 July–Friday 19 July 2019) is “Enlightenment Identities: Definitions and Debates.” Dozens of ECSSS members will be participating, and we can’t possibly list all the relevant sessions here (see the draft program at <https://www.bsecs.org.uk/iseecs/en/>). But here are a few of the ECSSS highlights: a roundtable in memory of former ECSSS President and Lifetime Achievement Award recipient Susan Manning, organized by Adam Budd and Vicky Coltman, with contributions by (among others) ECSSS past presidents Andrew Hook, Catherine Jones, and Jane Rendall; “Enlightenment Scotland: International Resonances,” a plenary featuring Thomas Munck and Silvia Sebastiani; a panel organized and chaired by Elizabeth Ford, consisting of a virtual reality demonstration of informal music-making in an eighteenth-century Edinburgh tavern; a panel on Scottish clubs and societies, drawn from a volume under review in the ECSSS book series, edited by Mark Wallace and Jane Rendall; the ECSSS AGM (Thursday at 4:45 PM), followed by a ceilidh and buffet dinner in the Edinburgh Assembly Rooms; two “Author Meets Critics” roundtables dealing with recent books by ECSSS members, both reviewed in this issue: Craig Smith’s *Adam Ferguson and the Idea of Civil Society* and Chris Berry’s *Essays on Hume, Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment*.

There will also be two relevant museum exhibitions: “Northern Lights” (on the intellectual culture of Enlightenment Scotland), at the National Library of Scotland (June–Oct. 2019) and “Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland” at the National Muse-

um of Scotland (26 June–10 Nov. 2019).

We owe a great debt to the Chair of the Congress Organizing Committee, Brycchan Carey, as well as ECSSS committee members Mark Towsey and Adam Budd. Now let’s make it happen in Edinburgh!

GLASGOW DELIVERS!

On 17–21 July 2018 Glasgow University hosted our first conference in Glasgow since 1990, on the theme “Networks of Enlightenment,” and it was one of the society’s biggest and best ever. The conference began on the afternoon of the 17th with greetings from ECSSS President Leith Davis and Glasgow University Pro-Vice Principal Murray Pittock, who played a prominent role in making the site of the conference—Kelvin Hall in Argyle Street—into a newly renovated center for conferencing. Then Emma Rothschild delivered the opening plenary lecture on “European Networks: Commerce and Exile in the Long Eighteenth Century.” In the evening participants reconvened for a reception at the magnificent Glasgow City Chambers, where a member of the Town Council wished the society well and Vice President Craig Smith thanked the Town Council and the city on behalf of the society. The evening culminated when Henry Fulton, whose recent book on Dr. John Moore throws light on aspects of eighteenth-century Glasgow, was proclaimed “a Freeman Citizen of Glasgow” by the Lord Provost.

During the next several days of conferencing, some three dozen panels and round tables took place, largely on the conference theme of networking. There were panels and talks on continental networks, colonial networks, transatlantic networks, literary and philosophical networks, reading networks, Jacobite “networks of memory,” travel networks, civic and family networks, and spatial networks. “The Scottish Networks of Maria Edgeworth” was the title of a plenary lecture by Jane Rendall as well as the main subject of a panel. The conference also paid tribute to the tricentenaries of the births of Hugh Blair and Dr. William Hunter, with several panels on each of them, as well as Anita Guerrini’s plenary lecture on “William Hunter’s Collecting Networks.” Other special sessions were devoted to the Burns edition being produced by

the Centre for Robert Burns Studies at Glasgow, Clifford Siskin's book on systems, and the valuable work of Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online.

This conference also featured several other special events. On Monday evening conference-goers flocked to Glasgow University Library to see a display of some of the library's treasures, including highlights from William Hunter's collection, as well as a gin tasting sponsored by Eighteenth-Century Studies at the University of Stirling. On Thursday afternoon there was an excursion to Ayrshire to see Dumfries House and Robert Burns's birthplace in Alloway, while others joined Tony Lewis for a trip to the remarkable Glasgow Museums Resource Centre. Two roundtables honored outstanding scholars on Friday afternoon: "Nicholas Phillipson (1937-2018): An Enlightened Life" celebrated the contributions of that much-beloved scholar and teacher. This was followed by a tribute to another distinguished historian of the Enlightenment, Alexander Broadie, who was presented with the society's Lifetime Achievement Award by James Harris at the conference dinner at the Hilton Glasgow Grosvenor Hotel.

Many people worked to make this conference so successful, but special thanks must go to Ronnie Young and Rhona Brown, along with other members of their organizing committee, and of course Glasgow University itself.

TOWSEY TO HEAD ECSSS

At the society's 2018 Annual General Meeting, held at the Glasgow conference on Friday 20 July, the membership elected new officers and trustees. Mark Towsey (History, U. of Liverpool) and Juliet Shields (English, U. of Washington) were elected to two-year terms as President and Vice President, respectively, replacing Leith Davis and Craig Smith, who remain on the Board and were warmly thanked for their service. Elizabeth Ford (Music) and Xandra Bello (History) were elected to two-year terms as Members-at-Large. Jean-François Duniach (History, Sorbonne) and Emma Macleod (History, U. of Stirling) were elected to four-year terms on the Executive Board. The membership expressed their thanks to four members of the Board whose terms have come to an end: Past Vice President Jack Hill and Past-Presidents John Cairns, Catherine Jones, and Mark Spencer.

PTS REDUX IN 2020

Princeton Theological Seminary will host ECSSS's conference next year, from 4 to 7 June 2020. Held jointly with the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, the conference will follow the form of our very successful PTS conference in 2010. This one will have as its theme "Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." The plenary speakers will be Martha McGill, British Academy Fellow at the University of Warwick, speaking on aspects of the supernatural in relation to bodies and selves in Scotland, and Simon Grote, Associate Professor of History

at Wellesley College, addressing the theological contexts of Scottish and other Enlightenment aesthetic theories. See the Call for Papers enclosed with this issue and posted on the society's website (www.ecsss.org).

2021 IN LIVERPOOL

Originally scheduled for Ghent, Belgium, the 2021 conference has been rescheduled to the University of Liverpool, specifically the residential terraces of Abercromby Square (laid out in the 1810s), during the last week of July or first week of August. Liverpool was the fastest-growing British city by the end of the eighteenth century, and it is filled with wonderful Georgian buildings, such as the Liverpool Athenaeum (subscription library and newsroom est. 1797), the Liverpool Medical Institution (est. as a medical library in the 1770s), and the Wellington Rooms (assembly rooms completed 1815). Georgian Liverpool had many connections with Scotland, including the editor of Robert Burns, Dr. James Currie; Jacobite links (Lyme Park); overseas connections, including those involving the slave trade; and Scottish influences in inventing and engineering (Quarry Bank Mill). There were also interesting connections involving Romanticism, and Mark Towsey, the conference organizer, is exploring the possibility of collaborating with the British Association of Romantic Studies, which will be meeting at Edgehill University, north of the city center, in late July and early August. Stay tuned for further information about this exciting conference!

AND AFTER THAT...

The society is in negotiations with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies about possibly meeting with them again in Montreal in October 2022, as we did in 2014. The 2023 conference will be hosted by the Institute of Intellectual History at the University of St. Andrews, to mark the tercentennials of the births of Adam Ferguson, Adam Smith, and John Witherspoon.

THE DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWSHIP

The 2019 recipient of the ECSSS/ASECS Daiches-Manning Fellowship is Désha Osborne, who teaches in the Africana, Puerto Rican/Latino Studies Department at Hunter College in New York City. Désha, who received her PhD from Cambridge University in 2012, intends to be in residence at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh from September to December of this year, working on a project titled "'Charaib Argantes' and Scottish Tancredi: Historical Imagination and the Colonial Legacy in the Eighteenth Century." The focus of this research in Caribbean studies is the history, legend, and literary/cultural legacies of the 1795 duel between Garifuna Chief Joseph Chatoyer and the Scottish soldier Major Alexander Leith.

Since Robin Mills, the 2017 recipient, had to decline his fellowship for personal reasons, a second

fellow was appointed in 2018 to replace him: Roger Maioli. Roger received his PhD from Johns Hopkins University in 2015 and is currently Assistant Professor of English at the University of Florida. He was in residence at IASH as a Daiches-Manning Fellow this spring, working on a book project titled "Redrawing the Boundaries: The Enlightenment Crisis in Values," which examines how the Enlightenment redesigned ethical, epistemological, aesthetic, sexual, and racial distinctions along secular lines.

Our other 2018 Daiches-Manning Fellow, Elizabeth Ford, completed her residence at IASH in late winter 2019. More can be read here about her innovative work on music in informal spaces in eighteenth-century Edinburgh: <https://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/news/musick-club-and-cross-keys>.

ECSSS AT ASECS 2019

Thanks chiefly to ECSSS Vice President Juliet Shields, the society was well represented at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Denver, 21–23 March 2019. On Thursday Juliet represented ECSSS at the Affiliates Societies Luncheon, chaired by ASECS Affiliates Coordinator and ECSSS member Rivka Swenson. On Friday morning Juliet organized and participated in a well-attended roundtable on "Archives, Mediation, and Publication," which also featured Anna Foy (U. of Alabama, Huntsville), Brianna Robertson-Kirkland (U. of Glasgow), and Steve Newman (Temple U.), with JoEllen DeLucia (Central Michigan U.) in the chair. It was preceded by another roundtable of interest, chaired by Scott Breuninger of the Irish Studies Caucus, on "New Directions in Irish and Scottish Studies," with talks by Michael Brown (U. of Aberdeen), Brad Boyd (Arizona State U.), and Michael Griffin (U. of Limerick). Then there was a luncheon co-sponsored by ECSSS and the Irish Studies Caucus.

The next ECSSS panel at ASECS (St. Louis 24–28 March 2020) will be on Scottish music. Contact Juliet Shields (js37@uw.edu) for more information.

EUP EDITION OF DUGALD STEWART

At the beginning of the nineteenth century Dugald Stewart was the best-known British philosopher and the foremost representative of the Scottish Enlightenment. His reputation was based on an exceptionally wide-ranging literary output, including epistemology, metaphysics, ethics, politics, political economy, aesthetics, and empirical studies in the psychology of perception. His main works were quickly translated into French, widely reprinted in America, and issued as collected works in his lifetime. Stewart was also a "public intellectual" and a pivotal figure in the international republic of letters, facilitating careers, contact, and publications through his epistolary network. His teaching was perhaps even more decisive in forging his reputation. For over thirty years his courses attracted students from Europe and America and acquired an unrivalled status and influence in his time.

His core course on moral philosophy encompassed the theory of the mind, ethics, politics, and political economy. In 1800 Stewart transformed his lectures on political economy into a separate course which was the first of its kind., boosting the emergence of economics as a discipline, as well as his fame.

Posterity, however, has not been kind to Stewart. He is commonly seen as a marginal or transitional figure, whose work is viewed as a static unit. Consequently little attention has been devoted to the development of his ideas or their meaning and function in his own time. This is particularly evident in the main vehicle for the study of Stewart, the mid-nineteenth-century collected edition compiled by Sir William Hamilton, which presents Stewart systematically, with scant attention to the development and extensive revision that his published works underwent. In order properly to understand Stewart's life and career, a new edition of his writings is necessary.

We are delighted to announce that Edinburgh University Press has accepted our proposal for *The Edinburgh Edition of Dugald Stewart*. The volumes in this edition will encompass his published works, his lectures, his correspondence, and a selection of unpublished papers. We welcome leads regarding further manuscripts and additions to the already copious correspondence we have located. Our editorial team includes Thomas Ahnert, Christian Maurer, Emanuele Levi Mortera, Anna Plassart, Ryan Walter, Lina Weber, and Richard Whatmore., who will be editing individual volumes, alone or in collaboration.

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BOSWELL MS LIFE EDITION COMPLETED

2019 will see the publication by Edinburgh University Press and Yale University Press of *Jane Boswell's Life of Johnson, An Edition of the Original Manuscript in Four Volumes, Vol. 4, 1780–1784*, edited by Thomas F. Bonnell, Professor of English at Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, under the direction of the General Editor of the Yale Boswell Editions, Gordon Turnbull. This volume, the final one in the *Life* manuscript edition (1994–2019), brings to completion an important sub-series within the Yale publication program: the genetic transcription of Boswell's heavily revised working manuscripts of the *Life* and its many and varied satellite documents ("Papers Apart"). Boswell's mountainous and often chaotic pile of revisions, additions, and deletions, almost all of which was used as printer's copy, offered, in the words of Boswell's biographer Frank Brady, a "wondrous tangle." The four-volume sequence, designed as a research supplement to the standard Hill-Powell version of the *Life*, tracks the vast number of changes Boswell and his editor Edmond Malone made in manuscript, proof, revises, and successive published editions, identifies compositorial and other misreadings and many factual and textual errors that have long remained undetected and that stand in all versions of the

Life, and restores an array of deleted and lost material. The first volume (1994), covering the years 1709–65, was edited by the late Marshall Waingrow, who devised the complex transcription system used in the edition; the second (1998), for the years 1766–76, was edited by Bruce Redford with Elizabeth Goldring; the third (2012), covering the years 1776–80, was edited by Thomas Bonnell. Volume 4 documents in particular the biographer’s late, sometimes anguished struggles with several emotionally intense features of the project, including the marriage of Hester Thrale to the Italian music teacher Gabriel Piozzi, Boswell’s need to challenge aspects of the depiction of Johnson in Mrs. Piozzi’s *Anecdotes*, and the narrative of Johnson’s last weeks and death. The four-volume edition as a whole records in compelling detail the meta-narrative of the biography’s making, as Boswell’s marginal conversations with his composers and the press corrector, and marginal dialogues with himself, disclose the conditions of the book’s composition and production in real time.

ISSP IN LAUSANNE

The Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy held a conference on “Tolerance, Sociability and Solidarity in Scottish Philosophy” at the University of Lausanne, 8–10 March 2019, featuring plenary talks by Alexander Broadie and Gordon Graham.

NEW SCOTTISH SERIES AT PETER LANG

Philip Dunshea, commissioning editor for history at Peter Lang, Ltd., has announced a new series on Studies in Scottish History and Culture, edited by Valentina Bold. Next year’s issue will include a review of an early volume in the series about Sir David Nairne, and other relevant volumes are already in the works. Go to www.peterlang.com/view/serial/SHCS to learn more.

ROGER J. ROBINSON’S BEATTIE ARCHIVE

Soon after the death of Roger Robinson in 2003, his widow, Jane, presented to Aberdeen University the entire store of his materials on James Beattie, including items from his library. The archive has now been organized and catalogued into four deposits in Special Collections at Aberdeen University Library:

1. “The Poetry of James Beattie: A Critical Edition” (<https://tinyurl.com/y6klqxy7>): Roger’s 1997 Aberdeen University PhD thesis, which identified (sometimes for the first time), collected, and edited Beattie’s complete poetic output of some 85 poems.

2. Roger Robinson Collection (<https://www.abdn.ac.uk/special-collections/cld/53>): a collection of 128 printed books from Roger’s library, including early editions of *The Minstrel* and Beattie’s other poems and many works by Beattie’s contemporaries.

3. MS4023 (<https://tinyurl.com/y53k2j2u>): This extensive deposit of Roger’s research and working papers stretches to seven linear metres, comprehensively and accurately catalogued. The archive

tracks the entire course of Roger’s involvement with Beattie, from his first acquaintance with *The Minstrel* to his PhD at Aberdeen, the publication in 1996 of his ten-volume edition of Beattie’s poetry and philosophical works, which he edited and introduced and, finally, perhaps his greatest bequest to Beattie scholarship, *The Correspondence of James Beattie* (4 vols., 2004). The years chronicled in these papers are a reminder of what Roger accomplished in the time which followed his retirement from a distinguished career as consultant pediatrician and professor of pediatrics in London. In little over a decade, Roger put Beattie back on the map and, in making available to the academic public the bulk of Beattie’s literary and philosophical works, laid the foundations for all subsequent Beattie study. The papers give us an insight into Roger’s trademark thoroughness as he selects and transcribes the most important of Beattie’s letters for the *Correspondence*, and we perceive his accuracy and essential pragmatism in using notes made in his first surveys of the correspondence to summarize other Beattie letters.

Everywhere in these papers we see the strong friendships and working relationships which Roger built up in a short time. His diary of his first visit to Aberdeen in August 1993 (4023/2/1/1) records the extension and formalization of his interest in Beattie, and we share his joy as he realizes the extent and complexity of the primary source material available, and his total absorption as he discovers Beattie’s grave and drives around Beattie’s boyhood surroundings, trying to identify landscapes which Beattie’s friends said were incorporated into *The Minstrel*. The archive draws to a close with Roger on his hospital bed, desperately trying to complete his edition of Beattie’s *Correspondence* to meet publication deadlines, dictating letters and emails to a colleague, pressing his wife and family into service to proofread transcriptions, and thinking aloud about friends who might be prepared to finish the project if necessary. It gives added poignancy to the formality of the publisher’s note in Volume 1: “After the death of Roger Robinson, this edition was seen through its final stages by Duncan Wu, Ainsley McIntosh and David Hewitt.”

4. MS 4024 (access through MS 4023): a Beattie manuscript letter, gifted by Jane Robinson in 2011, listed by Roger as Letter No. 1892, from a “Private Collection,” and a small manuscript copy apparently of the second edition of Book One of *The Minstrel*, extracted by the archivist from MS 4023, but with no provenance or description by Roger.

It seems appropriate for Roger Robinson’s archive to reside in a library which is increasingly a major center for Beattie studies, and thanks are owed to Michelle Gait and Andrew MacGregor of Special Collections for their help and advice.

Ian C. Robertson

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Nigel Aston spent May 2019 as an Eccles Fellow at the Houghton Library at Harvard, working on volume

2 of Boswell's correspondence with William Johnson Temple...**Chris Berry's** 2013 book *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* was recently published in Japanese and Chinese translations...**Brian Bonnyman** has been appointed Honorary Fellow in History at the U. of Dundee, where he also tutors in the MLitt in Scottish History by Distance-Learning program...**Toni Bowers** was elected to the MLA Executive Committee for Scottish Literature and was the McLean Distinguished Professor of English at Colorado College in spring 2018...**David Brown** is now Head of Archival Innovation and Development at National Records of Scotland...**Stephen Brown** spoke to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in December on "Why the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* Never Should Have Succeeded"...**Adam Budd** has been elected a Councillor in the Royal Historical Society...**Rosalind Carr** was appointed Honorary Senior Research Fellow at Queen Mary, U. of London...**Gerry Caruthers** and **Colin Kidd's** *Literature and Union* (to be reviewed in our Spring 2020 issue) was shortlisted for Saltire Research Book of the Year 2018...last September **Jim Caudle** spoke at Dr. Johnson's House in London on "The 'Round Robin' in Boswell's Life of Johnson"...**Greg Clingham** has returned to the English Dept. at Bucknell U. after years of outstanding service as Director of its Press...**Ronald Crawford** was appointed Honorary Visiting Professor of History at the U. of Strathclyde; his book, *The Chair of Verity*, was shortlisted for Saltire Research Book of the Year 2018...**Elizabeth Ford** has received a fellowship at the Riemenschneider Bach Institute as well as the Abi Rosenthal Visiting Fellowship in Music at the Bodleian Library, Oxford...**Howard Gaskill's** new edition of Friedrich Hölderlin's novel *Hyperion* (1797-99) contains plentiful Ossianic "echoes"...**Clarisse Godard Desmarest** was a Visiting Research Scholar in the History Dept. at Edinburgh U...**Simon Grote**, now Associate Professor of History at Wellesley College, received the István Hont Prize for the best book in intellectual history from the Institute of Intellectual History at St. Andrews U...**Anita Guerrini**, now the Horning Professor of Humanities Emerita at Oregon State U., has been enjoying long working visits to the south of France and Utrecht...**Knud Haakonssen** has been honored with a *Festschrift* titled *Philosophy, Rights and Natural Law*, edited by Ian Hunter and Richard Whatmore...**Sören Hammerschmidt** of Arizona State U. was 2018-19 Co-President of the Western Society for 18th-Century Studies...**James Harris** is now Co-Director of the Institute of Intellectual History at St. Andrews U., which has acquired the papers of the late Nicholas Phillipson...**Mike Hill** will teach the Scottish Enlightenment next year in Shanghai, where a Chinese translation of his book *The Other Adam Smith* recently appeared...**Randall Holt**, who completed his PhD at UCLA in 2016 with a dissertation entitled "Reasoning with Savages: The Anthropological Imagination of the Scottish Enlightenment," has begun working on a fol-

low-up project on Scottish orientalist in the Indian Archipelago...**Regina Janes's** 2018 book *Inventing Afterlives* begins with what she calls "the inevitable Hume and Boswell anecdote" and also contains a section on Adam Smith and Robert Burns...**Colin Kidd** spent fall 2018 at All Souls College, Oxford, and spring 2019 at the Center for European Studies, Harvard U...**Ned Landsman** has received a grant from the American Philosophical Society for research in Edinburgh this summer on Scottish taxation after the Union...New member **Alasdair Macfarlane** received his PhD from Durham U. in Jan. with a thesis on Darien and the evolution of travel writing...**Cristina Martinez** now teaches in the Dept. of Visual Arts at the U. of Ottawa...**Martha McGill** is now a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the U. of Warwick, pursuing a project on "Bodies, Selves and the Supernatural in Early Modern Britain"...**Robin Mills** is now a Leverhulme Postdoctoral Fellow at Queen Mary, U. of London, with a research project titled "The Scottish Enlightenment Explains the Gods"...*The Correspondence and Occasional Writings of Francis Hutcheson*, co-edited by **Jim Moore** and **M. A. Stewart**, is forthcoming from the Liberty Fund...**Shinji Nohara** is now Associate Professor of Economics at the U. of Tokyo...**David Purdie** gave the anniversary lecture at The New Club in Edinburgh on the life and legacy of David Hume...**John Robertson** has retired as Professor of the History of Political Thought at Cambridge U. but continues to pursue many writing projects as well as some teaching...**Tatsuya Sakamoto** is now Professor of the History of Economic Thought at Waseda U. in Tokyo...**Silvia Sebastiani** spoke on Lord Monboddo in a two-day symposium in Edinburgh honoring the late Nicholas Phillipson in early March and in April gave the James Burns Memorial Lecture at St. Andrews U. on orangutans, slaves, and global markets...**Fiona Stafford**, a newly minted Fellow of the British Academy, made a radio documentary on John Keats in Scotland...**Jeff Strabone's** 2018 book *Poetry and British Nationalisms in the Bardic Eighteenth Century* contains a chapter on Allan Ramsay and Thomas Ruddiman...Adam Smith scholar **Ryu Susato** is the first recipient of the Japanese Society for British Philosophy Prize...**Gregory Todd** has completed an MSc at Edinburgh U. on James Hutton and French chemistry...**Mark Towsey**, now Professor of the History of the Book at the U. of Liverpool, has published *Reading History in Britain and America, c.1750-c.1840* with Cambridge U. Press...**John S. Warren** has been appointed Honorary Research Fellow in History at St. Andrews U., to work on the "After the Enlightenment" research project...**Nathaniel Wolloch's** latest book, *The Enlightenment's Animals* (2019), contains chapters on William Smellie, John Gregory, and Adam Smith which previously appeared as journal articles...**Paul Wood**, now Emeritus Professor of History at U. of Victoria, was a Fellow at the Institute of Intellectual History at St. Andrews U. in autumn 2018.

Lost (and Found) in Italian Translation: David Hume as a Political Thinker and Statesman

Spartaco Pupo, University of Calabria

Note: The following essay was written at the request of the editor, in order to inform English-language readers about the author's recent efforts to make Hume's political writings (both theoretical and practical/polemical) more widely available to readers of Italian.

In Italy, as in the rest of Europe, David Hume has been studied mainly as an epistemologist, metaphysician, and initiator of the "science of man." Italian scholars found Hume less attractive as a political thinker, and his science of politics has never been analyzed in a comprehensive manner. This may be because, unlike Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and the other contractarians of political modernity, Hume was difficult to place in the canonical classifications operating in twentieth-century Italian historiography. His political thought may have seemed ambiguous, even disquieting, because it did not fit clearly into any one academic school. The exception to this prevailing attitude was the extraordinary work of Giuseppe Giarrizzo, author of *David Hume politico e storico* (1962), which Duncan Forbes called "a brilliant *tour de force*" (*Historical Journal* 6 [1963]: 280) as a synthesis of Hume's political thinking. Giarrizzo was the pioneer of Italian studies on the political dimension of Hume's thought, and he underlined the importance, in political terms, of the Humean notion of habit.

Giarrizzo was also the editor of one of the only two twentieth-century Italian editions of Hume's political writings, D. Hume, *Antologia degli scritti politici* (1978), which appeared just three years after the other collection, edited by Lia Formigari, D. Hume, *Politica e scienza dell'uomo* (1975). Unfortunately, these collections have several flaws. The completeness of Hume's arguments and the unity and coherence of Hume's political theory are severely compromised by expunctions of whole essays and very extensive omissions of passages, paragraphs, and footnotes. In addition, these editions have serious problems involving semantic correspondences between the Humean terminology and the translated text and philological distortions or far-fetched renditions affecting, in some cases, even the titles of the essays. For example, the Giarrizzo edition excludes seven of Hume's essays: "Of the Balance of Trade," "Of the Jealousy of Trade," "Of Public Credit," "Of Taxes," "Of Some Remarkable Customs," "Of the Protestant Succession," and "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth." It contains only some brief extracts from the essays "Of Commerce," "Of Money," "Of Interest," and "Of the Balance of Power," retitled by the editor "How to Reconcile the Happiness of the Subjects with the Power of the State," "Natural Economy and Currency," "The Interest Rate Barometer of the State," and "Liberty and Small States." Furthermore, the original texts of the essays have been drastically cut, and many of the deleted passages concern the Humean interpretation of the political history of ancient Rome and of Roman manners, as in the following cases:

What cruel tyrants were the Romans over the world during the time of their commonwealth! It is true, they had laws to prevent oppression in their provincial magistrates; but Cicero informs us, that the Romans could not better consult the interests of the provinces than by repealing these very laws. For, in that case, says he, our magistrates, having entire impunity, would plunder no more than would satisfy their own rapaciousness; whereas, at present, they must also satisfy that of their judges, and of all the great men in Rome, of whose protection they stand in need...

The ages of greatest public spirit are not always most eminent for private virtue. Good laws may beget order and moderation in the government, where the manners and customs have instilled little humanity or justice into the tempers of men. The most illustrious period of the Roman history, considered in a political view, is that between the beginning of the first and end of the last Punic war; the due balance between the nobility and the people being then fixed by the contests of the tribunes, and not being yet lost by the extent of conquests.

The laws against external superstition, amongst the Romans, were as ancient as the time of the twelve tables; and the Jews as well as Christians were sometimes punished by them; though, in general, these laws were not rigorously executed. Immediately after the conquest of Gaul, they forbid all but the natives to be initiated into the religion of the Druids; and this was a kind of persecution. In about a century after this conquest, the emperor, Claudius, quite abolished that superstition by penal laws; which would have been a very grievous persecution, if the imitation of the Roman manners had not, before-hand, weaned the Gauls from their ancient prejudices.

Moreover, fourteen pages of the essay “Of the Rise and Progress of the Arts and Sciences” have been deleted entirely, and in the same essay the following passage is not present: “The English are become sensible of the scandalous licentiousness of their stage, from the example of the French decency and morals. The French are convinced, that their theatre has become somewhat effeminate, by too much love and gallantry; and begin to approve of the more masculine taste of some neighbouring nations.” Hume’s “Of National Characters” suffers the same fate: the last five pages have been expunged, and in addition to the notes that refer to the history of Rome, large amounts of the footnotes have been deleted, including the following, notorious passage about “Negro slaves”: “Not to mention our colonies, there are Negro slaves dispersed all over Europe, of whom none ever discovered any symptoms of ingenuity; though low people, without education, will start up amongst us, and distinguish themselves in every profession. In Jamaica, indeed, they talk of one Negro as a man of parts and learning; but it is likely he is admired for slender accomplishments, like a parrot, who speaks a few words plainly.” Similarly, the volume edited by Formigari excludes two essays with a strong ideological point of view, “Of National Characters” and “Of Some Remarkable Customs,” and often cuts Hume’s original notes, in many cases replacing them with explanatory notes by the editor.

The reasons for this rather singular way of introducing the Italian public to Hume’s political thought are very likely connected to the cultural and ideological context of the 1970s. The unusual handling reserved for these texts can be considered one of those instances in which the translation of a “classic” fits fully into the dissemination of certain political ideas in a given historical epoch, and in which the reflection on the act of translation is an ideological operation in itself, dictated by objectives that only partially coincide with those of the author of the translated texts. These Italian editions from the 1970s apparently responded to a need to bend Hume’s political ideas in order to conform to dominant ideologies and cultural strategies of publishers from that period. I am not at all sure that it is possible, in cases like these, to speak of censorship, but the failure to publish an entire essay such as “Of National Characters”—in which Hume empirically describes national identity and gives a crucial lesson to the Scottish literati, opposing Montesquieu’s climatic theory and playing down the importance of physical causes in favor of moral and sociological ones—seems to respond to the desire to obscure or conceal ideas and intellectual approaches considered too nationalistic or chauvinistic, or too conservative or “reactionary” (to use a term fashionable in the prevailing Italian culture of those years). The frequent translation of the word “nation,” not as “nazione” but rather as “paese” (country) or “popolo” (people) illustrates this point. So does the deletion of passages considered politically incorrect today, such as the footnote containing Hume’s vision of black people, which, instead of being an instance of racism, as is commonly alleged, actually reflects a methodology in the sciences of man, and can be connected—as Aaron Garrett and Silvia Sebastiani have pointed out (“David Hume on Race,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy and Race*, ed. Naomi Zack [2017], p. 417)—to passages in Hume’s other works and to a broader Scottish and European historical setting.

In part, this editorial policy aimed at favoring texts that were closer to a certain ideological line and discarding ones that diverged from it. We see evidence of this policy in the full translation of the footnote in which Hume describes clergymen as “drawn from the common mass of mankind, as people are to other employments, by the views of profit, the greater part, though no atheists or free-thinkers,” as persons who “feign more devotion than they are, at that time, possessed of, and to maintain the appearance of fervour and seriousness, even when jaded with the exercises of their religion, or when they have their minds engaged in the common occupations of life.” Passages like this one are fully accepted in the cultural strategy of an anticlerical and irreligious ideology, with which Hume was directly associated in Italy.

On these choices a certain influence was probably exerted by the *oikophobia*, that is the “fear of the home,” the intellectual prejudice against nation, the cultural intolerance toward the homeland, that in Italy has developed into a significant force, as I have argued in “Oikophobic Prejudice Against Nation in the Contemporary Political Thought: The Italian Case,” *Notizie di Politeia*, 31.118 (2015): 3–22. Since the 1970s many editorial projects have responded to the ideological need to disseminate specialized studies, through which it has been claimed that Italian people have never had a closed national identity and that Italy is a “light” national community, both because it does not recognize itself as having a common, collective interest, and because the real asset of the Italian people has always been not unity but diversity—the union of different cultures and the multiplicity of small countries. Any other perspective was seen as an intruder in this context of positions, and Hume’s perspective must have been considered as such. It is true that the Italy built on the ruins of the Second World War has inevitably developed a deep distrust of nationalist rhetoric that, embodied by fascism, had so removed the republican and liberal legacy.

From my point of view, as a historian of modern political thought faced with these circumstances, it seemed imperative to deal with Hume in a new way, which would enable Italian students and scholars to read and interpret his political thought in its completeness and in its various articulations. In this way, it would be possible

to formulate critical and historical judgments as autonomously as possible, which could give Hume the centrality in the modern political era that he deserves. I therefore decided to undertake a complete edition of Hume's political writings in Italian, in hopes of filling a large historiographical gap and bringing to light the Hume who had remained so long in the shadows. From such an edition, I imagined it would be possible for readers of Italian to grasp his coherence, originality, scientific objectivity, and ability to anticipate research guidelines and perspectives.

My Italian edition of Hume's political writings was published in 2016 as *Libertà e moderazione. Scritti politici*. It was based on the last edition of Hume's *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (London: T. Cadell, Edinburgh: A. Donaldson & W. Creech, 1777), which had been subject to final review by Hume himself. It was reproduced, with an apparatus of notes, including the variants which are present in the various previous editions, in *The Philosophical Works of David Hume* in four volumes, edited by T. H. Green and T. H. Grose, which first appeared in London in 1874–75. Because of the evident affinity of the political themes addressed, I have added to the original *Essays, Political and Moral* (1741–42), united with the *Political Discourses* (1752), the following essays: "Of the Origin of Government" and "Of the Political Obedience," whose texts are drawn, respectively, from sections VII and IX of the second part of the third book of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40), and "The Origin of Justice and Property," taken from the first part of the third section of *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals* (1751). The texts of the twenty-nine essays included in this collection are translated in their entirety and contain all of Hume's own notes. The only essay left out of this volume, because of its excessive length, is "Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations" (1752), which also remained outside the previous Italian editions of the 1970s. However, I have edited and published an Italian translation of this essay separately, in *Rivista di politica* (2016): 43–78.

The introduction to my volume highlights the importance of a rediscovery of Hume's political thought, focusing on his ideas on the origin of government and political obedience and his vision of ideals such as freedom, property, justice, free market, political stability, public opinion, moderation and anti-fanaticism, and national and international order—all topics that are a precious source of inspiration for the development of liberalism, political realism, and conservatism. In particular, with regard to this last point, which Giarrizzo had glimpsed without investigating it to the hilt, the introduction outlines the features that characterize Hume's skeptical-conservative approach to politics (even if the conservatives who follow him, perhaps because they are too attached to a religious dimension of conservatism, do not fully accept him as one of their own). These features are counter-revolutionary demand; mistrust of sudden and violent innovations; skepticism toward abstractions; opposition to rationalist arrogance; respect for custom, institutional continuity, and tradition; need for the preservation of stability; rejection of ideological rhetoric, sectarianism, and dogmatism; defense of national interest; and constant denial of cultural fashions and intellectual subsidies.

Another gap in Hume's writings in Italy concerns the quarrel with Rousseau. Curiously, after the Venetian edition of 1767, which appeared a year after the publication of *A Concise and Genuine Account of the Dispute between Mr. Hume and Mr. Rousseau, with the Letters that Passed between them during their Controversy* (London: T. Becket and P. A. de Hondt, 1766), no edition had been published in Italy of Hume's account of this famous dispute. I have tried to correct this deficiency in D. Hume, *Contro Rousseau* (Milan: Bietti, 2017), the first translation in modern Italian, conducted directly from Hume's English text. In a long introductory essay, I argue that at the origin of the quarrel there were opposing styles and philosophical views of the world and of politics: Hume's language is dispassionate, Rousseau's emotional; Hume is a combination of reason and skepticism, Rousseau a creature of feeling and certainty; Hume is the diplomat, the political thinker who reflects on the national identities and the meaning of Europe, Rousseau the fugitive, naturalist, and precursor (through the myth of the good savage) of that veneration of the "other" that often hides a profound self-hatred; Hume is a realist who theorizes about the origin of the state by force, war, conquest, and obedience of the subject as passive obedience based on habit, Rousseau a theorist of the social contract, that is a mere philosophical fiction. Hume, as James A. Harris has pointed out in *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (2015), accepts the connection between pride and appetite for luxury, while Rousseau views luxury as the mother of laxity and vanity, depriving the state of all its citizens by making them slaves to one another.

During my research on Hume as a political thinker, I came to realize that he has not been adequately considered as a statesman. His participation in public affairs, as the secretary of a general, an analyst of war, a diplomat and under-secretary of state, was never forced, but rather heartfelt, protracted for long periods of his life, and appreciated by his contemporaries. The result of this realization was *Scritti sulla guerra 1745–48* (Milan: Mimesis, 2017), which collects and translates, for the first time in Italian, Hume's writings on war. This volume includes *A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, late Lord Provost of Edinburgh*, printed in London, for Mary Cooper, in 1748; *Account of the Descent on the Coast of Brittany and the Causes of its Failure*

(1746), the manuscript of which is kept at the National Library of Scotland and was transcribed, with the title *Fragments of a Paper in Hume's Handwriting, Describing the Coast of Brittany, in 1746, and the Causes of its Failure*, by John Hill Burton, who edited it for the first time in an appendix to the first volume of his pioneering *Life and Correspondence of David Hume* (Edinburgh: William Tait, 1846, vol. 1, pp. 441–56); and the letters to Hume's brother John Home of Ninewells, from 3 March to 16 June 1748, concerning the account of the *Mission at the Courts of Vienna and Turin*, also published for the first time in Burton's *Life and Correspondence of David Hume* (vol. 1, pp. 240–66). My introductory essay to the volume was conceived in the awareness that for the purposes of an organic and objective reconstruction of Hume's political thought, Hume's involvement in the practice of policy is as important as his theory, because of his conception of politics as a descriptive and non-logical science. In other words, Hume was not only a lover of political speculation, who dealt with politics in works such as *A Treatise of Human Nature; Essays, Moral and Political; Political Discourses*; and *The History of England*, but also an expert in military strategies and techniques; a friend and confidant of generals, ministers, parliamentarians, local administrators, dukes, and barons; a loyal intelligence officer at the service of his nation; and an acute observer of the personalities of some of the greatest sovereigns of the eighteenth century. He was also an original interpreter of international relations and of war, which he experienced first-hand on the battlefield and narrated from a historical-realistic perspective on the example of the Greek and Roman classics, which had shaped his perceptions.

Finally, if we, here in Italy, wish to acquire full understanding of Hume's political thought, Hume's youthful writings cannot be neglected. Therefore, I have published D. Hume, *Civiltà e barbarie. Scritti giovanili* (Milan: Mimesis, 2018). This volume contains translations of two previously unpublished manuscripts housed in the National Library of Scotland in Edinburgh: "An Historical Essay on Chivalry and Modern Honour," presumably composed in 1731, and the "Memoranda"—a precious collection of more than three hundred aphorisms, summaries, and quotations from the classics, dating back to the decade preceding the publication of Hume's principal works. In order to facilitate the use of "Memoranda" by historians of ideas, I have indicated in a note, for each modern author cited by Hume, the edition of the work he used, as well as the collections of the periodicals he consulted. These writings bear witness to intense and varied bibliographic research activity by the young Hume, focused mainly on issues of politics, religion, law, and economics, while he was animated by a profound interest in the development of social and political institutions and the process of civilization in modern Scotland. These texts are of enormous historical value, since they offer a singular panorama of the sources and the genesis of the thought of the greatest British philosopher of the eighteenth century.

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2018–31 Dec. 2018

Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2018: £21,596.16

Income: +£1239.00 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal)

Expenses: -£226 (conference travel grant)

Balance 31 Dec. 2018: £22,609.16

Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2018: \$19,725.49

Income: \$7832.04 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal: \$2428.55; transfers from PayPal: \$3903.49; ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship: \$1500)

Expenses: -\$4996.72 (newsletter printing & prep: \$1288; newsletter mailing: \$807.12; website fees [BlueHost and Sitelock for security issue]: \$765.99; equipment, supplies, and photocopying [Staples & Amazon]: \$200.45; Glasgow conference: \$754.40 [Exec. Board dinner meeting and fees: \$378.55; Exec. Sec.: \$248.46; gift and plaque: \$127.39]; ASECS conference Orlando: \$537.76; NJ nonprofit registration: \$53; new logo design: \$350; Bank of America adjustments: \$240.00)

Balance 31 Dec. 2018: 22,560.81

PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2018: \$1534.82

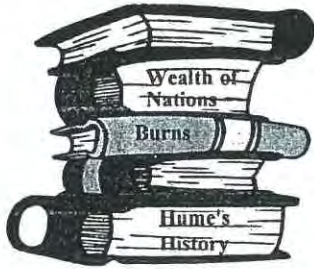
Net Income (after PayPal and currency transfer fees): +\$3174 (dues, book orders, and contributions)

Withdrawals: -\$3903.49 (transfers to Bank of America checking account)

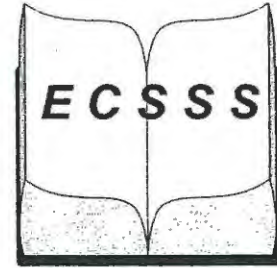
Balance 31 Dec. 2018: \$805.33

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2018 [vs. 31 Dec. 2017]: £22,609.16 [£21,596.16] + \$23,366.14 [\$21,260.31]

ECSSS/ASECS Daiches-Manning Memorial Fellowship Fund, University of Edinburgh, as of 31 Dec. 2018 (vs. 31 Dec. 2017): £49,873 (£46,184)



BOOKS in REVIEW



Review Essay: Recent Books on Scottish Common Sense Philosophy

By John P. Wright, Central Michigan University

Between them, Douglas McDermid's monograph, *The Rise and Fall of Scottish Common Sense Realism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. xii + 228) and Charles Bradford Bow's edited collection, *Common Sense in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. viii + 226) present a comprehensive view of the main school of Scottish philosophy in the eighteenth and the first three quarters of the nineteenth century.

McDermid's book focuses on five philosophers: Henry Home (Lord Kames), Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, William Hamilton, and James Ferrier. The first four supported the realism of common sense perception, while the last was its critic. McDermid provides a detailed (some might say overly detailed) analysis of the arguments of the Scottish common sense realists, who believed that in perception we are directly aware of the external world, and not through representative ideas. The book begins with an extensive analysis of the philosophy of perception advanced by the most original founder of the group, Thomas Reid. Reid's main target, of course, was the skepticism of David Hume, and his main defense against that skepticism concerning the existence of an external world was an appeal to the common sense belief in such a world. McDermid focuses on this appeal in the first chapter, which also contains short accounts of the philosophies of Reid's colleagues at the University of Aberdeen, including James Beattie and George Campbell.

Chapter 2 turns the clock back and discusses Kames's attack on Hume's skepticism by an appeal to the priority of the "perceptual reliability" of our *feeling* that we encounter an independent external world. McDermid underplays the differences between Kames and Reid—the latter having based our belief in such a world on an intellectual conception as opposed to any feeling. He bases his account on Kames's *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (1751), which was a direct answer to Hume's *Philosophical Essays Concerning Human Understanding* (1748). Like both Hume and Reid, Kames denies that our common sense beliefs are based on reason or argument. Indeed, it is hard to find in Kames the main arguments we associate with common sense realism.

To find those arguments, we need to turn to the detailed discussion of Reid's brilliant and original anti-empiricist account of sense perception in the third and most substantial chapter in the book, titled "Reid and the Problem of the External World." Here McDermid makes clear the difference between the primary/secondary quality distinction in Reid on the one hand, and in Descartes and Locke on the other. For the latter, secondary qualities are in the mind and primary qualities in the external object. However, Reid's "main claim is that the conceptions of primary qualities given by our senses are 'direct and distinct,' whereas the conceptions of the secondary qualities given to us by our senses are merely 'relative and obscure'" (pp. 85–86). For Reid the confusion about the nature of secondary qualities arises because we use one and the same word, e.g. red, for both a sensation and an external quality which is the cause of sensation. Nevertheless, common sense is not confused in using the word sometimes for the one and sometimes for the other, as philosophers like Descartes and Locke maintained. Secondary qualities are not mere "ideas," as they claimed. McDermid makes clear Reid's most fundamental point against his predecessors: his anti-empiricism. Sensations do not resemble qualities in external objects. Rather, "when we perceive an external object by our senses, we have a sensation conjoined with a firm belief in the existence and sensible qualities of the external object" (p. 90). Our sensations do not resemble anything external, but *suggest* those external objects which we conceive of through primary qualities. Empiricists like Locke and Hume fail to understand that we have conceptions which are not sensations—and this is the essence of Reid's common sense realism. "Reid holds that sensations function as *signs* of external objects and their qualities, that is, as inputs or triggers which 'suggest' to the mind a conception of a thing and a belief in its present existence" (p. 101).

McDermid discusses "Stewart and Hamilton: Defenders of the Faith" in Chapter 4. He stresses that both

philosophers were self-consciously Scottish thinkers who defended a nationalistic Scottish philosophy. But both need to be recognized as original philosophers in their own right. McDermid stresses that Hamilton attempted a synthesis of the philosophies of Reid and Kant, particularly in his two-volume edition of *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D. with Notes and Supplementary Dissertations*. Many of Hamilton's notes are quite critical of Reid, especially his distortions of the views of his predecessors. In particular, Hamilton points out that there are good reasons to consider Descartes himself as a direct realist.

At the end of the book, McDermid discusses with great wit Ferrier's criticisms of Reid. In two groundbreaking chapters, "Ferrier and the Myth of Scottish Common Sense Realism" and "Ferrier and the Foundations of Idealism," Ferrier is shown to be a systematic critic of Reid, and in particular of Reid's critique of what he called the theory of ideas. Summarizing a quotation of Ferrier's, McDermid writes: "Poor old Dr Reid, we are given to understand, was neither much of a thinker nor much of a scholar; and by far the best thing about *The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D.* is Hamilton's contribution: the aforementioned 'Copious Notes and Supplementary Dissertations'. Subtle and learned, clear yet deep, acute but bold, Hamilton is everything that the pedestrian Reid is not" (p. 138). By contrast, Ferrier asserts that "Reid is a superficial and confused philosophaster" (p. 139). As the last chapter emphasizes, Ferrier returns to the idealist philosophy of Berkeley.

Not surprisingly, most of the chapters in Charles Bradford Bow's edited collection on Scottish common sense philosophy focus on Reid, the finest and most original thinker in the group. Two chapters stand out as exceptions: R.J.W. Mills on James Beattie's *Essay on Truth* and Bow on Dugald Stewart. Mills stresses that Beattie was first and foremost a poet and linguist who arrived at a discussion of the science of the human mind through his teaching duties in moral philosophy. He does discuss the influence on Beattie of his predecessor in the moral philosophy chair at Marischal College, Aberdeen, Alexander Gerard, and of other friends in Aberdeen and Edinburgh. Bow makes it clear that while Stewart was Reid's student, he was in no way a blind follower and often reacted to the political situation in Britain in the late 1790s, which was very different from that which existed during Reid's lifetime. In particular, there was a reaction to any philosophical innovations which threatened the status quo, and especially those which were associated with the French Revolution by French philosophers like Condorcet, whose views were initially endorsed by Stewart. Particularly interesting is Bow's discussion of Stewart's criticism of Reid's philosophy of science—his strong objection to hypotheses of any kind—and Stewart's defense of John Leslie's views on gravitation and causation against the objections of Edinburgh clergymen.

Having said that, I want to express my admiration for the discussions of Reid's philosophy in all the chapters of the book. In "Common Sense and Ideal Theory in Seventeenth-Century Scottish Philosophy," Giovanni Gellera traces Reid's direct realism back to Cartesian skepticism and direct realist responses to it by late scholastics. He also argues, correctly I believe, that the ideal theory that Reid criticized was not as prevalent as Reid believed. In "Was Reid a Moral Realist?" Gordon Graham contends that, unlike Hume, Reid argued that moral qualities exist in objective reality, and that Reid successfully refuted Hume's moral skepticism. In "Reid on Our Mental Constitution," Claire Etcheagaray discusses Hume's and Reid's use of the concept of our mental constitution. She argues that, according to Reid, we know the external world directly and our own mental constitution indirectly and only through phenomena. Reid holds that just as Newton thought we could not comprehend gravitation, so we cannot comprehend the causes of our mental faculties. She stresses the importance of theism in Reid's argument that we can trust the principles of common sense which are derived from our mental constitution. Reid holds an objective theory of truth, according to which truth must be distinguished from the truth of the propositions that deliver it.

In "On the Ancestry of Reid's *Inquiry*: Stewart, Fearn, and Reid's Early Manuscripts," Giovanni B. Grandi carefully reconstructs Reid's development of his theory of visual perception from manuscripts written prior to its full development in the *Inquiry into the Human Mind*. He canvases the view suggested by Stewart, that Reid derived his view that primary qualities do not resemble our sensations from Hutcheson's *Essay on the Nature and Conduct of the Passions*. However, by the evidence of the manuscripts, Grandi shows that Reid first held the view that our ideas of extension copy the manner of arrangement of color sensations before arriving at the view that they do not resemble sensations at all. He also considers early nineteenth-century criticisms of Reid's theory of perception by John Fearn.

Esther Engels Kroeker discusses Reid's criticism of Hume's moral theory in a chapter titled "A Common Sense Response to Hume's Moral Atheism: Reid on Morality and Theism." She argues that Reid rejects Hume's theory that moral sentiments are passions and is primarily concerned with Hume's view that we cannot ascribe moral properties to the deity—as becomes clear from the *Dialogues Concerning Natural Religion*. Nevertheless, she stresses that, like Hume, Reid holds that our own moral judgments are true independent of religion. It is true, for Reid, unlike Hume, they are mind independent matters of fact. In "Hume and the Common Sense Philosophers," James A. Harris stresses the points of agreement among Hume, Reid, and Campbell. Their main differences revolved around Reid and Campbell's view that philosophy is mainly a practical discipline. They all saw Hume's skepticism as undermining philosophy's positive effects on morality.

Although much has been written about the reception of common sense philosophy in Scotland, as well as America, much less has been written about its reception in England. In this book's penultimate chapter, "The 'New Empire of Common Sense': The Reception of Common Sense Philosophy in Britain, 1764–1793," Paul Wood focuses on that reception, not only by Joseph Priestley but also by other English writers. Some of the criticism was

merely *ad hominem*, centering on claims that Reid had plagiarized from Claude Buffier's writings. But like others in the volume, Wood stresses that many of the criticisms as well as arguments in support of the common sense school were "framed by the religious attitudes of their readers" (p. 196).

Both these books provide an excellent introduction to Scottish common sense philosophy. McDermid stresses only one side of it, namely its direct realist theory of perception and metaphysics, while the various essays in Bow's collection make clear that it also had a distinctive moral theory and theory of reason. I would not hesitate to put both books in the hands of students who wish to understand the dominant philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Murray Pittock, *Enlightenment in a Smart City: Edinburgh's Civic Development, 1660–1750*. Edinburgh University Press, 2019. Pp. ix + 285.

This informative, entertaining, and inexpensive pocket-sized book provides six chapters, with twenty-three black-and-white illustrations, introducing Edinburgh's development from 1660 to 1750. The city's enlightenment and physical development are discussed through a huge variety of subjects, including art education, Freemasonry, international links, literature, poetry, politics, publication, and urban planning.

Despite the broad title, this book is focused on a particular aspect of Edinburgh's civic development, and the analyses are at their most engaging when they build on the author's previous works concerning literature, poetry, and Jacobites. The powers of Jacobite heritage and community recall Pittock's *Inventing and Resisting Britain: Cultural Identities in Britain and Ireland, 1685–1789* (1997), and Allan Ramsay's support for the Jacobite cause follows from Pittock's article in the *Review of English Studies*, "Allan Ramsay and the Decolonisation of Genre" (2007), and the second edition of *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans: The Jacobite Army in 1745* (2009), which addressed the systematic misrepresentation of the Jacobite cause, its aims and followers among ordinary people. *Enlightenment in a Smart City* clearly communicates how the Jacobite message was presented in order to attract support. It also evokes the everyday experiences of urban life, explaining how and why the inheritance of Scottish and Stuart legacies made following the Jacobite cause credible and welcoming amidst its followers' rich mix of nobles, professional classes, and trades people. Together, Pittock argues, they are central to understanding the whole city at this time.

As a museum curator, I find it satisfying to read about Edinburgh and its leading lights in relation to the city's museums and galleries, with references to art collections and curators working at the National Galleries of Scotland. The approach follows the one in Pittock's *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688–1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (2013), citing the curators at the National Museums of Scotland and Glasgow Museums. As in that book, the reader meets Allan Ramsay, Sir Alexander Dick, the Earl of Dunbar, and Jacobite physicians and Freemasons in Rome and Edinburgh, and once again enters Patrick Steill's Cross Keys Tavern. The city's Jacobites lived and socialized next to one another. One wonders, however, whether more could have been done in regard to this point, using primary archival sources from Edinburgh City Archives, such as Dean of Guild Court processes, with their plans of buildings and accounts of local duties. Taken together, such sources reveal what Edinburgh once looked like, and who lived where. For example, were there once Jacobite districts, streets, and tenements, which can be mapped? Similarly, the book would have benefited from closer analyses of what Jacobite art looked like, where it was produced, and where one can find accessible Jacobite collections in Edinburgh today. Color illustrations would also have helped, as black-and-white images of tartan are not adequate.

The author introduces one Jacobite after another in a bookshop, an art auction, a Masonic lodge, a tavern, and a tenement or house. The chapters constitute a who's who of Edinburgh's Jacobites, sharing the author's expert knowledge of their patronage, secret codes, and symbolism as if recharging a toasting glass in the Cross Keys. Even before refraining to a Canongate tenement or lodge, we are introduced to allied links with Holland and Rome. The community was an international concern, and so the city's development is interpreted in terms of Scotland's links with Europe, and the known world, rather than in relation to London, Parliament, and the Hanoverian court. The power of words and symbols of Jacobite poems, songs, ceremonies, and patronage to create believers and followers is reminiscent of earlier studies of Renaissance art history and patronage. With Thomas Ruddiman at the *Caledonian Mercury* newspaper, media stories and promotions of publications and social events were possible.

The book offers such an all-encompassing, interdisciplinary narrative that there is something here for everyone. In scale and price, this is an introduction for both general readers and academics—a must for every tea table (or should that be desktop?). Title and text use contemporary terms such as smart, connectivity, router, and node, presenting the development of Edinburgh in terms of modern communications systems. Although citizens at the time did not own smart phones, or tablets, such was the control the Jacobite group exerted over media that they had an efficient and effective communications system in place. Social gatherings of like-minded people ("homophile/homophilous" terminology is often used) were easy to organize and promote, joining people and institutions.

Pittock argues that this unity provided Edinburgh with distinctly Scottish and Jacobite legacies and an identity: a functioning, collective, social memory of a Stuart past anchored in the city's institutions and family histories. Indeed, Edinburgh developed because it was a Stuart city. The book introduces realities of being a Jacobite in Edinburgh with secret service agents, codes, and symbols. If an Edinburgh museum or gallery should ever wish to display the Enlightenment, the scholarship in this book and its author's deep knowledge of the subject would

provide a platform from which to immerse visitors.

Because Pittock believes that the role of Jacobites has been neglected, he overlooks Hanoverian Great Britain and the British Empire as driving forces of urban development. Hopefully, Edinburgh University Press will commission a second book to follow this one, providing a more detailed and comprehensive guided tour. Such a book could offer assessments of the role of the Edinburgh Town Council, the Church of Scotland, and more generally the Hanoverian contributions to Edinburgh's development. With regard to urban planning, for example, it is necessary to take into account Lord Provost George Drummond's career and work with William Adam, and the pursuit of the New Town. Using Pittock's criteria regarding symbolism, an assessment of Scottish identity should note the Edinburgh Town Council's annual processions, dressing militia with thistle cockades, or the establishment of the Thistle Bank in Glasgow in 1761. With regard to collective memory, the plan to preserve the nation's archives in Register House was a Hanoverian/Government offer from 1723 onward, not promoted by the Jacobites. Furthermore, the concept of ideological allegiance was complicated by the existence of double agents who supported both sides in order to preserve property, possessions, and family.

Enlightenment in a Smart City encourages questions and whets the appetite for more knowledge and conversation about what it meant to be a Jacobite in late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Edinburgh. The references to archives and published scholarship, as well as museum and art collections, are generous and inspire further research, reading, and discovery. If discovery and learning are aspects of enlightenment and development, then this book provides many opportunities to debate, remember, and disseminate the glories of Scotland's capital.

Anthony Lewis, Glasgow Museums

Allan Ramsay. Special issue of *The Scottish Literary Review*. Volume 10, Issue 1 (Spring/Summer 2018).

Don't expect *The Scottish Literary Review's* special issue on Allan Ramsay to answer any pressing questions about the poet. That's not its intent. Murray Pittock's "Editorial" introduces the collection as a sort of teaser for what the AHRC might expect from the one million pounds they awarded to The Edinburgh Ramsay Project. He promises a "full textual edition of Allan Ramsay to replace the never entirely satisfactory and now very outdated Scottish Text Society version" (p. v).

There are nine articles here from familiar hands. Steve Newman's nuanced pursuit of the etymological and sociocultural resonances of "hodden-gray" takes us from the pastoral to the proverbial Ramsay. Ronnie Young picks up Newman's argument with some overlap, before studying Ramsay's actual and imagined readerships, as the poet "courts popular patronage through a flattering portrait of a Scots peasantry engaged in honest labour" (p. 31). Both scholars leave the impression that Ramsay is quite canny in reintroducing rural Scotland to an increasingly urban one, through a Scots idiom homely enough to reassure his Scottish readers and exotic enough to appeal to his English ones. Rhona Brown's contribution, which is rooted in her increasing stature as *the* authority on eighteenth-century Scottish journalism, shows us just how effective Ramsay was in this regard: his "afterlives" continue in newspapers and magazines well into the nineteenth century. Ephemera and reputation are a medium and a message well met. In Brown's study, the bricks-and-mortar Ramsay who made Edinburgh a "smart city" through his circulating library, theatre, and art school became a "nostalgic escape" in the emerging Victorian press, selling "the domesticity of the Scottish cottage" (p. 107) and "literary tourism" (p. 108). Sandro Jung's examination of James Robertson's 1802 edition of Ramsay's poetry introduces us to book illustration as a means of recycling standard images: this eventually limited the poetry in its serial editions to stock pastoral images of the sort that made Burns a Saturday night entertainment. Such illustrations almost become postcards for Brown's "literary tourism."

We come quickly in this collection to the realization that Ramsay's canon is founded on the poet's engagement with performance: for despite his success as a bestselling author who was fully aware of the commercial nature of books (after all, he sold and lent them himself, with considerable financial success), Ramsay was in the thrall of the theatre. Several of the contributions underscore this in complementary ways. David McGuinness and Aaron McGregor's efforts at "reconstructing [the] poet's musical memory" result in the most demanding article in this collection. It reminds us of what is often overlooked: the market for musical texts in Edinburgh in the early eighteenth century and the place of individuals such as the music publisher and bookseller Robert Bremner in developing it. Ramsay's role is not insignificant. By creating a readership for the Scots vernacular, he helped develop an audience for Scots tunes. But Ramsay himself "did not provide a musical text of his own" (p. 49); he relied on the aural tradition that readers brought to his song texts, printing only the traditional tune's title. Notably, as McGuinness and McGregor remind us, even *The Gentle Shepherd* did not print music for its early stagings; the 1758 Glasgow edition was the first to include the score (p. 53). In their peregrination through the print settings for Scots songs, the authors caution us not separate words from scores when considering the publication of Scottish music. To do so is to fall into the antiquarian trap of identifying a folk tradition that loses sight of the social dynamics underlying the emergence of a commercially viable market for Scots songs. Pauline Mackay's delight in "Ramsay's penchant for bawdry" (p. 90) also speaks to the essentially performative nature of his poetry, when she describes Ramsay's efforts as the "renovation of traditional bawdy verse (the bawdy made beautiful)" (p. 90). Unlike Burns, whose collected bawdry passed through private hands, Ramsay's "renovations" were open to the public. When Ramsay wasn't renovating past tastes, he was anticipating contemporary ones, with a "swiftness to the

pulse” of the public’s lasciviousness (p. 86). Like other contributors, Mackay reminds us of Ramsay’s role in the Easy Club, its performative nature, and the flyting of “The Petition of Samuel Colville” (p. 76). The Easy Club’s attendance to the syntax of Mr. Spectator did not exclude the cadences of the vernacular. Scotland’s culture seems ever a dialogue, and often a rammy, between two eloquences, with the presence or absence of bawdry distinguishing the two. Mackay joins McGuinness and McGregor in implying that the vitality of the page depends very much on orality and auralty—on what needs to be performed to be completed.

Stuart Gillespie closes out the volume with an argument for a previously unknown Ramsay imitation of Horace’s “Letter of Invitation.” His close reading is persuasive, but more intriguing is Gillespie’s suggestion that “we imagine its author performing a reading in the presence of this very group of friends” for whom and about whom the imitation was composed (p. 167). This is a fitting final image for the collection: Allan Ramsay in character, center stage, his vernacular voice eliciting a knowing laughter that defines his authentic Scotland within the artifice of the Union. Fitting too that the text evoking that image has been long lost. As Craig Lamont demonstrates in his article, much to the shame of Scotland and its literary scholars, Ramsay has been mostly commemorated by being forgotten or inadequately recalled (as in Ramsay Gardens). So, let’s hope that this special issue is not long in being followed, not just by the Edinburgh edition of Ramsay’s work but also by a thorough reconsideration of his life and of his place as the founder of Scotland’s modern theatre. Is the National Theatre of Scotland listening?

Stephen W. Brown, Trent University

The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns, Volumes 2 and 3: The Scots Musical Museum. Edited by Murray Pittock. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Pp. viii + 727 (vol. 2), pp viii + 318 (vol 3).

In 1786, when Burns met James Johnson, the first number of *The Scots Musical Museum* (*SMM*) was already nearing completion. Burns submitted a few texts for that first volume, which appeared in May 1787, and by the time of his death in July 1796 had contributed hundreds more. Many were Burns’s own but others were hybrids, existing stanzas that he reworked in degrees varying from slight to significant. Even stanzas in his hand might not be by Burns; some are, or might be, transcriptions from performance or recitation. Murray Pittock, editor of this venturesome new edition, therefore faced a difficult task. An authority on Jacobite song and Scottish national history, learned in stanzas and songbooks, he is well-equipped to guide readers through this tangle of songs. The most useful feature of this edition is its identification of stanzas printed in other sources before (sometimes long before) Burns sent Johnson similar lines. To verify earlier printings is greatly to clarify the poet’s degrees of intervention in the song-texts he changed.

It is splendid to have *SMM* complete, with notes for each song regardless of attribution. Yet that this essentially collaborative project appears under the aegis of The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns puts pressure on the terms “author,” “editor,” and “canon” when they are used in shifting contexts or defined in conflicting ways. Editing and authoring are sometimes seen as adjunct activities (“Burns’ editorial role and his authorial role are inseparable” [2:11]) but more often as contraries: “Burns was after all an *editor* far more than an *author* with respect to the *Museum*” (2:14; emphasis in original). Burns’s individual agency is at points wholly withheld: *SMM* is said to be “a social text, not an author’s text” (2:14). Prior scholars who have reached different conclusions are viewed as complicit with the “longstanding Romantic assumption of the author as a solitary genius” (2:11), although authors have been known to work in solitude. Yet not all scholars of Scottish folklore and song adopt the “social text” approach: John Morris, for instance, has called it “a mistake to think of oral tradition as being in some strange way authorless” (“Chapbooks and Broad-sides,” in *Oral Literature and Performance Culture*, ed. John Beech et al., 2007, p. 373). An advantage of “understanding the *Museum* as primarily an *edition*...rather than an authored work,” argues Pittock, is that it “liberates this edition from the cliff-edge judgements of canonicity” (2:12; emphasis in the original), yet in practice he considers canonical issues as often as any editor, although one more invested in national-song canons than in Burns’s works per se: “*The Scots Musical Museum* is perhaps the underpinning canonical text of Scottish song” (2:1).

Pittock’s great strength is his wide-ranging knowledge of multiple printed sources. His commentary often diverges, however, into attacks on prior editors, especially James Kinsley, editor of *The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns* (1968), the most influential work in today’s consensus about Burns’s canon. Judging “Sweetest May,” for instance, as insufficiently by Burns to count among the poet’s own writings—not in itself an unreasonable position—Pittock does not so much build his own case as adopt John Glen’s (*Early Scottish Melodies*, 1900, p. 231) and express scorn for Kinsley’s: “Glen notes that the song is not fully by Burns, even though Kinsley retained it in the canon nearly seventy years later” (3:202). Contrary to Pittock’s implication, Kinsley’s own note on “Sweetest May” not only acknowledges a precursor-text but prints it in full, letting readers judge for themselves. Kinsley’s preface explains why he chose to include such hybrids: “an editor of Burns who is rigorously exclusive will...omit much that his author had a hand in...I have thought it right to be cautiously liberal” (1:vi).

This edition’s rubric—eight categories that mark declining degrees of Burns’s song-authorship—is well designed to respect the collective nature of song circulation and transmission while still approaching every text as unique. Yet it overlooks how even small changes in diction and word order can refashion a generic source into a memorable song, in the simple sense of being more easily remembered, vividly embodied, and thus more quickly learned and more widely circulated. Pittock’s emphasis on detecting in Burns’s revisions the presence—faint or

strong—of words from an earlier source precludes discussion of poetic elements; it also implicitly equates allusion with theft. According to Pittock's Category I, a work is not fully by Burns if any "prior antecedents [are] identified, or suspected." Even suspicion of an extra-Burnsian phrase or image moves the text away from 100 percent authorship. Burns's "Green Grows the Rashes," printed without music in Burns's *Poems* (1787) and copied into his *First Commonplace Book* as early as 1784, is placed not in Category I (fully by Burns) but in Category III (songs incorporating older motifs [3:21]). This does not mean that authorship is ruled out (that happens down in Category VI), but this classic song does receive a down-check.

According to this rubric, Coleridge's "Dejection, an Ode" would be less than fully authored, for line 76 echoes the opening phrase from Wordsworth's Immortality ode, and Coleridge not only mentions "the grand old ballad of Sir Patrick Spence" (l. 2) and takes four lines from "Sir Patrick" as his epigraph but draws general inspiration from the ballad's intimations of a gathering storm. The phrase "wild eyes like a roe" in line 11 of Byron's "Maid of Athens" combines allusions to two lines in Wordsworth's "Tintern Abbey" (ll. 152 and 69), which in this rubric would take Byron down a notch or two. This edition's emphasis on print predecessors—Pittock describes his method as providing "an archaeology of the sets and where possible the airs" (2:12)—looks back for prototypes rather than across or ahead to connections between Burns's songs for *SMM* and lyric poetry of the early Romantic era, though I should add that the Oxford edition does cover changing styles in music and performance. (Editor's note: a longer version of this review, with greater emphasis on its significance for Romantic poetry, appeared in the Autumn 2018 issue of *The Wordsworth Circle* 49:194–201.)

Users of this edition face a learning curve, for orientation can be confusing. After xiii + 40 pages of introductory comments, volume 2 consists mainly of facsimiles of the 600 *SMM* texts (pp. 41–700); due to discolored paper in the old volumes, some pages are taxing to read. Volume 3 consists chiefly of notes on the songs (pp. 1–212), with four appendices and indexes of titles and first lines. Introductory comments and notes are not indexed. Limited indexing requires readers to engage in circuit training to read a text with its note. "Green grows the rashes" is 124 (its page number) in the index in volume 3, but the note itself is linked to volume 2's text only as 1.77, its *SMM* number (vol. 1, no. 77). A double index listing page and *SMM* number would have helped.

This edition will be known for expelling many songs accepted as by Burns by Kinsley—as many as seventy if "Dubia" are counted. Interested readers should consult Appendix 2 ("Burns canon proposed revisions"), which lists thirty-one texts printed in Kinsley but rejected (i.e., put in Category VI) by Pittock. Nineteen further exclusions are suspended in a limbo between V and VI. While Pittock's rubric, with its lack of prosodic analysis, seems to me too narrowly based either for establishing or disestablishing authorship, the strong line it draws back to folk tradition is both valuable and interesting; and it is helpful to have these appendices. Overall, this edition suggests the clashing duties of a textual editor reconsidering the Burns canon and a historian of song inclined to assign to Scottish folk culture many hybrids that Burns certainly did not create *ab ovo* yet just as certainly did recast in the form by which they are known today. The argument made here for an extensive de-canonization of Burns's songs for *The Scots Musical Museum* does not persuade me. Yet the same point can be phrased more positively: this provocative edition seems sure to spark lively renewed debate.

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Walter Scott, *Marmion*. Edited by Ainsley McIntosh. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. The Edinburgh Edition of Walter Scott's Poetry. Pp. xv + 486.

In an 1814 letter to her niece Anna following the not-entirely-anonymous publication of *Waverley*, Jane Austen famously wrote: "Walter Scott has no business to write novels, especially good ones.—It is not fair.—He has Fame & Profit enough as a Poet, and should not be taking the bread out of other people's mouths." Given the current state of neglect of Scott's poetry, one could wonder where his fame as a poet went: there has not been a complete edition of his poetry in over a century. That is about to change.

On the heels of its thirty-volume, twenty-year project of publishing all of Scott's novels (1993–2012), Edinburgh University Press has turned its attention to a much-needed scholarly edition of his complete poems. The first volume, *Marmion* edited by Ainsley McIntosh, was published in June 2018 and is, according to the press, the first-ever scholarly edition of Scott's second long poem, first published in 1808. The Edinburgh Edition of Walter Scott's Poetry, under the general editorship of Alison Lumsden of the University of Aberdeen, will appear in ten volumes. It will include Scott's long poems, his short poems, poems from the novels, and his verse drama but not his edited works, *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and *Sir Tristrem*. The tenth volume will be *Scott's Reflections on Poetry*, which will find an eager audience among scholars of historical poetics. The new edition of *Marmion* is essential for any scholar concerned with Scott, Scottish literature, British poetry, or the Romantic era. It is the most reliable edition of the poem we have ever had.

Published three years after *The Lay of the Last Minstrel* and two years before *The Lady of the Lake*, *Marmion* is a major work both in form and content. More so than the *Lay*, it shows the influence of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's looser approach to rhyme scheme and verse paragraphing in *Christabel*. In many stanzas, iambic tetrameter and trimeter lines alternate in stanzas whose length is determined not by pattern but by narrative need. The poem is set amid the catastrophic (for the Scots) 1513 Battle of Flodden, which killed James IV and a host of Scottish nobles. Its story is one of separated lovers, a disguised knight who fights to restore his name, a deceitful nun im-

mured in a convent, forged documents, and a treacherous English nobleman named Marmion. The cast of characters includes not just James IV but also the Middle Scots makars Gawin Douglas and David Lyndsay.

Producing a new text of *Marmion* requires surveying over a dozen editions of the poem published in Scott's lifetime. This edition carefully explains and justifies its editorial methods and decisions. The base text used is the third edition, also of 1808, after which Scott stopped revising the poem. New errors also crept in; these have been emended chiefly by reference to Scott's manuscript and the first edition. John Gibson Lockhart's "confused" 1833–34 edition of Scott's poems—the basis of subsequent nineteenth-century editions—has been set aside as non-authoritative, its many problems noted. Not least of these problems was the mess Lockhart made of Scott's notes to the poem: instead of respecting Scott's placement of all 97 of his textual notes at the end of the poem, Lockhart put 15 in an appendix, sprinkled others throughout the poem as footnotes, and added 57 of his own. Scott's notes are essential both to his poem and to his antiquarian method of composition. In length and significance, they provide the model of self-annotation followed by Byron in *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. This edition restores Scott's notes to their proper number and place at the end of the text. The clarity brought to Scott's notes may be the edition's most welcome feature.

The apparatus is ample: of the book's approximately 500 pages, the text of the poem takes up only 208. The general introduction by Lumsden lays out the editorial principles of the series. The poem itself appears uncluttered and uncramped with appropriate spacing between the stanzas, unlike the editions of J. Logie Robertson and Horace Scudder from two turns of the century ago. Scott's notes to the poem, shorn of Lockhart's additions, take up 77 pages. The note on the text is comprehensive at 47 pages, followed by 16 pages of emendations. A historical note, also 16 pages, provides background information on Flodden and on Scott's sources, chiefly a 1778 edition of Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie's *The History of Scotland, from February 21, 1436, to March 1565* and a 1762 English translation of George Buchanan's *Rerum Scotticarum Historia*. Then the edition offers what may be its most impressive section: 109 pages of explanatory notes by the editor covering both poetic echoes and historical information in rich detail. Finally, there are 11 two-columned pages glossing individual words.

The only infelicity lies in the placement of the editor's notes to Scott's notes. They appear as a group at the end of the editor's notes to the entire poem rather than appropriately interspersed throughout the editor's notes to the poem. In order to read them at the right moment in the text, one would potentially need to have the book open to four places at once: the text of the poem, Scott's notes to the poem, the editor's notes to the poem, and the editor's notes to Scott's notes. This number could be reduced by one in future volumes of the series if the editor's notes to the poem and the editor's notes to Scott's notes were integrated rather than separated.

The Edinburgh Edition of Walter Scott's Poetry will remind the world that Scott was, as Austen knew only too well, a major poet before he became a major novelist. In her novel *Persuasion*, *Marmion* is one of Captain Benwick's favorite poems. Long narrative poems may no longer be a popular taste among the general public, let alone among forlorn sailors. That said, it is yet another mark of the Anglocentrism of the traditional Romantic poetic canon that Scott has been allowed to fall out of it. The availability of a reliable and properly researched edition of Scott's poetry should transform the study of Romantic literature and restore him to his place alongside Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Byron as a foundational Romantic poet.

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Timothy J. Shannon, *Indian Captive, Indian King: Peter Williamson in America and Britain*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018. Pp. viii + 343.

This is a remarkable book about an even more remarkable Scot. In June 1758 the Aboyne-born Williamson appeared in the streets of Aberdeen, dressed in the full regalia of a native American chief, ready and eager to tell the story of how as a young boy in Aberdeen he had been kidnapped and sold into slavery in America. In the book he had written describing his experiences—copies of which he had with him to hawk in the streets—he tells of his fate as an indentured servant in Pennsylvania; his becoming a soldier in the Seven Years' War; his capture and torture by the Indian allies of the French; and his experience as a French prisoner of war. Appalled above all by Williamson's insistence that his kidnapping had been made with the full cognizance of the city's merchants, the local magistrates had him arrested and imprisoned within days. They dismissed his whole story as nothing but lies, and banished him from the city.

The book Williamson had written in the months after his arrival back in Britain and his discharge from the army was called *French and Indian Cruelty*. Only a hundred pages long, it was a work of popular literature, a version of the well-established captivity narrative, designed above all to appeal to and entertain a mass audience. The first edition appeared in 1757 in York, where Williamson as a strolling player was staging his act as an Indian chief. After his banishment from Aberdeen, a second edition appeared in York in 1758. Subsequent editions were issued in Glasgow (1758), London (1759), Edinburgh (1762), and Dublin (1766). In every case, these editions coincided with Williamson appearing and performing in his Indian costume. But his book long outlived Williamson: versions of it appeared in no fewer than eleven editions in the nineteenth century.

At bottom Timothy J. Shannon's book is a meticulous analysis of the story that *French and Indian Cruelty* purports to tell. It is rigorously academic but will appeal to the general reader because it is a work of literary detection as exciting and absorbing as any thriller. There is none of the endless theorizing which is the bane of so much

academic writing today. Instead, there is shrewd and careful analysis of all the evidence available to evaluate the central elements of the story Williamson tells: his “kidnapping,” his life in Pennsylvania, his Indian “captivity,” his experience as a soldier in the Seven Years’ War, and his return to the United Kingdom and banishment from Aberdeen. Shannon invites the reader to join him in determining whether the city magistrates were right or wrong in dismissing Williamson’s tale as nothing but a pack of lies.

How exactly is the modern scholar able to do this? Largely as a result of Peter Williamson’s own behavior. Banished from Aberdeen, he soon settled in Edinburgh. In 1760, clearly making a good living from the income from his performances and the sale of his popular book, he opened in the city’s High Street the significantly named American Coffee Shop, where he no doubt continued to perform and sell more copies. More significantly still, in terms of the existence of Shannon’s book, in January 1760 Williamson launched a lawsuit against the city magistrates of Aberdeen. In the course of his book, Shannon frequently reminds us that the events he is describing are occurring in the heyday of the Scottish Enlightenment. Yet as he rightly sees it, it is the Scottish Enlightenment seen from the bottom up. Williamson was the son of a tenant farmer in Aberdeenshire, and he had arrived back in the United Kingdom as a penniless ex-soldier, with no social status or wealthy supporters. Yet here he is able to raise an action in the Court of Session, Scotland’s highest civil court, against the ruling magistrates of one of Scotland’s major cities. It is impossible to believe that a person with his background could have been able to do as much even a single generation earlier.

Williamson proved to be a formidable legal adversary. He prepared his case by accumulating a large body of testimonies from witnesses concerning his identity and the events surrounding his transportation across the Atlantic in a vessel called the *Planter* in 1743. Then there are further depositions about his joining the British army and aspects of his service. All this material survives in the court records, and it enables Shannon to build a detailed and convincing account of what actually went on in Williamson’s life. He concludes that while it was true that Aberdeen merchants were regularly involved in illegally transporting young people as indentured servants to the American colonies, Williamson exaggerated when he claimed he was “kidnapped” on board the *Planter*. His claim in the early editions of his book that he was only eight years old when dispatched to Pennsylvania is certainly false—all the evidence suggests he would have been thirteen or fourteen. His service in the British army in America, leading up to his capture by the French, is well documented, and Shannon regards this as the most reliable section of the book. But, crucially, various other elements in Williamson’s account of his American experience just do not add up, and are almost certainly pure fiction. Above all, Shannon convincingly dismisses the writer’s account of his Indian “captivity” as “a bald-faced lie.”

French and Indian Cruelty turns out to be a mixture of truth and falsehood. Williamson did not hesitate to pretend that he himself had witnessed and suffered the horrific cruelties that native Americans were regularly accused of perpetrating during the Seven Years’ War: the scalping of the dead and alive, the burning at the stake, and other forms of torture. He knew full well that this was the kind of material that would make his book a bestseller. And he was right. It’s worth remembering that in the middle of the eighteenth century Williamson was helping to establish what for the following two centuries would become the stereotypical image of those who in my childhood were still called “Red Indians”—the war cries, war dances, tomahawks, scalping knives, moccasins, powwows, wampum, headdresses, and so on.

However, the veracity of *French and Indian Cruelty* was not at issue in the case Williamson raised over his treatment by the Aberdeen magistrates. When it finally came before the Court of Session in January 1762, the presiding judge was none other than Henry Home, Lord Kames, that major contributor to the Scottish Enlightenment. On 2 February Kames ruled in Williamson’s favor and ordered the Aberdeen magistrates to pay him £100 in damages and his legal expenses. Encouraged by this success, Williamson soon launched a second lawsuit, this time suing the Aberdeen merchants involved in the voyage of the *Planter*, seeking £1000 in damages. This case dragged on for several years, but in 1768 the Court of Session once again ruled in Williamson’s favor, awarding him £200 in damages. Relaxing in what Robert Fergusson in one of his poems calls “Indian Peter’s coffee-room”—and which James Boswell records visiting in December 1774—Peter Williamson must have felt very much an Indian king.

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Mark C. Wallace, *The Great Transformation: Scottish Freemasonry, 1725–1810*. Washington, DC: Westphalia Press, 2018. Pp. vii + 341.

The history of Scottish Freemasonry has often been linked with that of its English cousin, particularly when accounting for the origins of the Craft in Britain. There is a decided bias in this comparison, one that Mark Wallace notes at the beginning of *The Great Transformation*: “the majority of British Masonic histories are written from English perspectives, and as such are largely unrepresentative of eighteenth-century Scottish Freemasonry and its distinctive legacy” (p. 2). Wallace seeks to redress this imbalance by offering detailed historical analysis of Scottish Freemasonry, assessing its specific national character by drawing on lodge minutes, membership rolls, and assorted data from extant Scottish lodges. In doing so, *The Great Transformation* offers a thorough and compelling account of the important social and cultural role played by Freemasonry in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Wallace’s study begins in 1725, when Scottish lodges began to seriously consider creating a Grand Lodge

modeled after its English predecessor. The Grand Lodge of England had been formed in 1717 to provide a “clearly defined system of regulations” as well as a “set of rules which closely resembled British politics and constitutionalism” (p. 14). Although Scottish Freemasonry originated earlier than the English variety, it had a much different character owing to its roots in “operative” Freemasonry. This type of Freemasonry developed among operative lodges in the seventeenth century, which were comprised solely of working stonemasons and focused largely on employment matters, like a medieval guild. One phenomenon noted by Wallace is the largely “speculative” (non-operative) makeup of the English lodges in the eighteenth century, which allowed English Freemasonry to have a greater initial appeal to the convivial, associational spirit of the age. When the Scottish lodges sought to create their own Grand Lodge in 1727, they faced numerous challenges that the English did not; for instance, the new Scottish Grand Lodge “had little to no connection with working masons,” who were the majority members of Scotland’s forty-nine lodges (p. 19). Wallace observes that these lodges were “actually self-serving, operative institutions” that had little incentive to follow the orders of a centralized Grand Lodge in Edinburgh (p. 19). Nevertheless, the Grand Lodge of Scotland eventually assumed control over the practice of Freemasonry during the century, leading to a dramatic increase in the number of speculative members. The book’s first three chapters describe this process in admirable detail, employing much original research gathered during the author’s study of lodge archives. While there was predictable infighting among lodges (especially in the matter of the oldest lodge in the country), the Grand Lodge of Scotland gained traction throughout the century due to its promotion of ideals associated with “the cultural and social development of Enlightenment Scotland” (p. 53).

Beginning in the fourth chapter, *The Great Transformation* turns to the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a period fraught with peril for secretive associational groups like the Freemasons. Wallace recounts the many prohibitions placed on such groups owing to political anxiety provoked by the French Revolution; he writes that “Freemasonry was forced...to reconcile the secrecy and mystery surrounding the society with an urgent need to appear open and loyal to the government” (p. 103). Among purported proofs of such loyalty were letters from Scottish lodges to the king, designed to “portray freemasons as the most reliable supporters of church and state” (p. 108). Despite such gestures of loyalty, Scottish Freemasons were under suspicion due to the support of some lodges for radical societies like the Friends of the People. Wallace recounts an intriguing story about one such lodge, No. 8 Journeyman Operative Lodge in Edinburgh, which allowed a local chapter of the Friends of the People to use their meeting hall. Not only did they openly defy the orders of the Grand Lodge of Scotland in doing so, the members of No. 8 Journeyman Operative Lodge advertised the event in the city’s newspapers. Despite this striking example, Wallace suggests that “the overall links between Freemasonry and radicals are tenuous at best,” noting that the tension between speculative and operative members may have played a large part in this particular episode.

The final three chapters examine similar instances of government suppression created by legislation like the Unlawful Oaths Act (1797) and the Secret Societies Act (1799), both of which “effectively regulated and policed Freemasonry in Scotland” (p. 125). The intrusion of politics into the social space of Freemasonry caused many critical events in Scottish Freemasonry such as the Maybole Trial of Sedition and the Masonic Secession of 1808, described in depth in the last two chapters. Behind this external conflict was an ever-present internecine struggle, revealing “the divided loyalties and political agenda of the Grand Lodge of Scotland” (p. 221). In Wallace’s view, the political turmoil experienced in the Scottish lodges was ultimately less significant than the development of the Grand Lodge itself: “the creation of the Grand Lodge of Scotland...was the single most influential event in eighteenth-century Freemasonry” (p. 218). *The Great Transformation* supports this contention, providing a much-needed historical account of eighteenth-century Scottish Freemasonry that preserves and interprets its distinctive national character throughout. It is a welcome addition to the growing body of scholarship on Freemasonry in Scotland and beyond.

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Martha McGill, *Ghosts in Enlightenment Scotland*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2018. *Scottish Historical Review* Monograph Second Series. Pp. ix + 255.

This book examines ghosts in Scotland, with a particular focus on the long eighteenth century, between 1685 and 1830. Both fictional and non-fictional accounts of ghosts are used as evidence throughout the book, often with overlaps between the two. The focus is less on the consideration of the reliability of historical sources, which would be highly problematic in most cases (e.g., Did the ghost stories as recounted really happen? Were the ghosts real?). Rather, the book proceeds by asking why people chose to circulate ghost stories, and what their doing so tells us about Scottish society. This approach is an appropriate mix of literary analysis and historical contextualization.

The book begins with a helpful discussion of the varied vocabulary for ghosts, followed by an examination of ghosts in medieval and early modern Scotland. Besides grounding the later material to follow, this opening presents much on earlier periods of Scottish society that is of interest in its own right. The post-Reformation era is particularly well covered, with many sources reflecting contemporary attitudes to ghosts, including the changing and complex views of religious authorities. Also made clear is the vital role of clergymen in recording stories of ghosts and apparitions. Attitudes to ghosts among the general population are also discussed, especially in the seventeenth century, for which there is an increase in relevant sources.

The core of the book consists of four chapters examining ghosts in the long eighteenth century. The first of these looks at ghosts in religious society. This further supports the importance of ministers for recording ghost stories, but it also introduces the intriguing interplay between belief in ghosts and scientific discourse, and fears about the growth of atheism preserving the idea of ghosts in an increasingly rational and scientific society. The implications of an increasingly skeptical society are further developed in the next chapter, although the argument here is very much for the persistence of the idea of ghost stories rather than their decline, encouraged by among other things the growing print trade, especially in the late eighteenth century. This chapter also usefully touches on gender and class differences in attitudes to ghost stories, including traditional stereotypical views. It is also curious to learn how courts and kirk sessions in this period dealt with reports of ghosts as evidence.

The final two main chapters look at gothic and romantic stories of ghosts, and ghosts in Scottish popular culture. As a historian of reading habits in this period, I particularly appreciated the first of these chapters, examining ghosts in gothic and romantic fiction, both in print and on the stage. The author teases out differences between Scottish, English, and other European patterns in published ghost stories and plays, and highlights the important role of ghosts in conjuring up an image of a Scottish romantic past, in an era of often conflicting national identity, especially during the eighteenth century. The literary theme continues in the final main chapter, examining ghosts in popular culture, using sources such as ballads, cheap print, and the work of folklorists. This chapter plays an important role in the book by shifting the discussion away from the educated discourse that is often the focus in earlier chapters, toward a more detailed look at ghosts in popular culture and society. However, this chapter is also interesting for its handling of sources such as ballads. They were often recorded or first appeared in print later, but by examining elements of the ghost stories recorded in them, it is possible to date the ballads to earlier traditions, suggesting an earlier origin for many of these stories, as well as their longevity in society. There is also an insightful section about ghosts in the Highlands, a topic that recurs elsewhere throughout the book.

I have two main criticisms of the book, both of which are, to be fair, a consequence of the nature and limitations of the surviving source material. First, the arguments about religious doctrine and resulting attitudes to ghosts among churchmen, and how they changed over time, can at times be complex and somewhat difficult to follow for non-specialists, though they are essential to the argument of the book. Second, most of the book focuses on educated discourse rather than on popular society.

Despite these quibbles, *Ghosts in Enlightenment Scotland* is generally a good read, tackling a subject that can be difficult to trace in historical records. It is frequently an entertaining page-turner, with interesting and often amusing ghost stories combined with analysis of wider issues and themes. Many sources are considered, and the book is well organized. Notwithstanding the complexity of some of the religious material, as discussed above, the book has the potential to appeal to a broad audience of readers with an interest in eighteenth-century Scotland, especially those with a particular interest in Scottish culture and society. And it will appeal to anyone with an interest—academic or otherwise—in the supernatural, or who just likes reading enjoyable ghost stories.

Vivienne Dunstan, University of Dundee

Tom Furniss, *Discovering the Footsteps of Time: Geological Travel Writing about Scotland, 1700–1820*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Pp. x + 305.

Mary-Ann Constantine and Nigel Leask, eds., *Enlightenment Travel and British Identities: Thomas Pennant's Tours in Scotland and Wales*. London and New York: Anthem Press, 2017. Pp. xx + 261.

It is by now well-established by a strong body of scholarship that Scotland was “discovered” in the late eighteenth century, as Britons explored their new United Kingdom, new aesthetic tastes favored much Scottish scenery, stadial theories of social development made Highlanders into objects of curiosity, and the clans were brought more fully under government authority. For the most part, those of us who have examined this “discovery of Scotland” have viewed it through the lenses of the rise of the domestic travel industry and the changes to Scotland’s national identity. As these two excellent books demonstrate, there is still much productive work to be done in this field. Both works build on the “discovery of Scotland” scholarship in useful interdisciplinary ways, most notably in the exploration of the intersection of science and the humanities.

In *Discovering the Footsteps of Time*, Tom Furniss draws on the emerging “constructivist” history of science, which looks at the ways in which knowledge of the natural world is constructed through the use of literary techniques and conventions. As the fields of natural history and geology began to separate in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the new aesthetic theories of the sublime and the Romantic offered literary techniques through which scientists conveyed their discoveries to readers, and served as filters through which scientists could understand the land they sought to investigate. While natural history involved the systematic observation, categorization, and cataloguing of nature, geology’s interest in causation offered a more dynamic model of nature, in which the Earth itself was a sublime system. In the same period when Scotland came to be seen as the epitome of the Romantic, the country’s terrain became a “colossal geological text” (p. 5), the study of which was a significant contribution to the foundation of geological science.

After a preliminary chapter which examines seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century natural history of Scotland and the modes of writing with which it was presented, Furniss looks at the work of John Walker, Thomas

Pennant, Barthélemy Faujas de Saint-Fond, James Hutton, Robert Jameson, and John MacCulloch. He traces a growing fusion of science and aesthetics and an increasing emphasis on the subjectivity of the scientist. He identifies the “fault line” of this change with Pennant, whom Furniss credits with a significant, and previously unrecognized, role in the discovery of the importance of volcanic activity in the formation of Scotland’s geomorphology. With his prose style, argues Furniss, Pennant seems to embody the objective natural historian, whose goal is observation and description, rather than investigation of causality. Yet Pennant’s growing recognition of the importance of volcanic activity in the formation of Scotland’s terrain challenged the static view of nature, leading him to consider the dynamism which fashioned the earth—and sublime mountain features—over time. Furniss deems Saint-Fond’s text to be the first Romantic geology tour of Scotland, which “adds the geological sublimity of deep time to emerging Romantic responses to the spatial grandeur of Scotland’s mountains” (pp. 129–30). At the same time, the subjective experience of the narrator figures as part of the text, which at times recounts his own process of coming to an understanding of a geological feature. For Saint-Fond, geothory and imaginative reconstruction work together in the interpretation of nature. Furniss ends with MacCulloch’s *A Description of the Western Islands of Scotland* (1819), which marks the transition away from the genre of Romantic geology, as MacCulloch consciously separates his account of the island’s geology from what will become his iconic subjective description of the sublime landscape of the Cuillins.

Mary-Ann Constantine and Nigel Leask’s collection is the first devoted exclusively to Thomas Pennant, the late eighteenth-century Welsh travel writer, antiquarian, and naturalist. Like Furniss’s book, it is a welcome and thought-provoking contribution to the historiography on Scotland and travel literature. With contributions from scholars working in the fields of literature, history, archeology, art history, and history of science, the collection makes a strong case for Pennant’s importance to late eighteenth-century Britain in a variety of areas. Together, these well-chosen essays are concerned to explore travel writing as both a form of, and a medium for, scientific and antiquarian work. In doing so, they illuminate several themes which overlap throughout the collection: the complexity of Pennant’s four nations vision, the rich and varied legacies of his work, and connections between science and the arts.

As the editors of this collection remind us, Pennant’s published accounts of his trips around Scotland (journeys in 1769 and 1772, first published in 1771 and 1774) and Wales (journey in 1773, published in 1778) are often credited with influencing the development of a new British identity which brought the Celtic peripheries closer to the center. Yet while Pennant clearly considered himself a unionist Hanoverian, several contributors detect in the *Tours* a persistent unease with the project of Union, and find that he often opens doors through which nationalist Scottish and Welsh stories can emerge. As Constantine shows, the Roman past explored by Pennant in Scotland and Wales was mostly the military past, which for classically educated travelers like Pennant, traveling so soon after modern intra-British military conflict, offered unsettling suggestions of oppression and violence in British power relations. Jane Hawkes draws attention to the implications of Pennant’s interest in early medieval vernacular sculpture in England and Scotland. Perhaps out of a desire to downplay Roman Catholicism, Pennant focused on military and hunting scenes rather than ecclesiastical monuments, and endeavored to place them in a perceived historical context. In thus telling of ancient Scottish history, Pennant offers a story of “independence and (implied Christian) victory in the face of foreign (pagan) invasion and occupation” (p. 93). Dafydd Johnston argues that Pennant’s portrayal of Owen Glyndwr in the first volume of his *Tour* in Wales enabled Glyndwr’s nineteenth-century rehabilitation as a national hero. Although Pennant’s account affirms English efforts in the fifteenth century to maintain the unity of Britain and distances the story from contemporary politics, the Welsh are also shown on equal terms with the English and French, and he allows pride in a leader who “died unsubdued” (p. 118). In her examination of the uses of Pennant’s *Tours* in a variety of historical, scientific, and creative texts, Elizabeth Edwards finds that his antiquarian method, with its specific details rooted in local place and history, can have the effect of highlighting a distinct Wales within the Union, making it possible to imagine a revitalized future. Under-scoring the book’s emphasis on the multiplicity of readings which Pennant’s work makes possible is Ailsa Hutton and Nigel Leask’s study of Robert Riddell’s 1790s extra-illustrated and annotated volumes of the *Tours in Scotland*. A Dumfriesshire antiquarian in his own right, Riddell challenged the authority of Pennant’s text, producing what the authors refer to as a “significant Cambrian-Caledonian intellectual collaboration” (p. 137).

The collection’s varied look at Pennant’s work as a natural historian makes it a fitting companion to Furniss’s study of science and aesthetics. Furniss himself contributes a chapter which nicely summarizes his arguments about the interconnections between Pennant’s observations of Scotland’s geomorphology and his aesthetic response to landscape. Allison Ksiazkiewicz argues that in his well-known description of Staffa, published in Pennant’s account of his 1772 tour, Joseph Banks depicts the island as an antiquarian object. As such, the aesthetic of the picturesque is important to both his and Pennant’s observational practices, as the explorers study and measure Staffa’s features, rather than let the sublime overwhelm their emotions. Her argument is particularly interesting in light of Furniss’s assessment of the way Romantic geologists’ growing emphasis on causality amounts to an exploration of the sublime. Moving beyond geology, Caroline Kerkham argues that the botanical descriptions of Pennant’s *A Tour of Wales* helped to inspire interest in fact-finding botanical travel throughout Britain, leading in the nineteenth century to greater understanding of the plant environment and consciousness of the vulnerability of the natural world. Helen McCormack explores the connections between Pennant’s close observational approach to the

natural world and the work of the painters William Hunter and George Stubbs, who were also interested in the ways that the fine arts could further the study of natural history.

Together these two books provide much to think about in the developing STEAM (Science, Technology, Engineering, Art, and Math) disciplines, and also leave us with questions to consider going forward. For instance, in what ways—and with what effects—did the literary conventions with which Furniss's geologists constructed and relayed their findings also contribute to the imagining of the Highlands as depopulated, a place where man was alone with Nature? To what extent did the "accretional" texture (p. 7) of Pennant's *Tours*—his practice of synthesizing others' research (which is ably assessed by C. Stephen Briggs)—contribute to the variety of ways in which his tours can be read? Both books rightly point to the importance of contextualizing domestic travel within the historiography of Enlightenment global travel and exploration, yet that theme seems underdeveloped. How did the context of Captain Cook's Pacific travels inform Pennant's domestic tours? That framework is noted at a couple of points; it would be interesting to learn more of it. That these and other questions are raised evinces the value of these books and their linked approaches, which stand to have a significant impact on the historiography of travel literature.

Katherine Haldane Grenier, *The Citadel*

Alex Benchimol and Gerard Lee McKeever, eds., *Cultures of Improvement in Scottish Romanticism, 1707–1840*. New York and London: Routledge, 2018. The Enlightenment World. Pp. xiv + 247.

This book had its origins in a symposium held in October 2015, organized by the Scottish Romanticism Research Group in the School of Critical Studies at the University of Glasgow. Many readers of this newsletter will know that the book's editors, Alex Benchimol and Gerard Lee McKeever, are also the co-covenanters of the Group, and that under their guidance this research collective has actively engaged in reshaping our understanding of Romanticism as a cultural formation in Scotland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. According to the editors, the aim of this ambitious collection is to "showcase the ongoing repurposing of Romanticism to capture the complex literary experience of Scotland's trajectory of material and cultural improvement in the long eighteenth century" (p. 3).

In addition to a brief foreword by the late Nicholas Phillipson and a postscript by Gerard Carruthers, the volume is divided into three parts. The first includes essays by Adam Budd on the publisher Andrew Millar's efforts to foster politeness and cultural improvement in his native Scotland; Alex Benchimol on John Mennons's use of his newspaper the *Glasgow Advertiser* to facilitate the economic improvement of Glasgow in the period 1783–1800; and Gerard Lee McKeever on the values at play in the strained working relationship between the musical entrepreneur George Thomson and Robert Burns. The second part features chapters by Nigel Leask on the Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant's tours of Scotland; Michael Morris on New Lanark as an embodiment of the intersections of improvement, Enlightenment, capitalism, and the Atlantic slave trade; Alex Deans on the vision of the improvement of the Highlands articulated in James Hogg's *Highland Journeys*; and Penny Fielding on the problematization of notions of progress and improvement through the dissociation of geographical space and historical time in Scottish novels of the 1820s. The third part contains papers by Tom Furniss on the educational ideals informing John Anderson's plan for a new university in Glasgow; Megan Coyer on the *Scots Magazine*; and *Edinburgh Literary Miscellany* as a vehicle for promoting the improvement of medical care for the poor in Edinburgh and the perpetuation of the ideal of the gentlemanly physician in the rapidly changing medical world of the early nineteenth century; and Sarah Sharp on the use of death narratives derived from evangelical tracts to effect moral and spiritual improvement (as well as political quiescence) among a predominantly middle class readership in Scotland on the eve of the passing of the Scottish Reform Act of 1832.

The essays collected in this volume will be of interest to a broad range of readers in literary studies and in fields such as history and book history. The focus on the theme of improvement is especially welcome. For even though the eighteenth century is known as the "Age of Improvement" as well as the "Age of Enlightenment," the diverse meanings of "improvement," along with the wide range of schemes and activities undertaken by self-styled improvers, have not been studied systematically. The analysis of the relationships between the so-called "cultures of improvement" and Scottish Romanticism in this volume is, however, problematic.

Although the editors and at least some of their contributors are alert to the fact that in the period 1707 to 1840 conceptions of improvement varied, there is a tendency in this volume to treat the notion of improvement in a one-dimensional and ahistorical fashion. In particular, there is no sense that the meaning of improvement changed over the course of the long eighteenth century. In 1707 improvement was what the future promised. By 1800, however, the realities of socioeconomic improvement were a matter of quotidian experience for most Lowland Scots, if not for those inhabiting the Highlands. Hence the reservations about the implications of progress expressed by Adam Ferguson, among others, were to some extent projections based on the complex legacy of classical republicanism, whereas, by contrast, Thomas Carlyle's critique of "the Mechanical Age" registered a lived rather than a largely imaginary encounter with the consequences of material progress. Secondly, perhaps because of the editors' emphasis on the manner in which improvement figured in "literary experience," a number of contributors focus on the "literary" aspects of their material and fail to explore what that material reveals about the "cultures of improvement." The clearest example of this problem is Deans's chapter which, inter alia, tells us a good deal about James

Hogg's manipulation of the genres of the georgic and the pastoral but little about the details of Hogg's view of how to improve the economy of the Highlands or the differences between Hogg's ideas and the proposals advanced by the Highland Society of Edinburgh. Similarly, Leask's informative chapter on Thomas Pennant provides a succinct account of Pennant's 1772 tour of Scotland without giving the reader much information about the specifics of Pennant's vision of improvement. Thirdly, some of the chapters exhibit an uncertain grasp of historical context. The most unfortunate instance of this issue occurs in Tom Furniss's impassioned essay on John Anderson, which is one of the finest in the collection. Furniss's contextualization of Anderson's educational ideals unravels because he misunderstands Anderson's Calvinism (unlike Gerard Carruthers: compare p. 182 and pp. 235–36). Furniss misses the point that Anderson's plan for a new university needs to be read in the context of Glasgow's Evangelical Enlightenment. Moreover, the argument that Anderson's educational ethos was not a crudely utilitarian one would have been strengthened if Furniss had compared Anderson's provision for the teaching of Greek, Latin, and polite literature with attacks by Patrick Clason, among others, on the relevance of classical learning for commercial societies. Furniss's chapter is thus flawed because it fails to situate Anderson within contemporary religious and educational debates with sufficient precision.

In sum, although this volume undoubtedly illuminates aspects of the "literary experience" of improvement, it sheds only fitful light on the contours of the "cultures of improvement" in Scotland during the long eighteenth century.

Paul Wood, University of Victoria

Alasdair Raffe, *Scotland in Revolution, 1685–1690*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Pp. xi + 257.

Once regarded as an infamous "black hole in Scottish history," the Williamite Revolution of 1688–89 has recently attracted renewed interest, especially from historians seeking to trace the origins of Presbyterian unionist arguments at the time of the Anglo-Scottish union in 1707. With British parliamentary union regarded as a means of entrenching "Revolution Principles," Alasdair Raffe's *Scotland in Revolution* acknowledges that "the Union settlement provided a more durable and decisive set of responses to Scotland's problems than emerged at the revolution" (p. 162). Nevertheless, Raffe wants to enlarge the Williamite Revolution's periodization to include all of James VII/II's reign, arguing that Scotland was actually "in Revolution" from the king's accession in 1685 until parliamentary reestablishment of Presbyterianism five years later.

For Raffe, James VII/II was an "energetic, assertive and experimental ruler" and, in his northern British kingdom "an innovative, experimental, risk-taking king of Scotland" (pp. 6, 30). Novelty was most dramatically manifested in James's approach to the endemic problems arising from religious nonconformity that had destabilized Charles II's Scottish administration. With a precedent supplied by policies pursued during Cromwellian rule in the 1650s, James's promotion of religious toleration represented a bold alternative to the previous tried-and-failed reliance on penal laws to enforce conformity to an unpopular Episcopalian establishment. Raffe traces the experience of James's experimental approach through an impressive and exhaustive mining of national and local archives, drawing on Privy Council and town council meeting minutes, synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions records, baptismal registers, manuscript sermon notebooks and printed news-books and pamphlets. Unsurprisingly, the impact of James's "multiconfessional experiment" was disruptive and improvised, requiring local bodies to devise practical responses and manage record keeping amid the abandonment of penal laws and state oaths, reconstruction of church courts, and fragmentation of responsibilities for registering births, marriages, and deaths and administering poor relief.

Importing terminology from sociology and economics, Raffe characterizes James's policy of prerogative indulgences as "a 'supply side' reform" (p. 57), underpinned by the hope that additional freedoms in religious observance would stimulate demand. Regarding Scotland "as a deregulated religious marketplace," Raffe traces a marked and swift shift among church-goers in favor of Presbyterian worship, observing that for "individual consumers of religion, this was a transition with relatively low costs" (p. 79). Those who suffered most were, predictably, ministers of the established Episcopalian church. From July 1687 onwards, for example, most of the congregation at Lenzie Easter (Cumbernauld), including its elders, deserted their parish church in favor of Presbyterian services, prompting the minister's decision to excommunicate 360 heads of families who absented themselves from his thanksgiving sermon celebrating James VII/II's birthday that November. By the following autumn, kirk session minutes indicate that the regular congregation at Lenzie Easter had dwindled to between thirteen and forty, from a parish of over one thousand (p. 53). While absenteeism had a further, significant impact on funds available for parish poor relief, Raffe also identifies new opportunities available to those accused of crimes falling under church court jurisdiction. For example, one Paisley resident accused of fornication by his local presbytery insisted—albeit unsuccessfully—"that the kings royall proclamatione for libertie of conscience, did free him from all obedience to the discipline of the Church" (p. 76), and similar evasions were attempted by individuals accused of Sabbath-breaking, seeking unlawful marriage, and failing to baptize children. Alongside multiconfessional innovation, Raffe also delineates James's extensive and unpopular attempts to meddle in local government and royal burghs across Scotland by, for instance, suspending annual elections and nominating preferred appointees to municipal offices.

To this end, Raffe upholds James's reputation as arguably the most absolutist king in Scottish history,

while also emphasizing the limited coercive power on which seventeenth-century monarchs could draw in practice. Hence Raffe insists that James was “not the systematic moderniser of the state’s civil and military capacity depicted by Steve Pincus” (pp. 157–58) in the latter’s *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (2009). Rather, James was “a radical experimentalist who lacked the foresight—and adequate advice from his councillors—to anticipate the effect of his policies” (p. 159). Indeed, the king was “an equivocal moderniser, whose programme lacked the obsessive enthusiasm to increase central power evident in his English government” (p. 30).

Deeply researched, *Scotland in Revolution* makes its case judiciously and succinctly, supplying a much-needed provincial corrective to metropolitan biases evident in previous studies of James’s Scottish reign. The sixth and final chapter provides a clear narrative of political events from December 1688 onwards, showing how pressure increased to recognize the authority of William and Mary, while recognizing that—as far as decisive dynastic action was concerned—“William succeeded in Scotland in large part because he had already triumphed in England” (p. 4). Since *Scotland in Revolution* is a relatively short book (with the final hundred pages devoted to references and bibliography), it is perhaps regrettable that there is no attempt to calibrate reception to James’s parallel policies in the north of Ireland by the substantial population of Ulster Scots. Despite citing the book in his bibliography, Raffe also does not engage with the most recent biographical reconsideration of James as “the last king of Scots” in Alastair Mann’s *James VII: Duke and King of Scots, 1633–1701* (2014).

Clare Jackson, Trinity Hall, Cambridge

Julie Orr, *Scotland, Darien and the Atlantic World, 1698–1700*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Pp. v + 196.

Scotland’s foray into empire building through the creation of a trading outpost at Darien on the Isthmus of Panama had profound consequences. The financial toll levied on Scotland by the failure of the Darien venture was among the complex set of motives that drove the Treaty of Union between Scotland and England in 1707. Darien’s domestic effect, therefore, is well known. Darien’s long-term impact remains relevant as people in Scotland contemplate their constitutional future and their relationship with the wider world—not least the European Union. That topic has emerged as an important area of historical research in recent years, as scholars have recognized the global connections forged by Scots.

Julie Orr’s monograph offers a fresh perspective on perhaps the most prominent attempt by Scots to play a role on the global stage. Careful examination of records in Scotland, Spain, the United States, and elsewhere sheds light on the experiences of those who set out to populate the colony, their interactions with local populations, and the geopolitical ramifications of the Darien project. These international consequences are central to this book. Orr’s thesis is that the Darien scheme made a marked impact in both the regional politics of Spanish America and the diplomatic relations between Britain and Spain. Far from a matter of purely Scottish or British domestic importance, the creation of a trading hub in Panama threatened several vested interests in what Orr shows to be a region that was already unstable. By inserting themselves into this precarious situation, the Darien colonists became part of a high-stakes game of international diplomacy. Colonial administrators in Spanish America, Portuguese slave traders, and even William III (who made proactive efforts to distance himself from the venture) were among the myriad antagonists ranged against Scottish success at Darien. The reverberations from Darien were felt across the globe and at the highest echelons of power.

The later chapters in the book, underpinned by meticulous research and the discovery of new sources in Spanish archives, work best to elucidate Orr’s thesis. Throughout these chapters, she demonstrates that colonial administrators from Lima to Mexico City were deeply disturbed by the decision of Scots colonists to impose themselves on territory clearly understood to be the possession of the King of Spain. The case of four members of the Darien enterprise—one of them only a boy—captured and taken to Seville for trial outlines the high-level diplomatic ramifications of the Darien misadventure. These captives were freed from custody only after William III sent a letter begging his Spanish counterpart for their release. In addition to the profound consequences that Darien had for Britain’s relationship with Spain, the interactions Orr details between the colonists and indigenous people offer an interesting angle on the impact that Scots made when they arrived in Panama.

While it is clear that Orr has unearthed a tranche of new source material, the book is bogged down occasionally by too much detail, particularly the intricate expositions of correspondence that took place between colonial functionaries in Spanish America and the Spanish court. Slightly less description of the contents of these letters might have made the book an easier read. A brief list of *dramatis personae*, including their roles in the Spanish colonial administration, might also have been useful to readers encountering these figures for the first time.

Notwithstanding these minor criticisms, Orr, supported by her extensive archival research, makes a strong and interesting case. Those who are keen to gain new perspectives on the Darien scheme, and by extension on Scotland’s forays in the Atlantic world, will find it particularly worthwhile. The book can also be commended to those wishing to obtain a better understanding of the workings of the Spanish Empire in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Although it does not interrogate the motives behind the decision to launch the Darien scheme or its domestic aftereffects, this strongly argued, well-researched work makes a useful contribution to the growing body of scholarship on the impact of Scots across the globe.

Matthew Lee, University of Aberdeen

Enlightenment and Empire. Special issue of *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*. Edited by Jean-François Dunyach and Allan I. Macinnes. Volume 38, Number 1 (May 2018). Pp. iii + 197.

This excellent collection grew out of the stimulating conference on “Scotland, Europe, and Empire in the Age of Adam Smith and Beyond” held at the Sorbonne in July 2013, jointly sponsored by ECSSS and the International Adam Smith Society. It was organized principally by the Sorbonne’s Jean-François Dunyach, co-editor of this special issue. As well as an introductory essay by the editors, the volume contains ten individual research articles which are all of a high standard.

The “Introduction: Enlightenment and Empire” is both a clear and effective pathway into this special issue and one of the most cogent and concise overviews available on the diversity, reach, and impact of the Scottish Enlightenment. The editors convincingly stress the broad intellectual scope and wide dissemination of that movement, emphasizing that its luminaries “were not just academics, architects and artists, but also clergymen, lawyers, gentlemen and tenant farmers, military men of action, engineers and surveyors whose scholarly endeavours were supported and guided by printers, booksellers and patrons” (p. 1). They stress the importance of an eager and knowledgeable public in Scotland itself and overseas. The Enlightenment explicated by Macinnes and Dunyach was characterized by the “global transmission of goods, people and ideas” (p. 1). Scottish writings “were circulated through public and private libraries in town and country and carried through mercantile and colonial networks to wherever Scots were engaged in Empire” (pp. 1-2). The crucial link between Enlightenment and Empire for eighteenth-century Scots receives a distinctive and perceptive gloss here. Scots in the long eighteenth century were engaged in the global transmission of goods, people, and ideas not only through the British Empire but also by fighting for and against, trading and competing with, advocating and critiquing the French, Dutch, Spanish, Swedish, and Russian Empires. Scottish participation in and understandings of Enlightenment and Empire are elucidated through four key themes that the editors employ to frame this volume: Whig and Jacobite views on Enlightenment, and how these shaped Scottish engagement with British and other European empires; conceptualizations of the perceived decline of the Spanish Empire and Scottish commercial contacts with Hispanic America; enlightened critical assessments of Empire; and the application of Enlightenment in North America and India.

This short review allows me to do no more than provide a summary of the major contributions of each author. Barbara Murison’s “Roads Not Taken: Alternative Views of the Empire” looks at Scottish visions of the British Empire in the half-century prior to the American Revolution, principally through the fascinating and historiographically neglected lens of the ideas of Sir Alexander Murray of Stanhope, alongside other competing views of relationships between metropolitan Britain, Ireland, and the transatlantic colonies. In “Political Virtue and Capital Repatriation: A Jacobite Agenda for Empire,” Allan Macinnes explicates critically the global vision of commerce and empire articulated by Field-Marshal James Keith, close adviser of Frederick the Great of Prussia, through Keith’s correspondence with his nephew and adopted son Chevalier John Drummond. Macinnes also discusses prominent Scottish authors and participants in Scottish commercial networks in his wide-ranging and incisive piece. Frederick Whelan’s “Eighteenth-Century Scottish Political Economy and the Decline of Imperial Spain” examines influential arguments of David Hume, Adam Smith, and William Robertson, and demonstrates how the perceived (relative) decline of Spain shaped the evolution of Scottish political economy, especially in terms of engagement with mercantilist theories. “Scots and Access to Spanish America from Before the Union to 1748” by Bruce Lenman makes a trenchant case for the significance of the “vigorous political life in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century” (p. 73). Strikingly, the demand by Scots for access to the lucrative trade of Spanish America reveals the challenges and limits of Scottish integration into the British state in this period. Nathaniel Wolloch’s “William Robertson on Natural Resources and Cultural Contacts in Colonial America” is a nuanced discussion of how colonial history informed the Scottish Enlightenment’s understanding of human progress, rightly reminding us of “the need for circumspection” (p. 103). In “Adam Ferguson’s Discourse on ‘Rude Nations’ in the *Essay* and the Critique of Despotism,” Jack Hill explores compellingly how “Ferguson struggled to articulate a moral compass with an acute awareness that the specter of despotism shadowed the civil society of his day” (p. 120). Denys Van Renen’s “‘Sick Nature Blasting’: The Ecological Limits of British Imperialism in Thomson’s *The Seasons*” offers a carefully balanced assessment of the interplay between James Thomson’s committed (British) imperialism and an ecological worldview rooted in his Scottish background. Minakshi Menon’s “Transferrable Surveys: Natural History from the Hebrides to South India” shows how *A Journey from Madras*, an 1807 statistical survey of southern India by Francis Buchanan of the East India Company, was crucially influenced by the methodology of Buchanan’s Edinburgh University professor, Rev. John Walker, in framing an argument for British colonization. Frances Singh’s “Three Scottish Cousins in East India Company Service, 1792–1804” uses the careers of James Thomas Grant, George Cumming, and Lewis Mackenzie to interrogate Sir Walter Scott’s idea of India as a corn chest for Scotland (particularly for the Scottish gentry). While it addresses larger themes about Scottish sojourning networks, it self-consciously and effectively emphasizes the personal stories of Scots in India. John G. Reid’s “Scots, Settler Colonization and the Indigenous Displacement: Mi’kma’ki, 1770–1820, in Comparative Context” is a sophisticated and balanced assessment of Scots’ relations with the Mi’kmaq people of what is now principally Atlantic Canada, set within an assessment of wide-ranging historiographies. Reid is consistently sensitive to the variety and complexity of historical experience and stresses the need to comprehend indigenous agency and perspectives. Ultimately, there are no simple patterns or explanations for Reid. “The shifting relation-

ships among factors such as land encroachment, intellectual argument, Indigenous displacement, and Indigenous response, ensure that historiographical as well as historical complexity will prevail," he argues (p. 180). His article is an immensely impressive piece of scholarship with profound contemporary relevance (due to the Canadian Supreme Court's acknowledgement of the continued validity of treaties between the Crown and native peoples) as well as deep historical insight.

One might perhaps regret the lack of direct and explicit engagement between the individual research articles collected here, although the introduction provides an effective guide to the volume's overarching and intersecting themes. Overall, the impressive combination of scholarly breadth and depth is a fitting outcome of a memorable ECSSS event. Although it is a shame that there is not more prominent acknowledgement of the issue's origins in the Sorbonne conference, this point is highlighted in individual contributions. Ultimately, however, members of ECSSS should be deeply satisfied with the range of audiences that this volume could and should reach: intellectual historians, especially historians of political and economic thought, social and economic historians, historians of science, scholars of early modern literature and philosophy, early Americanists, Europeanists, Asianists, comparative and world historians, and specialists in the diverse impacts and legacies of colonial empires from a range of disciplines and methodologies, as well as those of us in eighteenth-century Scottish studies.

Paul Tonks, Yonsei University

Janet Starkey, *The Scottish Enlightenment Abroad: The Russells of Braidshaw in Aleppo and on the Coast of Coromandel*. Brill, 2018. Pp. xvi + 467.

Having lived and worked in the Arabian Gulf for the past five years, I was particularly excited to review Janet Starkey's recent book, which describes a connection between the Scottish Enlightenment and the Middle East.

The volume focuses on two Scottish half-brothers, Alexander Russell (1714–68) and Patrick Russell (1726–1805), both Edinburgh-educated physicians who took turns serving in the English Levant Company in Aleppo (then part of the Ottoman Empire) from 1740 to 1754 (Alexander) and from 1750 to 1771 (Patrick). Of greater interest is the book they wrote: *The Natural History of Aleppo, and Parts Adjacent. Containing a Description of the City, and the Principal Natural Productions in Its Neighbourhood, together with an Account of the Climate, Inhabitants, and Diseases*, which first appeared in 1756, following Alexander's stay there. Patrick made significant revisions and additions, publishing a substantially larger second edition in 1794, nearly thirty years after Alexander's death. Though largely forgotten today, their text, which describes, among other things, the people, manners, government, and flora and fauna of Aleppo, was used by several others in the following century as a source text. Alexander's edition was translated into four languages (including selections) and favorably reviewed by several contemporaries, including Samuel Johnson.

Starkey's aim is to "appreciate the cultural, enlightened, and intellectual influences on [the Russells]." Furthermore, "By studying the minutiae of the Russells' lives, a reader can build up a picture of Scots who, though... considered lesser figures, played an important part in the development of the Scottish Enlightenment both home and abroad." Indeed, the brothers were signally accomplished: Alexander was a founding member of the Medical Society of Edinburgh in 1734, and both learned Arabic to an unusual and impressive degree. The book shows, among other things—far too many to list here—the intellectual and cultural connections between the brothers and what we can broadly call the European Enlightenment. Carl Linnaeus, for instance, asked for a copy of the first edition of *The Natural History of Aleppo* and named some plants after the Russells, including *Russelia*, otherwise known as Firecracker plants in the plantain family. Patrick adapted the then-new Linnaean taxonomy to classify the flora of Aleppo, a system that came out after Alexander's edition. Patrick would go on to write several volumes on the flora and fauna of India, leading at least one scholar to dub him the "Father of Indian Zoology." The Russells befriended and corresponded with Sir William Jones, founder of Indo-European linguistics, and possibly brought him back some manuscripts, while Patrick in particular met and corresponded with Carsten Niebuhr, the explorer and sole survivor of the ill-fated Danish Arabia Expedition of 1761–67. Patrick also sent drafts of his *Treatise of the Plague* to Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and William Robertson, and was asked to comment on the latter's final work, *An Historical Disquisition concerning the Knowledge which the Ancients had of India* (1791).

Starkey's volume has an impressive scholarly apparatus: a bibliography of no less than forty pages and copious footnotes. It does, however, have some weaknesses. At times the writing could have benefited from better editing. I noticed a curious number of inconsistencies and errors in the introduction—typos, missing words, and occasional mistakes in dates. On p. 8, for instance, we read: "Inspired by Aristotle, traditionally, the Scottish Enlightenment philosophers included David Hume (1711–1776), who published his *A Treatise of human nature* in 1730" [in error for 1739–40], and it is not clear here in what sense Hume (or the Scottish Enlightenment as a whole) was influenced by Aristotle. On p. 38 we read that the War of the Austrian Succession took place between "1740 and 1780" [in error for 1740–48]. At times (e.g., p. 20) the writing in the introduction would have benefited from clearer transitions and signposting.

Though the book is somewhat uneven—its encyclopedic range and overwhelming attention to detail makes reading it from cover to cover a demanding task—this can be considered a strength: there is something in it for everyone. Those looking for more biographical details and a description of the Russells' quotidian life in Alep-

po, for instance, will find the first two chapters engaging, while those who are more interested in the minutia of the flora and fauna which the Russells described will find Chapter 9 more to their taste. I learned a great deal about this intriguing family and hope to read at least one if not both editions of *The Natural History of Aleppo* at some point. The book also made me think more broadly of the Scottish Enlightenment beyond the major players—the Hutchesons, Humes, Smiths, and so on—and in this sense it accomplishes its goal.

Arby Ted Siraki, American University of Kuwait

Finlay McKichan, *Lord Seaforth: Highland Landowner, Caribbean Governor*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Pp. xii + 300.

Finlay McKichan's new biography of Francis Humberston Mackenzie, Lord Seaforth (1754–1815), is a portrait of a Highland grandee far removed from the archetype of popular imagination. Born the grandson of an attainted Jacobite and the second son of an army major, Mackenzie was never expected to succeed to the position of *caber feidh*—hereditary chief of the Clan Mackenzie—and could certainly not have imagined taking possession of the Seaforth estates. A severe attack of scarlet fever when he was twelve left him “profoundly deaf” (p. xi) and forced him to communicate by writing, signs and, in public forums, well-practiced scripts that he delivered with a speech impediment. And yet, in spite of these limitations, Mackenzie would go on to serve in the navy and in Parliament and become the only known deaf person to hold a colonial governorship. A self-identified humanitarian, he was also out of sync with most other Hebridean landowners because of his paternalism.

McKichan's book demonstrates considerable scholarly skill. Eschewing a chronological approach, the author centers his narrative on various themes in Mackenzie's life and reflects on how Mackenzie fit into the wider political and social realm of the late eighteenth century. Chapters 1–4 explore Mackenzie's financial context, his efforts to pay off the heavy burdens of debt, and his attempts at improvement, particularly in fishing and kelping. While generally erring toward an overly sympathetic view of his subject, McKichan acknowledges Mackenzie's efforts to raise rents through a general re-letting of the estate in 1787, his reliance on the oppressive regime of his factors George and Alexander Gillanders, and his “unusual degree of extravagance” (p. 87), which would become Mackenzie's most intractable problem.

Mackenzie's political and military connections to the British state form another set of themes in Chapters 5–7. A supporter of Charles James Fox, Mackenzie was returned to Parliament in 1784 but damaged his social and material opportunities by opposing William Pitt throughout the 1780s. It was only in the maelstrom of the French Revolution that Mackenzie transposed his loyalties to the Pitt/Dundas government. Mackenzie nevertheless boarded the gravy train without financial success. His commission to raise two battalions of soldiers as the 78th Foot only added to his debt, as he sought to play the role of regimental colonel and traditional chieftain. It was not until his appointment as governor of Barbados in 1801 that the newly styled Lord Seaforth, Baron Mackenzie of Kintail, became confident of leveraging state employment to relieve his crippling debts.

Seaforth's humanitarian efforts in Barbados form the penultimate set of themed chapters (8–10). It is here that the most interesting but contradictory aspects of Seaforth's character came to the fore. Despite a genuine “personal crusade” to ameliorate conditions in the West Indies, Seaforth was willing to partner in cotton plantations worked by enslaved people in Berbice (Guyana). As in Scotland, he left day-to-day management in the hands of agents who regularly contradicted his intentions. In McKichan's reading, Seaforth's disability and his position as a Highland landowner made his transition to governorship of a West Indian island—a position that required a deft touch—extremely difficult. A paternalist at heart, he found the strictures placed on his freedom of action by the Barbados Assembly endlessly frustrating. Seaforth's final years, treated in Chapters 11 and 12, were marked by the death of his two surviving sons and financial catastrophe that necessitated the sale of lands at Ardintoul and Inverinate in Kintail. His death in 1815 left his decedents' debts nearly identical to those Seaforth had inherited in the 1780s. The economic downturn after 1815 made the policies that had kept his head above water for so long increasingly unviable. Seaforth's daughter Mary was forced into various unsuccessful expedencies until the sale of Lewis to the opium baron James Matheson in 1844.

There is much to enjoy in this biography, and one cannot help being drawn into the very personal circumstances of this frequently impressive figure. One area of concern, however, is the wider lessons that can be drawn from this study. McKichan's stated aim is to use an atypical Highland grandee to shed light on the wider milieu of late-eighteenth-century Britain. The constant effort to highlight Seaforth's uniqueness, however, undermines this principle and occasionally leaves the reader searching for the broader significance. Many of the insights offered in the book are not terribly profound and tend to reinforce (rather than challenge) established—if up-to-date—secondary works. Scholarship by Andrew Mackillop, James Hunter, and David Taylor is applied to Seaforth's estates throughout the first half of the book in a way that diminishes Seaforth's supposed uniqueness. The opposite problem prevails in the second half of the book, as a comparatively weaker historiography of the Caribbean prevents McKichan from exploring how Seaforth reacted to the challenges of colonial governorship in ways remarkably similar to his contemporaries.

This remains, however, a book deserving of attention. As depicted by McKichan, Seaforth was a physical and morally courageous man whose flawed character left him unable to break free from the weaknesses inherent in the period's landed elite. McKichan's greatest contribution is to link that flawed character with time, space, and

ideas. McKichan is able to demonstrate how ideas generated in Scotland had a direct impact on actions and events in the Caribbean and, by means of his thematic approach, is able to explore effectively a complex political and economic milieu. The Brahan Seer, Coinneach Odhar, a seventeenth-century prophesier, had supposedly predicted that the Seaforth line would come to an end in the days of a deaf *caber feidh*. The seer did not predict that Seaforth's life would make such a compelling story.

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Simon Grote, *The Emergence of Modern Aesthetic Theory: Religion and Morality in Enlightenment Germany and Scotland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Pp. xiv + 280.

Simon Grote wants to explain central features of what is conventionally known as the Enlightenment, namely the relationship between religious, moral, and aesthetic thought and their (broadly) pedagogical significance. He does this by comparative studies of the Enlightenment in its Scottish and its German manifestations, in the former case with special focus on the university cities of Edinburgh and Glasgow, in the latter case Halle.

Insofar as the Enlightenment is constantly being invoked in public debate, it is of much more than academic interest to have it explained that the Enlightenment, far from being the panacea of modern secularism, was importantly characterized by religious concerns, but then also that these concerns were so heterogeneous that it makes as little sense to talk of the religious as of the secular Enlightenment. The effect—though Grote does not say it in those terms—is to remind us that the Enlightenment considered as a program was a much later historiographical idea, commonly invented for polemical purposes.

The basic argument in *The Emergence of Modern Aesthetic Theory* is that aesthetics was shaped through concerns with the foundations of morality, and that these concerns were met by means of religious ideas by important and original thinkers in both the German and the Scottish context in the first half (mainly the second quarter) of the eighteenth century. In Germany the question of moral foundations was one of obligation, where Grote discerns two broadly defined camps. On one hand, a variety of thinkers—natural lawyers and orthodox theologians of various stripes—thought of moral obligation as imposed by some authority external to the person (ultimately God). On the other, several schools of thought saw obligation as generated by natural powers internal to each person. Grote's concern is with the latter, and his thesis is that the natural perception of morality was understood as a power subject to education. This education was centrally dependent on ideas of the beauty of the moral person, and these ideas were derived from religious conceptions of the relationship to the deity. In many respects an original interpretation, it is undergirded by a genuine discovery, namely the use of the Greek concept of *aisthesis* by Pietist thinkers, especially Joachim Lange, from whom the conventional "founder" of aesthetic theory, Alexander Gottlieb Baumgarten, adopted and adapted it. This is premised on Grote's important criticism of the common understanding of Baumgarten as a card-carrying disciple of Christian Wolff.

Of more direct relevance to readers of this newsletter is Grote's treatment of the Scottish story. He arranges this in two chapters, one focused on Francis Hutcheson, the other on William Cleghorn, but in both he deals extensively and in highly interesting ways with several other thinkers in both the Glasgow and the Edinburgh circles, not to mention Hume. The *pièce de résistance* of the Hutcheson chapter will be known to many readers from two earlier articles in which Grote urged a complete reversal of scholarship going back a century or more by rejecting the common idea that Hutcheson's moral philosophy, viz. his theory that morality was based on a moral sense, was a development of the moral-aesthetic ideas of the Earl of Shaftesbury. In fact, Grote suggests, Shaftesbury's egoistic hedonism was sharply at odds with Hutcheson's benevolism. The only thing in common between the two was the idea that morals was a matter of perception, not ratiocination. This is a significant—and to my mind persuasive—revision of a central chapter in the history of British moral philosophy.

In a way, the major achievement of the book is the detailed analysis of the neglected thinker, William Cleghorn. Hitherto, Cleghorn has been noted only as the nobody who was appointed professor of moral philosophy at Edinburgh in order to keep out the great skeptic David Hume. In Chapter 5 Grote establishes Cleghorn as a highly interesting and original thinker, and one who influenced the further development of moral thought in the Scottish Enlightenment. In this connection, the suggestions about Cleghorn's pupil Adam Ferguson seem particularly interesting. The core of Cleghorn's moral thought was a critical but constructive revision of Hutcheson, in which Cleghorn agreed that "disinterested benevolence was the purest form of justice" (p. 233) but rejected what he saw as Hutcheson's adherence to the (supposedly) Stoic idea of benevolence as instinctive. Instead, he maintained, benevolence could only become disinterested through a training of the imagination. In this educative process, self-interested desire for the good things in life played a heuristic role, and thus Cleghorn provided the means of explaining the factors that lead to political community. In seeking this balance between self-interest and disinterest, Cleghorn offered engaging discussions also of Stoicism and Aristotelianism, but the ideal of moral education was Platonic and Shaftesburian. Grote's work on Cleghorn is notable not only for its intellectual acuity but also because it is based nearly exclusively on manuscript materials, namely lecture notes, since Cleghorn published nothing but a short pamphlet. These lectures ought to be published, and Grote's book offers strong encouragement for somebody to undertake the task.

In sum, both concerning the Enlightenment in Germany and in Scotland Simon Grote has offered high-

ly original interpretations of individual thinkers and works, and in the process has shown the virtues of comparative analysis. This is a very fine piece of work.

Knud Haakonssen, University of St. Andrews and Universität Erfurt

Craig Smith, *Adam Ferguson and the Idea of Civil Society: Moral Science in the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019. Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy. Pp. x + 254.

In this important book, Craig Smith offers a sustained, careful, and informed account of Adam Ferguson's moral project. Smith extracts from Ferguson's thought a structural frame that builds from empirical science to a normative moral philosophy whose aim is the ethical education of future leaders of Scotland and Britain. Smith places Ferguson in context, takes seriously Ferguson's pedagogical purpose, and gives due credit to a general consistency throughout Ferguson's works. The welcome result is an impressive and thorough study that is original, fair, and suggestive of lines of further inquiry. Smith reduces the dominance of Ferguson's *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and elevates Ferguson's later *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792), taking note as well of his unpublished essays and his *Institutes of Moral Philosophy* (1769). He challenges two prevailing interpretations: that Ferguson, unlike David Hume or Adam Smith, is a critic of commerce, and that his political views reflect republican or civic humanist inspiration. In fact, Smith contends that Ferguson embraces commercial modernity, and that his prescriptions hardly fit the republican outfit in which some have sought to dress him. Ferguson was the "Consummate Moderate" (p. 16), who sought to maintain both the stability of the British state and its continued prosperity.

The book divides into six chapters. The first, an introduction, cautions that an overemphasis on any particular strand of interpretation—Stoic, republican, sociological, or one emphasizing Ferguson's Highland identity—misreads the whole of Ferguson's project. Ferguson is less Stoic than Ciceronian, his politics less republican than Whig, his interest in social patterns hardly exhaustive of his thought, and his birth and early life not altogether defining. As Smith remarks, Ferguson "grew up a Hanoverian in the Highlands" (p. 16). Chapter 2 ("Moral Science") examines the first plank in Ferguson's frame of thought. Although the positive content of Ferguson's moral science hardly seems to brim with richness, Smith detects and renders plain the many universal elements of human nature and the way in which actions in distinct circumstances may yield divergent practices. Chapter 3 ("Moral Philosophy") explores how Ferguson carves a standard of normative judgment out of his empirical observations. As "censorial" (p. 83) creatures who praise and blame, we are also blessed with natural ambition—an evaluative disposition operating along both material and normative lines. To these features, Ferguson adds a natural sociability that inclines us to judge ourselves and others in relation to society. Smith then concludes, "all of which leads [Ferguson] to the observation that the main characteristic of human morality is benevolence" (p. 99). Ferguson's inference to benevolence may not fully convince even if it is Ferguson's. Chapter 4 ("Moral Education") describes how moral philosophy must serve the development of sound judgment. Ferguson aims to give his students a "rubric for moral judgment" (p. 124), a set of concepts and categories that will assist evaluative decision making. However, a reader may wonder how a "rubric" of abstract terms could "shape character" (p. 126), for there is a difference between the molding of dispositions and the use of categories and concepts. But the latter is important, and Smith is right to insist that Ferguson defends the responsibilities of the individual even more than the operation of the institutions in which the individual functions.

Ferguson's conception of civil society is *not* the later notion bequeathed to us by Hegel but rather one which, as Smith recounts in Chapter 5 ("Civil Society and Civilisation"), requires political institutions, manifests the stable expectations of rule-governed behavior, and may be characterized further in terms of manners, population, liberty, and wealth. In relation to prosperity, Smith recalls how, according to Ferguson, ambition has a material component, so action undertaken for commercial reasons is no less warranted than other forms of endeavor. Ferguson condemns neither wealth nor luxury, but rather an attitude that would enshrine wealth as an end in itself in preference to all other goods. As for the division of labor, Smith asserts that Ferguson is not particularly bothered by inequalities and never disavows that the commercial age is preferable to earlier stages of society. However, Ferguson does worry about specialization among the upper ranks of society. Political leaders, in particular, must have knowledge of both politics and warfare, a point developed in the sixth and last chapter, "Civilised Warfare."

Despite its title, Chapter 6 extends beyond the rules of war to encompass politics more generally, including the extent to which republican interpretations capture adequately Ferguson's perspective. Smith points out how Ferguson's appeal to competing factions plays a signal role in the unintended emergence of political norms and institutions, an important element in Ferguson's outlook, alongside his commitment to the importance of sound moral judgment. However, Ferguson does not espouse the republican ideal of impartial citizens whose deliberations and decisions constitute the fulcrum of politics. Although Ferguson argues for a militia, to be drawn from men of rank, he does not oppose a standing army. More generally, as Smith notes in Chapter 4, the realm of the political is rather circumscribed for Ferguson, whose appeals to public spirit are directed as much to "ministers, lawyers and officers" (p. 141) as to statesmen.

Ferguson's thought is sometimes choppy and undeveloped, yet it has promising insights, whether about the relation of nature to norm, politics to national sentiment or moral vigor, or the unintended emergence of practices and institutions. To put these varied twists into a coherent and consistent framework is a remarkable achieve-

ment. That Craig Smith has done so is a demonstration of his savvy attention to the details and structural lines of Ferguson's thought and of his sober yet sympathetic attitude to Ferguson's varied works. In addition, Smith seems to have read all of the (growing) scholarly literature. The challenges that Smith sets forth against the two prevailing interpretations are not only refreshing and nuanced but overdue. At times a reader might desire a stronger overall direction or a more concentrated analysis, but Smith's framing of science, philosophy, and moral education provides a perspicuous lens that is not only fair to Ferguson's aims and works but fruitful to further scholarship. Smith discerns clearly that for Ferguson good institutions or good politics cannot overcome the weakness of individual character. This insight is worth remembering as an indication of Ferguson's moral seriousness as well as for its own merit.

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Christopher J. Berry, *Essays on Hume, Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy. Pp. 452.

Christopher J. Berry is among the most distinguished scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment, especially in relation to the formation of social theory and the modern social sciences. From his splendid 1994 book *The Idea of Luxury* to his more recent *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2013), which I had the pleasure of translating into Japanese in 2017, he has made great contributions. This book is composed of twenty-one essays, which date from 1973 to 2018 and cover a remarkably broad range of topics, including human nature, imagination, sociability, arts, science, language, climate, history, rationality, sociality, civil society, happiness, industry, commerce, knowledge, humanity, progress, development, origin of language, liberty, conservatism, liberalism, religion, politics, economy, luxury, and militias. The organizing principle seems to be the development of institutions and their perseverance. The book's three parts deal, respectively, with various topics about the Scottish Enlightenment, with particular emphasis on James Dunbar (seven essays), David Hume (seven essays), and Adam Smith (six essays). These three parts are framed by an autobiographical essay at the beginning and a good bibliography at the end.

"The Study of the Scottish Enlightenment: An Autobiographical Journey" depicts the author's personal history as a Scottish Enlightenment specialist. His long career began at Nottingham University where, as a student of politics, philosophy, and sociology, he encountered Jonathan Harrison working on Hume and his idea of justice. This led him during the turbulent late 1960s to the London School of Economics, where he attended Michael Oakeshott's graduate seminar and completed his PhD thesis, "James Dunbar and the Scottish Enlightenment," under Donald MacRae in 1970. In that year he also started teaching at Glasgow University, where he expanded his range of expertise on the Scottish Enlightenment to include Lord Monboddo and a number of Aberdonians (e.g., William Ogilvie, James Beattie, Alexander Gerard, and George Campbell), and turned his primary attention to Adam Ferguson, John Millar, William Robertson, Lord Kames, and Gilbert Stuart. It is interesting and useful to see how Berry summarizes the changing developments in Scottish Enlightenment studies since the beginning of his career, and situates himself within them. In the 1960s, following Gladys Bryson's pioneering *Man and Society* (1944), there appeared Duncan Forbes's "scientific Whiggism" and works by Roy Pascal, A. L. MacFie, and Ronald Meek on "the Four Stages Theory" and Smith, Kames, and Millar as precursors of Marxist historical sociology. The 1970s witnessed scholarship by N. T. Phillipson, Hans Medick, Roger Emerson, William Lehmann, Ian Simpson Ross, and others, the Glasgow Edition of the Works of Adam Smith, and J.G.A. Pocock's *Machiavellian Moment*. In the 1980s Pocock's civic humanist paradigm competed with natural law theorists such as Knud Haakonssen, especially in Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff's *Wealth and Virtue* (1983); Emerson and Paul Wood stressed the role of science; John Robertson analyzed the militia controversy; and Richard Sher illuminated the Moderates in the Scottish church and universities. And so on up to the present.

Part I contains three essays on James Dunbar, beginning with Berry's first academic article, "James Dunbar and Ideas of Sociality and Language in Eighteenth-Century Scotland." Analyzing this topic in detail, in comparison to Kames, Berry explores Dunbar's idea that sociality is a natural endowment which is capable of development. According to Dunbar, people originally lived in a separate individual state, and after acquiring language they created community, sociality, or fellow feeling. Dunbar recognized the detriment of the division of labor and the importance of family. The next essay, "James Dunbar and the Enlightenment Debate on Language," throws light on Dunbar's interpretation of language in the context of the larger Enlightenment debate on that subject, involving Condillac, Mandeville, Rousseau, Smith, and many others. Berry shows that Dunbar learned much from Smith and that Dunbar's three-stage theory was influenced by Rousseau's conjectural history. Essay 4, "Climate in the Eighteenth Century: James Dunbar and the Scottish Case," makes it clear that for Dunbar, as well as Smith, Ferguson, and Millar, climate was the groundwork for the social sciences, and the treatment is also interesting for recognizing their relationship with Montesquieu. Part I concludes with four essays on broader themes in the Scottish Enlightenment: sociality and the preservation of institutions; "Rude Religion" (emphasizing Scottish Enlightenment theories of polytheism); Adam Ferguson on "the Principle of Simultaneity," clarifying Ferguson's views on the simultaneous development of commercial, political, and fine arts in the progress of human nature and society; and "Finding Space for Civil Society," showing how Scots developed their social theory through their social experiences after the Forty-Five.

Part II, on Hume, contains analyses of Hume's idea of "Rationality in History and Social Life" (essay 9), Chastity (10), "Customary Causes of Industry, Knowledge and Humanity" (11), Universalism (12), Superfluous Value (13), Science and Superstition (Conservatism) (14) and Happiness (15). In these essays Berry shrewdly analyzes each topic in order to show how Hume made an empirical social theory of modern liberal society. Part III contains essays on Smith's views of Language (16), Science (17), "Commerce, Liberty and Modernity" (18), "the Virtues of a Modern Economy" (19), "Science of Human Nature" (20), and Liberty (21), all of which serve to establish Smith's concept of modern commercial society. Here Berry sometimes makes use of the term "soft determinism" to account for Smith's social theory, which was neither deterministic nor idealistic.

Berry contributed much by his earlier books, but this work reinforces his ability to elucidate the fertile ideas that characterized the social thought of the Scottish Enlightenment, especially regarding Hume and Smith. In Japan, where the Scottish Enlightenment has become a big industry, Berry sometimes lectures, and he refers to some Japanese studies in this book. Among other things, he has helped to break down the barriers between older scholars, who almost always write in Japanese, and a younger generation—such as Susato Ryu, author of *Hume's Sceptical Enlightenment* (2015) and Nohara Shinji, author of *Commerce and Strangers in Adam Smith* (2018)—who have joined the international community of scholars who write about the Scottish Enlightenment in English.

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Rasmussen, Dennis C. *The Infidel and the Professor: David Hume, Adam Smith, and the Friendship that Shaped Modern Thought*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2017. Pp. xiii + 316.

The relationship between David Hume and Adam Smith is probably the greatest of all friendships between philosophers and deserves a focused treatment. Dennis C. Rasmussen covers the fifty-six letters between them, their times together, and their comparable ideas regarding commerce, sympathy, morals, and religion. Given recent biographical coverage in Nicholas Phillipson's *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life* (2010) and James A. Harris's *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (2015), what does Rasmussen's account add to our understanding of their relationship? Two particular contributions stand out.

Rasmussen suggests two main ways in which Smith's debt to Hume seems stronger than generally acknowledged. The first concerns the essay which Rasmussen contends Smith composed while still a student at Oxford, "The Principles which Lead and Direct Philosophical Enquires," later integrated into the essays on science in Smith's posthumous *Essays on Philosophical Subjects* (1795). There Smith suggests that scientific "theories" are "mere inventions of the imagination," and he betrays "deeply skeptical assessments of the power and scope of human reason" (p. 42). While Rasmussen does not believe, as does Phillipson, that Smith by then was already "the perfect Humean" (p. 40), he implies that this is early evidence of Smith's comparable skepticism.

Second is Rasmussen's conclusions regarding Smith's last revision of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1790), specifically the new section, "Of the Character of Virtue." Here he cites a number of connections between Smith's generalizations and Hume. For example, Smith's analysis of the "spirit of system" recalls Hume's opposition to ideological politics; the critique of civil and ecclesiastical factions also echoes Hume, where Smith says "Of all the examples of moral sentiments...factions and fanaticism have always been the greatest" (p. 233). This thought can be found in Hume's essays and *History of England*. Smith's commendation of the virtue of "the middling and inferior stations of life" (p. 233) reminds one of Hume's opinion that "commercial states are the most virtuous" (p. 233). The problem of competition in trade transactions recalls Hume's essay, "The Jealousy of Trade." Even Smith's remarks about suicide "were likely occasioned by Hume's posthumous essay on the subject." Moreover, "Smith also tempered some of his claims on behalf of religion" (p. 233), but Rasmussen adds, "a couple of the changes appear to have been directly inspired by his friend" (p. 233), particularly Smith's removal of his earlier remarks on the doctrine of atonement. While citing other scholars who have commented on Smith's addition of a new section on the character of virtue, Rasmussen stresses that the revision, particularly the addition, was intended to be a final, personal tribute to his friendship with, and his philosophical debt to, Hume.

Rasmussen's discussion of the familiar episodes of the Hume-Smith relationship—*The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, *The Wealth of Nations*, and the momentous events of 1776—makes for interesting reading, but it does not displace the more detailed coverage of this topic by Harris and Phillipson.

H. L. Fulton, Central Michigan University

Ryu Susato, *Hume's Sceptical Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press 2015. Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy. Pp. xii + 348.

In this erudite and thoughtful study of Hume's writings on politics, Ryu Susato argues that Hume's political thought can best be described as a skeptical adaptation of the work of ancient and modern philosophers of an Epicurean persuasion.

In the introduction Susato situates his study in the ongoing debate concerning the character of the Enlightenment. He examines the sharp distinction between radical and moderate enlightenments (Jonathan Israel); the argument that a variety of enlightenments should be distinguished: Socinian in England, moderate in Scotland, the enlightenments of the *erudits* and the *philosophes* in France (J.G.A. Pocock); the case for the Enlightenment as a movement of thought that proceeds from Augustinianism to Epicureanism to political economy (John Robertson).

The author's reading of Hume appears to have much in common with Robertson's interpretation. But Susato contends that the arguments that Hume took over from early modern Epicurean philosophers were always represented in a spirit of skepticism. This modified and skeptical character of Hume's thinking pervades the various themes discussed in the book.

Susato begins with a presentation of Hume's use of the association of ideas, which he takes to be a skeptical strategy that calls in question any idea of a soul or substance in which ideas might be supposed to inhere. He proposes that Hume's associationism is foundational for his theory that government derives its authority from opinion. He examines the affinities between Hume's theory and Sir William Temple's theory that opinion is the source of the authority of government. Hume employed the theory that government has its origin in opinion to qualify Harrington's theory that power and authority necessarily follow the balance of property. Hume argued that this sequence follows only when the people are of the opinion that owners of property have a right to govern.

Skeptical and Epicurean arguments had been used by Bayle, Mandeville, and Voltaire, among others, to defend the benefits of luxury. Duncan Forbes thought that Hume "had none of the doubts and misgivings which Adam Smith and all the other leading thinkers of the Scottish enlightenment had about the all-round benefits of commercial civilization" (p. 92). Susato disagrees, pointing to Hume's distinction between vicious luxury and refinement (pp. 117–26).

In Chapter 5, "Taming the Tyranny of Priests: Hume's Advocacy of Religious Establishments," Susato examines Hume's criticism of "false religion" (superstition and enthusiasm) and advocacy of religious establishments. Some of Hume's closest friends were clergymen, such as Rev. John Home. Hume also thought that clergymen were generally more dangerous than politicians but, like politicians, they could also be corrupted. The merit of an established religion in Hume's mind was that it allowed politicians to bribe the indolence of the clergy by making it superfluous for them to be further active (p. 149).

Hume's essay "The Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth" is the subject of Chapter 6, which illustrates "how Hume maintains his 'spirit of scepticism' in this enigmatic essay. His scepticism about the perfectibility of human nature and his awareness of the fragility of human institutions are particularly relevant here." Although Hume thought that absolute monarchy would be the "easiest death" or "true euthanasia" of the British constitution, he recognized that it was an inconvenience of absolute monarchy that good government depended on the personal qualities of the monarch. A republic, on the other hand, "can be managed even by 'bad men' if it includes 'particular checks and controuls' in its constitution" (p. 182).

It was an important provision of Hume's "Idea of a Perfect commonwealth" that representatives would be elected not directly by the populace but indirectly by electors chosen by the people. This provision for an "electoral college" was a matter of importance for the founders of the American republic. It was also celebrated by, among others, Richard Price, a Unitarian minister and rationalist who disagreed with Hume on the principles of morals. Price supported the revolution in France. At a dinner of the Revolution Society in November 1790, he endorsed Hume's proposal for indirect elections, that the persons elected by the people "are not to be the representatives but the *electors* of the representatives; this was first suggested by Mr. HUME in one of his political essays entitled 'An Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth.'" This observation was made by Ryu Susato in 2016 in an article in *Modern Intellectual History* (pp. 569–96), which may be considered an epilogue to *Hume's Sceptical Enlightenment*.

A remarkable feature of this book is the bibliography, in which more than five hundred recent publications are recorded. There is clearly widespread interest in Hume's political thought at the present time, and Ryu Susato's book is a substantial and thoughtful contribution to this expanding body of scholarship.

James Moore, Concordia University

Mark Hulliung, *Enlightenment in Scotland and France: Studies in Political Thought*. London and New York: Routledge, 2019. Routledge Research in Early Modern History. Pp. ix + 187.

Mark Hulliung's *Enlightenment in Scotland and France: Studies in Political Thought* responds to the scholarly literature that, in the author's view, overstates transnational intellectual affinities between key figures of the Scottish and French Enlightenment. Its rich, historically sensitive commentary judiciously unearths the more distinctive features of the two intellectual contexts, forging original insights into established theories of eighteenth-century political thought. The disjunctures between the two Enlightenments become most glaring when Hulliung compares how social contract theory was considered in both contexts throughout the eighteenth century. Whereas ideas of social contract had little currency in France during the first half of the century, Hulliung credits Gershom Carmichael and Francis Hutcheson for importing (and ameliorating) Lockean notions of political justice into the Scottish intellectual context. By contrast, during the latter half of the eighteenth century the majority of Scottish intellectuals rejected Hutcheson's theoretical foundations, opting instead for a Montesquieuian approach which took into consideration European feudal history and the development of commercial society to instantiate innovative ideas of moral and political activity. Hulliung's account completes the inversion with Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose influential social contract theory—largely ignored in Scotland—cascaded throughout France and was increasingly integrated into the political argumentation of the French *philosophes* in the years leading up to the French Revolution.

In Chapters 4 and 5 Hulliung discusses the institutional and intellectual factors that shaped the political

discourse on both sides of the English Channel, with a view toward establishing connections between key themes in eighteenth-century Scottish and French political thought. In Scotland, the intelligentsia's formal relationship with the established church and state power enabled ethical and moral theories to develop and dovetail with their broader visions of politics. Hulliung emphasizes a starkly different experience for intellectuals in France, whose outsider status in religious and political life translated into a constant "struggle for inclusion in *le monde*," where "once admitted, [they] had to struggle a second time to maintain their independence" (p. 71). He then compares how intellectual debates concerning monarchies and republics informed the political discourse in France and Scotland.

The book's most engrossing discussion, in Chapter 6, explains the antithetical reactions to the American Revolution by Scottish and French intellectuals, further underscoring the markedly opposed trajectories of the two Enlightenments. In considering how French *philosophes* responded to the tectonic shifts taking place across the Atlantic, Hulliung opens up new and exciting avenues. Thanks to their deeper engagement with Rousseau, French intellectuals were more attuned than the Scots to the historical gravity of the revolutionary moment in America. By contrast, a more profound engagement with seventeenth-century English republican political philosophy made Scottish intellectuals more sensitive to the disturbing facets of modern republicanism, resulting in a more conservative reaction to the American Revolution.

An interesting meta-narrative that emerges from this comparative study concerns its depiction of Rousseau as a thinker entrenched in Enlightenment ideals (p. 179). Hulliung's account responds to abiding narratives that portray Rousseau as a romantic thinker whose ideas run parallel to liberal democratic theory. Such ahistorical representations only obfuscate important Rousseauian notions of liberty and equality that were deeply embedded within the broader political discourses of the eighteenth century. Hulliung contends that "underlying the questionable view that Rousseau was responding to commercial society is ahistorical thinking, a failure to study texts in context" (p. 12). However, in his attempt to debunk links of continuity that scholars have recently drawn between the Genevan and Adam Smith in particular, Hulliung himself inches toward ahistoricism. In his view, whereas Smith was engaged in debates concerning mercantilism, free trade, and the merits of physiocracy, and considered the role of "markets, banks, interest rates, prices, wages, rents, manufactures, wholesale and retail trades, imports and exports" (p. 11), Rousseau ignored these issues. Unfortunately, such comparisons presume a disciplinary division between politics and economics that had not yet taken place during Rousseau's time. The fact that Rousseau was not an economist does not mean that some of his core concerns were not primarily economic. To further support his claim, Hulliung states that Rousseau was "not so much [concerned with] commercial society as modernity in general, its possibilities and dilemmas" (p. 11). I am skeptical whether these two categories can be separated when engaging with Rousseau, since he was critical of modernity precisely because he believed it to be overly commercial. Moreover, another significant intellectual continuity between the two thinkers lies in Smith's use of Rousseau's *Second Discourse* in his essay on the origin of language, first published in 1761 and reprinted in the third edition of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1767). Clearly, Rousseau's idea of social contract did not resonate in the Scottish context. However, shared preoccupations with questions concerning commerce and language point to Rousseau's continuing relevance as a hinge-figure in future transnational studies of eighteenth-century Scottish and French political thought.

Enlightenment in Scotland and France provides readers with a rich comparative analysis that shines a spotlight on under-explored points of discontinuity between the two Enlightenments. It will be appreciated by the growing number of scholars interested in cross-Channel studies of eighteenth-century political thought.

Constantine Vassiliou, University of Toronto

Shinji Nohara, *Commerce and Strangers in Adam Smith*. Heidelberg: Springer Nature, 2018. Pp. v + 192.

Alongside Ryu Susato, Naohito Mori, Hiroki Ueno, Seiichiro Ito, among others, Shinji Nohara is one of a group of younger Japanese scholars who have begun to produce original works in English. Building on the pioneering studies of Hiroshi Mizuta and later Tatsuya Sakamoto and Hideo Tanaka, this generation—often supervised by Sakamoto and Tanaka—has helped to disseminate more widely the extensive work on the Scottish Enlightenment that has long been a feature of Japanese scholarship. On those grounds alone, this book is welcome.

The book is ambitious in that it touches a lot of bases. There are discussions of social and political background, well-informed and evaluative literature surveys, and references to contemporary debates on issues such as globalization and communitarianism. The bulk of the material is devoted to focused expositions of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and the *Wealth of Nations*. These are linked by Nohara's claim that the "concept of a stranger" is the "key to understanding Smith's thought overall on morality, politics and political economy" (p. 169). It is the "key" because Nohara emphasizes the significance of different spatial and temporal contexts in Smith. Re space, this encompasses the difference between close-knit or intimate loci and anonymous ones. And while the "society of strangers" more easily fits the argument, Nohara also thinks it applies in the more local environment. He claims that even there, in forming judgments of propriety, the "eye of a stranger" (as he frequently puts it) is still needed (p. 52). Re temporal difference, Smith's stadial theory is the chief illustration. Nohara, who is working on Smith's library at Tokyo University, provides a good discussion of the travel literature and Smith's acquaintance with it.

Despite the stress he places on location, in both time and place, Nohara is clear that Smith is a universalist. The experience in local circumstances, where morality requires treating others “as if” they were strangers, “can” make people impartial, which is “useful” for resolving tension between localism and universalism, because the local is the “foundation” of the “universal” (pp. 48–49). For Nohara, the impartial spectator has a “universally correct sense of morals” (p. 93). Hence, since all humans feel resentment, justice could be universal (p. 60; cf. p. 69). I happen to agree that Smith is a universalist and that “human nature” is no mere cipher, but Nohara’s argument needs to be more robust if it is to persuade those more inclined to doubt that Smith overcomes the limitations of his own “prejudices.” On a broader front, there is a well-judged discussion of “regularity” and its establishment through communication and habit in the guise of prudence. Following a well-established route, Nohara uses prudence to link the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and the *Wealth of Nations*.

By and large, I find the discussions of issues in the *Wealth of Nations*—money, markets, and trade—more effective and, in general, if not in all particulars, closer to the overall theme of the book than the treatment of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Nohara contrasts the model of a market in the local space or “one-country model” with how it operates internationally. He draws here, and throughout, on the different legal and political operating conditions. In the former, there is central authority to impose laws and resolve conflict, missing in the latter. One of the consequences of this difference is that in the international arena sovereigns can resort to war and violence. In this way, Nohara is able to incorporate within Smith’s own thought his recognition of the violence of imperialism and the bias implicit in patriotism. This perspective also enables a useful treatment of economic growth. He argues that the limits on growth presupposed in the one-country model (Holland is the example) can be overcome by foreign trade, because through the international interaction of people and goods, growth is “infinite” (p. 147). With his reference here to “people,” Nohara assimilates Smith’s treatment of migration. Here he brings out Smith’s recognition of its benefits in colonization and his awareness, as in Bengal, that establishing colonies can involve violence and conquest.

The identified “key” is made to do too much work, and Nohara sometimes moves too quickly over issues where a more nuanced treatment is called for (as in his discussion of Hume and justice). There are also obvious cases (such as Smith’s critique of mercantilism) where an absence is striking, or where complications (such as the problems of communication seemingly consequent on anonymity and erosion of social virtues) have not been investigated. Though the book is clearly written, it suffers from being inadequately copyedited. Besides typos and some non-idiomatic prose, it lacks fluency. Too much signposting of what the author has said, and is about to say, results in clarity but also produces the effect of repetition and at times pedestrian argument, which a dutiful editor would have helped to streamline. While the production values are good, there is no index. Despite these qualifications, the book provides an instructive perspective within its defined agenda.

Christopher J. Berry, University of Glasgow

Eric Schliesser, *Adam Smith: Systematic Philosopher and Public Thinker*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017. Pp. ix + 396.

Any careful reader of Adam Smith will immediately discern that underlying his theories of moral philosophy, psychology, economy, science, and rhetoric is an internal epistemological undertaking of remarkable coherence and usefulness. Smith himself seemed to resist systematizing his ideas, although his care in unfolding and arranging his arguments is philosophically methodical. It may be argued that this is because Smith, subtle as he was, desired for his work a rather pragmatic (to use an anachronism) open-endedness into order to facilitate—and practice—future unforeseeable applications, considerations, or consequences. In fact, Eric Schliesser’s interesting new book, while overtly committed to systematizing Smith’s thought, concludes at precisely this juncture. On page 375 Schliesser rewards the reader with this summary of what has been something of an odyssey through Smith’s corpus of work: “on the view of Smith’s meta-philosophy articulated in this book, philosophers of each generation anew need to develop in a systematic fashion particular normative and political ideals in light of our other systematic commitments that may guide policy in a humane fashion. But *how* to articulate and present those ideals as tools for social action in the service of humanity with integrity and with due attention to inductive risk can only be exhibited by way of critical reflection on proper models.” In other words, Schliesser does the work of systematizing Smith in order to give current thinkers access to the “model” that is Smith’s applied “meta-philosophy.” There is no doubt, on account of his close readings (especially of some of Smith’s less canonical texts such as “History of Astronomy”), that Schliesser has given current scholars of Smith plenty of material for argument, substantiation, and examination. The fact that the *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* has already devoted an issue (Sept. 2018) to a symposium on the text should be an indication of the engagement to come.

The idea of a Smithian “meta-philosophy” may be more convincing than “system,” only because it is such work to taxonomize the features of Smith’s philosophy in a systematic way while still retaining the flexibility and openness characteristic of his ideas. In so doing, Schliesser makes the now-familiar case for seeing unities where earlier interpretations of Smith have been dichotomous. One of the subversions particular to Schliesser is of the perceived resistance between causal empiricism and normative ethics: a concentric idea unfolding across the treatment of passions, reason, and judgment, the “Smithian social explanation” is a tool which incorporates observation

of human propensities and faculties in the similarly observed environmental production of ethical standards. This is opposed to the much easier, and incorrect, reading of Smith's observations of our social capacities and functions as an application of Humean empiricism; rather, Smith's is an "anthropic philosophy" by which we can examine moral psychology, philosophy of science, and political economy in order to theorize human nature and its flourishing. Calling it a "teleological conception of human nature" (p. 28), Schliesser carefully explains each level of the philosophical premises of Smith's working system of social explanation, delineating three interrelated features: it is causal (in that we have propensities that are themselves normological), historical (in that we can see our propensities extend over time), and self-reinforcing (in that cumulative consequences keep themselves in place) (pp. 33–34). This understanding then grounds his wonderful concept of "environmental rationality"—developed throughout the book, but particularly groundbreaking in Schliesser's treatment of the philosophy of science (pp. 258–73).

While I expect that "environmental rationality" will immediately become a usable concept for Smith scholars, Schliesser does leave plenty of room for disagreement. For instance, even though he states frankly in the introduction that "my study is incomplete because I do not explore his practice as a tutor and counselor to the leading politicians of his days nor his classroom lectures" (p. 11), it is nevertheless surprising that there is hardly a reference to rhetoric at all. This absence may be the result of general philosophic disregard for the meta-art of rhetoric, or it may be that Schliesser has transformed what was once considered rhetorical theory into a systematic philosophy having language at its hinge.

Whatever controversies scholars may relish, Schliesser's detailed philosophical considerations of the texts lead to moments of intellectual delight throughout. His interest in the work to demonstrate the ways in which Smith cultivated his philosophy by and for the public sheds light on the current interest in Smith. As we collectively deal with a world in which economic theories have been extended into nightmares of vast wealth and equally vast destruction, Schliesser's examination of the work of Adam Smith re-centers Smith's philosophy as a moral activity, which can be used to create, recreate, and reflect upon the systems within which we reason and judge.

Rosaleen Keefe, Old Dominion University

Alain Alcouffe and Philippe Massot-Bordenave, *Adam Smith à Toulouse et en Occitanie*. Toulouse: Éditions Privat, 2018. Pp. 439.

As Nicholas Phillipson notes in the first pages of his 2010 biography *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life*, Smith was "a notoriously bad correspondent who only wrote letters when there was business to be done or when he was goaded into it by his friends" (p. 5). Smith's reluctance to write letters or keep journals has made it difficult to account for all his activities during his sojourn in France as the tutor for the young Duke of Buccleuch from February 1764 to October 1766, particularly the time spent in Languedoc from March 1764 to October 1765. Ernest Mossner and Ian Simpson Ross's *Correspondence of Adam Smith* contains only three letters which Smith definitely sent from Toulouse, all to David Hume. In Paris, at least, many of the participants in the salons frequented by Smith were prolific letter writers, and so references to Smith turn up in the published correspondences of Hume, Horace Walpole, and Marie-Jeanne Riccoboni. In Toulouse, where Smith arrived with his pupil on 3 March 1764, there were learned societies and academies but no salon society, and according to the authors of the book under review, "a complete absence of entertainment," although religious processions and ceremonies abounded (p. 185). Smith must have found such a sterile cultural climate frustrating, and he complained of his inadequate lodgings and social isolation to Hume in his letter of 5 July 1764: "The Duke is acquainted with no french man whatever. I cannot cultivate the acquaintance of the few with whom I am acquainted, as I cannot bring them to our house and am not always at liberty to go to theirs" (*Smith Correspondence*, p. 102).

In the prologue to *Adam Smith à Toulouse et en Occitanie*, Alain Alcouffe admits that the subject of this book, which originated as a doctoral dissertation by Philippe Massot-Bordenave, was a challenge that often required educated speculation, if not imagination, owing to the lack of references to Smith and Buccleuch's stay in Languedoc in the archives of Toulouse and elsewhere. This lack of documentation is the reason, in Alcouffe's opinion, that the most recent biographies of Smith, by Ian Simpson Ross and Nicholas Phillipson, add little to what was previously known about Smith's only major voyage (p. 15). Alcouffe explains that he and Massot-Bordenave have followed a methodology used in the 1895 biography of Smith by John Rae, whose portrait of Smith and his pupil was drawn from the references to the travelers and their activities in letters of individuals whose paths crossed theirs, and that they have enhanced this method by expanding the network of Smith's and Buccleuch's known and possible contacts and providing more detailed portraits of them. For example, the Abbé Colbert du Seignelay de Castlehill, a descendant of the Castlehills of Inverness, cousin and correspondent of Hume, and Vicar-General of Toulouse, receives an entire chapter, as he was responsible for coordinating the stay of Smith and his pupil in Toulouse, and accompanied them on their trips to Bordeaux, Bagnères de Bigorre, and L'Isle de Noé.

Colbert was a cosmopolitan Catholic intellectual who embraced Enlightenment ideas, in contrast to the narrow-minded bigotry of the *parlement* of Toulouse, which had sentenced the innocent Huguenot Jean Calas, falsely accused of murdering his own son to prevent him from converting to Catholicism, to a hideous torture and execution, carried out on 10 March 1762. When Smith and Buccleuch arrived in Toulouse two years later, the *affaire Calas* was being debated in France and all over Europe. Thanks largely to the intervention of Voltaire, whom

Smith and Buccleuch would visit in his domain of Ferney in October 1765, Calas's conviction was overturned by the *parlement* of Paris, and the Calas family was granted a royal pension and permission to return from exile by Louis XV. Through a careful study of correspondence between Colbert and Hume, who took a keen interest in the Calas Affair, the authors establish that Smith had personal contact with Riquet de Bonrepos, who as Crown prosecutor had played a role in both Calas's prosecution for murder and in the proclamation of his innocence three years after his execution. Smith returned to Scotland with a case full of pamphlets and papers related to the Calas Affair and in 1790 would include a passage referring to the injustice done to Calas in the sixth edition of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (III.2.11).

As they traveled in Languedoc, Smith and the young duke met other leading figures, foremost among them the Maréchal Richelieu, great-great-nephew of the famous Cardinal Richelieu and a military hero and member of the *Académie française* in his own right. The authors rightly draw attention to the importance of this meeting for Smith, who had been charged by Charles Townshend, stepfather and guardian of Buccleuch, with helping prepare him for a life as a prominent politician and landowner by introducing him to individuals of high social and political standing. They attempt to fill in another lacuna by investigating Smith's stay in Bagnères de Bigorre, the thermal station in the Pyrenees where the noble families and political elite of Toulouse and Bordeaux spent the summer. Among the people of quality whom Smith and Buccleuch encountered when they passed through Bagnères during the summer of 1764 was the Baroness of Spens, descendant of an ancient Scottish military family who had settled in the region of Guyenne in the fifteenth century. They may also have met the *comte* de Noé, whose residence in L'isle de Noé was situated close to the healing baths of Bagnères. The authors also speculate, on the basis of correspondence, that the travelers may have met another high-ranking noble, Jean-Baptiste de Secondat de Montesquieu, either in Bordeaux or in Bagnères, where he spent every summer. Besides being the son of the author of *The Spirit of the Laws* (1748), he shared interests with Smith in agronomy, economics, and astronomy. A visit to Bordeaux exposed Smith and Buccleuch to a thriving port city with strong ties to the transatlantic slave trade. Smith acknowledged the effects of these travels on his pupil in his letter to Hume from Toulouse on 21 October 1764: "Our expedition to Bordeaux, and another we have made since to Bagneres, has made a great change upon the Duke" (*Smith Correspondence*, p. 103).

Alcouffe and Massot-Bordenave have made a useful contribution to Smith studies by providing a rich portrait of the people and places visited by the professor and his pupil. Their exhaustive research draws on many correspondences, journals, and legal documents of the era which are not readily accessible outside France. The volume will be helpful to Smith scholars who seek to know more about the political and legal events witnessed or attended by Smith and Buccleuch, such as the Estates-General of Languedoc held in Montpellier from December 1764 to January 1765 and the escalating conflict between the king and the regional *parlements*. We may continue to lament the fact that Smith did not record his impressions of his travels in France, but as Alcouffe and Massot-Bordenave conclude, "we may be sure that he took numerous notes at random throughout his meetings and adventures. Notes that reappear throughout his works after his return to his native land" (p. 413).

Deidre Dawson, Independent Scholar

Anna Markwart, *Bogactwo uczuć moralnych. Jednostka i społeczeństwo we wzajemnych oddziaływaniach w perspektywie filozofii Adama Smitha (The Wealth of Moral Sentiments: An Individual and a Society in Mutual Reactions from the Perspective of Adam Smith's Philosophy)*. Toruń: WN UMK, 2017. Pp. 417.

Anna Markwart's book is the first work in Polish to show the complete development of Adam Smith's thought. It presents Smith not only as an author of economic theory but also as one who explores the network of mutual connections involving economy, society, and morality. Yes, wealth is part of the story, but so are moral sentiments. The author has written a reliable and insightful work, which establishes her place as a Smith scholar. She refers to the newest publications and discussions currently taking place among the international community of Smith commentators. Her book fills a gap in Polish literature and makes an important statement regarding the coherence of Smith's thought. The key to understanding that coherence, according to Markwart, is recognizing that man influences moral norms, society, and economy, and at the same time is shaped by them. It is a dynamic process. Furthermore, it is a mistake to read Smith's thought by compartmentalizing ethical, aesthetic, and economic issues. In other words, Markwart argues that it is necessary to read Smith's philosophy in a holistic way.

The book consists of an introduction, followed by five parts dealing with various aspects of Smith's philosophy. The first chapter discusses in detail some basic notions of moral theory laid out in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*: sympathy, imagination, and an impartial spectator, with particular emphasis on sympathy as Smith's pivotal concept. The next chapter reconstructs Smith's analyses, referring to the role of external senses in experience. It is possible to find here some references to views held by philosophers who inspired Smith, including Locke, Berkeley, Leibniz, Condillac, and Rousseau. The next part of the book presents aesthetic issues—quite a challenge because Smith's views on that subject are found in different places. His concept of aesthetics was a repetition of what was presented by Lord Shaftesbury, Francis Hutcheson, and David Hume. However, what deserves attention here are his dissertations on music and dance (subjects mainly written about by eighteenth-century French naturalists) and the fact that every aesthetic activity is referred to the plane of usefulness that builds social and

moral bonds. The fourth part is a presentation of Smith's economic theory in the *Wealth of Nations*. The author points out mistakes in interpretation and reconstruction by other researchers, as well as their frequent omission of the social character of Smith's economic thought. The last chapter is a summary and an attempt to face the so-called Adam Smith problem. Here, Markwart deftly defends the coherence of Smith's thought. The book is supplemented with an appendix containing a brief biography and a review of the philosophical thought of the Scottish Enlightenment, as well as references to aesthetic and ethical views on Smith's philosophical writings in light of the writings of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Hume.

Markwart's book establishes that Smith's economic concepts in the *Wealth of Nations* should be treated as an element of a coherent view of the world that connected Smith's philosophical, moral, economic, and social thought. Smith appears here as a social philosopher. Naturally, he was an economist, but he was also a sensitive moralist. Markwart ably sets Smith's philosophy in the context not only of Scottish philosophy but also of eighteenth-century European thought.

Marta Śliwa, University of Warmia and Mazury

Emmanuele Levi Mortera, *Dugald Stewart: Scienza della mente, metodo e senso comune*, Firenze: Le Lettere, 2018. Pp. 248.

In this book, Emmanuele Levi Mortera provides a general overview of Dugald Stewart's thought, and presents a coherent, precise, and systematic picture of several important topics: culture of the mind, method, intellectual powers, belief and knowledge, language. This picture is preceded by an intellectual biography which introduces Stewart's "moral philosophy," with reference to Scottish predecessors. The second chapter is devoted to the close connection between the philosophy of the mind and the education of the mind in Stewart's thought. Levi Mortera construes Stewart's science of the mind as a "technology of knowledge" (p. 53), with liberal education as its practical application. He shows that the main motivation behind Stewart's opposition to Priestley's and Hartley's materialism was political. Stewart was aiming at the enhancement of mental powers to promote individual responsibility and happiness in society, since in his view the materialist account of the mind cannot provide a clear theory of these powers. Moreover, Levi Mortera draws attention to the less well known but instructive discussion of Erasmus Darwin's explanation of instinct in the third volume of the *Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind* (1827). Finally, the controversy with Francis Jeffrey on the analogy between philosophy of the mind and natural philosophy helps to highlight the connection between science of the mind and education.

In the third chapter, the treatment of Stewart's conception of the experimental method, while assessing Bacon's and Newton's contributions, focuses on Stewart's own distinctions, both conceptual (between physical, efficient, and final causes) and methodological (between composition and resolution). Levi Mortera points out that Stewart distinguished between physics and metaphysics by means of these distinctions, as Reid had before him, but he accepted that there was some relevance in final causes and utility in some methodological hypotheses and analogies because of their heuristic fecundity, despite the eighteenth-century experimental *motto*. The final part of the chapter summarizes Stewart's views on the nature of mathematics.

The fourth chapter presents some of Stewart's "most original contributions." Notwithstanding his agreement with Reid's critique of the way of ideas, Stewart used the concept of *suggestion* in a description of the faculties, from the simplest to the most complex, which Levi Mortera construes as a "compositional dynamic" close or "analogous" to a genetic and empirical model (pp. 116, 134). Moreover, according to Levi Mortera, Stewart's examination of the role of attention, association of ideas, and memory consisted in a "psicologia del discreto" that accounts for the construction of the perceived object through habits unnoticed, and for this reason partly conjectural. Following Alexander Broadie and Daniel N. Robinson, Levi Mortera not only cites Reid's well-known criticisms of the conjectural hypothesis in his late discussion of inattention and sleep, but also makes an in-depth comparison among all their accounts of the visual field based on *minima sensibilia*. Finally, Levi Mortera shows that the reappraisal of association opened the way to a conception of the improvement of natural powers. But according to him, neither taste nor moral obligation can be "resolved in associations;" therefore association remains an "ancillary ingredient" in the formation of moral judgment and taste (*component ausiliaria*).

The fifth chapter outlines Stewart's connections to both previous and contemporary philosophers. It sketches the interpretations of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century philosophers that led Stewart to believe in a "tradition of British philosophy" culminating in the philosophy of common sense. Levi Mortera argues that Stewart supported a "synthesis" between Reid's and Kant's positions regarding the principles of common sense (p. 149) and traces Stewart's implicit and explicit references to Kant on idealism and space back to Kant's *Dissertation on the Form and Principles of the Sensible and Intelligible World* (1770). Then, after considering Victor Cousin's reception of Stewart's philosophy, Levi Mortera is in a position to appraise at length Stewart's conception of laws of belief and of other principles of common sense.

The sixth chapter contains an examination of the role of language. The background to Stewart's conception of language is sketched from a description of the theories of Adam Smith, David Hume, Thomas Reid, and John Horne Tooke, mainly on the issues of natural or conventional signs and the connection between mental powers and language. Stewart's analysis (in the third volume of the *Elements*) reveals how *imitation* depends, accord-

ing to Levi Mortera, on “a kind of bodily awareness” centered on the facial muscles (p. 190). Stewart’s position regarding conventionalism is compared with Condillac’s Lockean rationalism and Tooke’s metaphysics of etymology, to highlight Stewart’s own attention to the use of signs as the instrument of thought.

The conclusion of the book gives a brief insight into the political implications of such a theory of the mind. Levi Mortera ascribes to Stewart the Physiocratic idea that political order must be based on “autoregulation,” though it depends on the relationship between rulers and ruled and must be sustained by a liberal education.

Throughout, the reader will find accurate and evocative comments, some of which—like the assumption that Stewart’s theory of mind is partly “analogous” to an empirical model, or like the claim that it forms a synthesis between Reid and Kant, or like the final remarks on politics—could constitute starting points for further studies. A useful, up-to-date bibliography completes the book.

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Briefly Noted

Hye-Joon Yoon, *The Rhetoric of Tenses in Adam Smith’s The Wealth of Nations*. Leiden: Brill, 2018. Pp. ix + 287.

Hye-Joon Yoon, author of *Physiognomy of Capital in Charles Dickens: An Essay in Dialectical Criticism* (1998) and *Metropolis and Experience: Defoe, Dickens and Joyce* (2012), states that the purpose of his new book on Adam Smith is to “show that the ‘rhetoric’ of tenses in [the *Wealth of Nations*] serves as the ‘supplement’ (in the Derridean sense, which we will shortly clarify) to its logic, as it amplifies the dynamic complexity of the iconic work” (p. 1). Such dense, often impenetrable language is characteristic of Yoon’s writing, and it is not likely to be helpful to most Smith scholars. Then too, commentary on the rhetoric of the *Wealth of Nations* requires some grounding in the substance of Smith’s economic philosophy, which Yoon evidently lacks. On the final page, for example, he admires a phrase by R. K. Kanth, that “Smith can very well be labelled the ‘first—and last—Utopian capitalist” (p. 270). But Smith was *not* a utopian capitalist, as he makes clear in his criticism of François Quesnay (*WN* IV.ix.28), who *was*.

Toni Carey, Independent Scholar

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ZACHS – see Newton

Key to the Abbreviations

CSSE = Charles Bradford Bow, ed., *Common Sense in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

CISR = Alex Benchimol and Gerard Lee McKeever, eds., *Cultures of Improvement in Scottish Romanticism, 1707–1840* (Routledge, 2018).

JSHS = *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 38.1 (May 2018). Special Issue: *Enlightenment and Empire*, ed. Allan I. Macinnes and Jean-François Dunyach.

LU = Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd, eds., *Literature and Union: Scottish Texts, British Contexts* (Oxford University Press, 2018).

PER = *Parliaments, Estates and Representation* 38.3 (2018). Special issue: *Early Modern Political Petitioning and Public Engagement in Scotland, Britain and Scandinavia, c.1550–1795*, ed. Karen Bowie and Thomas Munck.

SA = *Scottish Affairs* 27.1 (Feb. 2018). Special Issue: *1707 and 2014: The National Press, Civil Society and Constitutional Identity in Scotland*, ed. Alex Benchimol and Philip Schlesinger.

SLR = *Scottish Literary Review* 10.1 (Spring/Summer 2018). Special issue: *Allan Ramsay*.

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.

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