

# ***EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND***

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The Newsletter of the  
Eighteenth-Century Scottish  
Studies Society

## **PTS CONFERENCE TO ZOOM IN AUGUST**

The joint conference of ECSSS and the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy (ISSP) on “Religion and Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Scotland,” scheduled to be held at Princeton Theological Seminary 4–7 June, had to be cancelled on account of the Covid-19 pandemic. The full program has been posted on the ECSSS website as a tribute to a well-laid plan that unfortunately went astray. We wish to thank Amy Ehlin of PTS for all her efforts to set up a fine conference and then carrying out the cancellation and refunds quickly and efficiently. Both societies came away without any loss of funds, and we sincerely hope that everyone planning to attend was also able to recoup their travel bookings.

Those scheduled to present papers at the PTS conference were given a choice of rolling over their talks to the ECSSS conference in Liverpool in July 2021 (see below), or to the ISSP conference on “Naturalizing Religion in the Scottish Enlightenment” planned for 10–12 March 2021, or to a scaled-down version of the PTS conference on ZOOM this coming summer. A substantial number of participants opted for the ZOOM conference, which is now scheduled for 6–7 August. It will feature two plenary lectures—Sam Fleischacker on “Adam Smith’s Views of Religion” and Martha McGill on “Bodies, Selves, and the Supernatural in Enlightenment Scotland”—as well as a Q&A with the plenary speakers and five three-person panels. All ECSSS and ISSP members are welcome to attend the conference by contacting the Director of ISSP, James Foster, at [james.foster@USiouxFalls.edu](mailto:james.foster@USiouxFalls.edu). Further information will be available on the conference website: <http://usiouxfalls.edu/academics/issp/events>. We hope to see many of you at our 2020 conference in cyberspace!

## **EDINBURGH CONGRESS SCORES BIG**

The 15th International Congress on the Enlightenment was held in Edinburgh from 14 to 19 July 2019 on the theme of “Enlightenment Identities,” and ECSSS was thrilled to be part of it. It was a huge event, even by standards of the Congress, and by all accounts it was highly successful. The Congress showed off the city of

Edinburgh, the university (especially the beautifully renovated McEwan Hall), and (through a program of excursions) Scotland as a whole. The program was so rich and varied, and had so much terrific Scottish material, and so many ECSSS members participating, that trying to list its relevant panels, round tables, and plenary lectures would be futile (see last year’s issue for some of the highlights). Once again we are sincerely grateful to Brycchan Carey and the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies for leading the way and to ECSSS President Mark Towsey and organizing committee member Adam Budd for putting on such an amazing show.

At its well-attended AGM in Edinburgh, there was further discussion about the society’s planned move to the University of Glasgow and a related scheme to transform this newsletter into a full-fledged journal. Although the membership voted its approval of such a move, and Edinburgh University Press has signaled its interest in publishing the new journal if details can be arranged, negotiations are continuing.

## **“SCOTS ABROAD” COMING TO LIVERPOOL**

Next year’s ECSSS conference will be hosted by the society’s current President, Mark Towsey, at the University of Liverpool, 29 July–1 August 2021, on the theme “Scots Abroad.” This conference will highlight the roles of Scots in England, Ireland, Europe, and the British Empire, including several who made their way to Liverpool (e.g., Robert Burns’s editor Dr. James Currie and merchant, MP, and slave owner Sir John Gladstone). The conference will also mark the tercentenary of the births in 1721 of the global historian William Robertson and the English emigré Tobias Smollett, and the tercentenary of the death of Alexander Selkirk, the castaway who inspired *Robinson Crusoe*. Professor John Mee of the University of York will deliver a plenary address on the impact of Scots on the “Transpennine Enlightenment” in northern English towns. There will also be excursions to some of the many points of interest in Liverpool. The deadline for the submission of proposals for papers and panels is 16 November 2020. For more information, see the Call for Papers on the [ECSSS Liverpool conference website](#)

and the ECSSS website, [www.ecsss.org](http://www.ecsss.org).

### 2022 IN OTTAWA?

The joint conference in October 2022 with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies will move from Montreal to Ottawa, pending approval at the ECSSS AGM on 7 August.

### THE DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWSHIP

The 2020 recipient of the ECSSS/ASECS Daiches-Manning Fellowship is Cameron Alasdair Macfarlane. Alasdair received a PhD in English Literary Studies from the University of Durham in 2019. Alasdair has already begun his tenure at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh (unfortunately online at the moment, due to the coronavirus pandemic). His project, “The Unpublished and the Unproclaimed: Contemporary Counter-Narratives to the Darien Scheme,” investigates the relationship between Edinburgh’s printing presses and the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies as it tried to promote and settle the colony of New Caledonia (1698–1700) on the Isthmus of Darien.

The 2019 Daiches-Manning Fellow, Désha Osborne, completed her three-month tenure at IASH on 1 December 2019. Her research on the duel between Garifuna Chief Joseph Chatoyer and Scottish soldier Major Alexander Leith on St. Vincent on 14 March 1795 was covered by *The Scotsman* in October 2019: <https://www.iasn.ed.ac.uk/news/scots-slave-owner-celebrated-killing-caribbean-national-hero>.

### ASSOCIATION AND ENLIGHTENMENT

The tenth volume in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland book series—*Association and Enlightenment: Scottish Clubs and Societies, 1700–1830*, edited by Mark C. Wallace and Jane Rendall—is now in the final stages of copy-editing. Bucknell University Press has announced publication in December 2020: <https://www.rutgersuniversitypress.org/bucknell/association-and-enlightenment/9781684482665>. The book has a foreword by Christopher A. Whately and chapters by David Allan, Bob Harris, Jacqueline Jenkinson, Ralph McLean, James J. Caudle, Rhona Brown, Corey E. Andrews, Martyn J. Powell, Rosalind Carr, and Jane Rendall. This will be the first book in our series to be distributed by Rutgers University Press, and the arrangement is a welcome one for ECSSS, as the book will be available in paperback to ECSSS members at the very reasonable price of \$27.

### ECSSS AT ASECS

The ECSSS panel on “Eighteenth-Century Scottish Music and Media” that was scheduled for the meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in St. Louis on 19–21 March 2020 could not be held because the meeting was canceled. But ECSSS Vice President Juliet Shields, who organized that panel, has teamed up with Pam Perkins to sponsor another

ECSSS panel at the ASECS meeting in Toronto on 8–10 April 2021, this one on “Scotland and Canada: Eighteenth-Century Connections.” Those interested in participating should contact Juliet at [js37@uw.edu](mailto:js37@uw.edu).

### FRENCH SOCIETY FOR SCOTTISH STUDIES

The society will mark its 20th anniversary with a conference at the University of Nantes, 27/28 Nov. 2020, on the notion of “Relating,” with particular emphasis on relations between Scotland and France from the Auld Alliance onward. <https://www.jiscmail.ac.uk/cgi-bin/webadmin?A2=ind2002&L=SCOTLANGLIT-ALL&O=D&P=61>

### JAMES BEATTIE SCHOLARSHIPS

The University of Aberdeen has announced that post-graduate students will be eligible for James Beattie Scholarships supporting research on three projects: Scotland’s links with Poland and Lithuania 1550–1750; Irish and Scottish Liberalism in the Long 19th Century; and Varieties of Epistemic Injustice. The deadline for applications is 15 September, and additional information can be found at [www.abdn.ac.uk/sdhp/courses/scholarships-1897.php](http://www.abdn.ac.uk/sdhp/courses/scholarships-1897.php).

### ADAM BROTHERS ON THE GRAND TOUR

Under the leadership of Adriano Aymonino and Colin Thom, plans are underway to build an online critical edition of all the known letters and writings of Robert and James Adam on the Grand Tour in Europe, 1754–63. For more information, check the project website at <https://adamgrandtour.online>.

### DIGITIZED CHURCH RECORDS AT THE NRS

The goal of the Digital Archive of the Scottish Archive Network is to make digital images of Scottish historical records available online. Digitisation started in 1999 as part of the Scottish Archive Network project (SCAN) with the digitization of legal records, wills, and testaments. There is now a unified index of wills and testaments from 1513 to 1925. This has been followed by ongoing digitization of Church of Scotland records and the records of churches which seceded and subsequently reunited. About two thirds of some 30,000 available documents have been digitized.

At present, images of General Assembly, Synod, Presbytery, and Kirk Session records until 1901 can be consulted only on the computers in the Historical Research Room at General Register House in Edinburgh and in some participating archives, such as the Glasgow City Archives in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow. Images of records can be purchased in various ways, including photocopies and downloading of images onto a memory stick that can be bought in the Historical Research room. These records will become available online once technical issues are resolved and other access details decided. Since technology goes out of date quickly, it is important that the online platform allows access on varied devices and operating systems.

The original church records can be found in the main catalogue of the National Records of Scotland. Although the catalogue contains no information about the digitization, it provides basic information about content which may be a useful preliminary tool before visiting General Register House or the Mitchell Library. Meanwhile the SCAN website provides a useful overview at [www.scan.org.uk](http://www.scan.org.uk)

I am grateful to Robin Urquhart for generously providing information on the state of the project, and to the staff of the Historical Research Room at the NRS for help with exploring the catalogue.

**Sandra McCallum, University of Glasgow**

**IN MEMORIAM: FRANK KAFKER (1931–2020)**

Professor Emeritus Frank Arthur Kafker passed away in Dedham, Massachusetts, on 1 April 2020 at the age of 88, from complications arising from Parkinson’s disease. Frank was a distinguished scholar of French history, specializing in the French Revolution and the *Encyclopédie*. He taught history at the University of Cincinnati for thirty-six years, through 1998. He was co-editor of *French Historical Studies* (1985–1992) and the author and editor of many books, including *The Encyclopedists as Individuals* (1988), co-authored with his wife and soulmate Serena Kafker, who survives him along with their two sons, Scott and Roger.

In the early 1990s his career took a new, eighteenth-century Scottish direction. When writing a chapter on the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* for his edited book *Notable Encyclopedias of the Late Eighteenth Century* (1981), Frank noticed that the *Britannica*’s early editions were not well-studied. He decided to devote a whole book to early editions of the *Britannica*, which would become *The Early Britannica: The Growth of an Outstanding Encyclopedia* (2009). I had the honor—a defining experience for my career—of becoming a collaborator on the book and its co-editor. His approach to the *Britannica* was similar to his approach to other encyclopedias: assemble a team of collaborators (partly to take advantage of differing specialties, partly to spread the work, partly to allow for feedback and multiple perspectives) and then amass and synthesize a wealth of data, some of it archival, on the editions’ publishers, editors, contents, and reception, avoiding unsupported speculation as much as possible. Throughout the project Frank was grateful for the support he received from members of ECSSS, and the book was dedicated to its Executive Secretary and “launched” at a round table at the society’s 2010 conference in Princeton. A gentleman and a scholar, Frank will continue to live in the hearts of his loving family, friends, and colleagues.

**Jeff Loveland, University of Cincinnati**

**IN MEMORIAM: IRMA LUSTIG (1921–2020)**

Boswell scholar and long-time ECSSS member Irma Spritz Lustig died in Philadelphia, her native city, on 5 February 2020, at the age of 98. Her 1963 Ph.D. dis-

sertation at the University of Pennsylvania, “Boswell’s Portrait of Himself in the *Life of Johnson*,” launched a productive career-long engagement with Boswell and his copious archive. She taught at Penn before joining the Yale Boswell Editions as Managing Editor in 1975. Four years later she was appointed to the Editorial Committee. Successful NEH grant applications, largely her work, allowed the funding of significant expansions in the Editions staff, helping to accelerate work for the completion of the trade edition. Her appointment became Senior Research Associate in English, Yale University. With Frederick A. Pottle she co-edited *Boswell: The Applause of the Jury, 1782–1785* (1981) and *Boswell: The English Experiment, 1785–1789* (1986), contributing the introductions and much of the textual apparatus and annotations. On 15 August 1986 she was installed as Honorary President of the Auchinleck Boswell Society, at dinner at the Royal Hotel, Cumnock, Ayrshire, and delivered the presidential address. After retirement, she returned to Philadelphia and again taught courses at Penn, where she held an appointment as Research Associate. Her edited collection of eleven original essays, *Boswell: Citizen of the World, Man of Letters* (1995), commemorated the bicentenary of Boswell’s death. Her own chapter, “‘My Dear Enemy’: Margaret Montgomerie Boswell in the *Life of Johnson*,” is a subtle, original, and perceptive analysis of what she termed a “sub-plot” in the biography, in which many of Samuel Johnson’s letters to Boswell serve the deeper agenda of seeking to resolve the antipathy which Johnson knew Margaret had toward him. Irma Lustig authored more than thirty essays, articles, and reviews on Boswell, Johnson, and their wider circle. Her high achievements, in editing, scholarship, and project administration rank her as one of the most significant contributors to the mission of the Yale Boswell Editions.

**Gordon Turnbull, Yale Boswell Editions**

**IN MEMORIAM: JOHN MURRIN (1935–2020)**

It is with great sadness that I report the passing on 2 May of John Murrin, Professor Emeritus of History at Princeton University, of complications from Covid-19 at the age of 84. John became one of the most eminent historians of early America without ever publishing a book. He was an essayist *par excellence*, producing more than fifty articles, famously broad-ranging and full of insight and wit, covering everything from the surprising results of applying the court-country paradigm to early American history, to the use of English rights as an instrument of ethnic aggression in New York, to an analytically serious piece on the history of bestiality. In 2018 Oxford University Press published a collection of his essays, *Rethinking America: From Empire to Republic*. John’s most celebrated idea, deriving from his legendary 1966 Yale doctoral dissertation, was what he called “Anglicization,” which markedly re-shaped the field. Countering the traditional historiographical emphasis on Americanization and

exceptionalism, he persuasively argued that in important respects the American provinces over time became more rather than less like the metropole. That concept provided an opening for others to look beyond growing English influences to increasing British and Scottish-American ties. John was an early supporter of ECSSS and took an active part in activities relating to Scottish history. In 1987 he co-directed, with Roger Mason, an NEH summer seminar for teachers on the subject of Scotland and America, held in Princeton and St. Andrews, involving numerous members of this society, and emphasizing the Scottish roots of Princeton, the original College of New Jersey. He is survived by his wife Mary and many grateful former mentees and graduate students.

**Ned Landsman, Stony Brook University**

#### MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

**Hiroko Aoki** has been appointed to a professorship at Chuo U. in Tokyo...new member **Ellen Beard** received her PhD in Celtic Studies from Edinburgh U. in 2016 with a dissertation on the songs of Rob Donn MacKay, on whom she has continued to publish...**Chris Berry's** *Essays on Hume, Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment* (reviewed in our Spring 2019 issue) was the subject of symposia at the U. of Sao Paulo and the Enlightenment Congress in Edinburgh...**Brad Bow** joined the History Dept. at the U. of Aberdeen in Aug. 2019 and has since been appointed Deputy Director of RISS; he was also elected a Great Shogun in the Order of the Scottish Samurai for his efforts to strengthen Scottish-Japanese relations...**Rhona Brown** is now co-editor of *Scottish Literary Review*...**Adam Budd** kicked off the 2019–20 program of the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society with a talk on “The Business of Controversy: Andrew Millar and the Manners of Debate, c. 1748–68;” his book on Millar’s life and correspondence is scheduled for publication by Oxford U. Press in the autumn...**Kathy Callahan** is now Professor of English at Murray State U. in Kentucky...**Leith Davis** has signed on for another stint as Director of the Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser U...**Dionysis Drosos**, formerly at the U. of Ioannina, is now Professor of Moral Philosophy at Aristotle U. of Thessaloniki...**Ian Duncan** has been commissioned to edit *The Cambridge History of Scottish Literature*, the fourth part of which will cover the period 1707–1837...**Elizabeth Ford** is now lead copy editor of *ABO: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640–1830* and received an ASECS-McGill Burney Centre Fellowship to study Charles Burney and the Scots at McGill U...**Mark Goldie**, having retired as Professor of Intellectual History at Cambridge U., is now Honorary Professor at the U. of Sussex; in 2019 Boydell & Brewer published a Festschrift in his honor titled *Politics, Religion and Ideas in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century Britain*...**Clarisse Godard Desmarest** was named a Visiting Research Scholar in History at the U. of Edinburgh...**Gordon Graham** was honored

with a symposium in his honor in the March 2019 issue of *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*...**Sören Hamerschmidt** has taken up a new position on the English faculty at Gate Way Community College...**Ryan Hanley** is now Professor of Political Science at Boston College...**Moira Hansen** has completed her Glasgow U. PhD in Scottish Literature with a thesis on Robert Burns’s physical and mental health (see her article in this issue)...**James Harris** is now a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and received a British Academy/Leverhulme Senior Research Fellowship for work on “Philosophy, Philosophizing and the Philosopher in Eighteenth-Century Britain”...**Andrew Hook’s** new book of essays (reviewed in this issue) was launched at a reception at his home in Glasgow on 30 Nov. 2019...**Catherine Jones** has been appointed to a personal chair in English at the U. of Aberdeen...**Jeff Loveland** has followed in the footsteps of his mentor Frank Kafker by publishing *The European Encyclopedia: From 1650 to the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge U. Press, 2019)...**Emma Macleod** is Head of the Division of History and Politics at Stirling U. and an editor of the *Scottish Historical Review*...new member **Stephen M. Millet** presented a paper on “Robert Hamilton Bishop and William Holmes McGuffey: Adapting the Scottish Enlightenment to the American Frontier, 1803–1873” at the McGuffey House and Museum conference in Oxford, Ohio, on 7 Apr. 2020...**Mark Noll** is now Professor of History Emeritus at the U. of Notre Dame...**Pam Perkins** is now Distinguished Professor of English at the U. of Manitoba...in Nov. 2019 **Spartaco Pupo** gave talks on David Hume at Charles U. in Prague and at a conference in Utrecht...**Alasdair Raffe** gave the keynote lecture at the Scottish Church History Society conference in Stirling on 14 Mar. on “Confessions, Secessions and the Parties in the Origins of Religious Pluralism in Scotland”...now retired from a career in business, **Ian Robertson** will maintain his interest in James Beattie but also make John Leyden the subject of PhD study at Glasgow U....**Roy Rosenstein** is now a Distinguished Professor of English at the American U. in Paris...in Jan. **Patrick Scott** spoke on “New Facts about Robert Burns” at the Burns Birthplace Museum in Alloway, Scotland...**Constantine Vassiliou** defended his dissertation on Montesquieu in Britain and France to earn his PhD in political science at the U. of Toronto in Aug. 2019; he is a Postdoctoral Teaching Fellow at the U. of Missouri until 2021 and has had a two-month Visiting Research Fellowship at the Folger Shakespeare Library in Dec. 2019 and a fellowship at the Clark Library at UCLA this summer...**Mark Wallace** taught British history at U. of North Carolina Greensboro in spring 2020...**Tara Ghoshal Wallace** is now Professor of English Emerita at George Washington U....**Jack Russell Weinstein** is Chester Fritz Distinguished Professor of Philosophy at U. of North Dakota...**Carl Wennerlind** is now Professor of History at Barnard College.

## Exploring the Mental Health of Robert Burns

By Moira Hansen, University of Glasgow

Robert Burns (1759–96) is renowned for the body of more than six hundred songs and poems he produced in his short life. He is also known for his relationships with numerous women, reputation for hard drinking, and giving voice to ideas of common humanity and equality in a time of radical upheaval. Equally interesting, but far less examined—other than in regard to the cause of his death at the age of thirty-seven—is his health, and particularly his mental health. The little scholarship that exists on this subject has been driven particularly by his personal writings, in correspondence and commonplace books. For example, in March 1784 Burns wrote in his commonplace book, “There was a certain period of my life that my spirit was broke by repeated losses & disasters, which threatened & indeed effected the utter ruin of my fortune. My body to was attacked by that most dreadful distemper, a Hypochondria, or confirmed Melancholy” (*The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns, Volume 1: Commonplace Books, Tour Journals, and Miscellaneous Prose*, ed. Nigel Leask, 2014, p. 44). This and other references in Burns’s correspondence to melancholy, hypochondria, diseased spirits, and blue devils has given rise to the suggestion that Burns was affected by what would now be recognized as a mood disorder—recurrent depression or bipolar disorder (Kay Redfield Jamison, *Touched with Fire: Manic-Depressive Illness and Artistic Temperament*, 1993, p. 61). This suggestion has also been noted by biographers such as Ian McIntyre and Robert Crawford.

Undertaking retrospective diagnosis of a long-dead individual presents practical, philosophical, and ethical challenges. In the case of Burns, conclusions regarding his mental health must be drawn on the basis of an evidence base which contains gaps of missing letters and letters of questionable authenticity. Such conclusions must sit among ontological and epistemological questions of the lived experience of disordered moods in the eighteenth century and how these might marry up against modern definitions of clinical mood disorders, as well as being challenged by questions about the purpose of any such study, given that the individual in question cannot benefit from any suggested diagnosis. With particular reference to these questions, Osamu Muramoto suggested in a 2014 article in the journal *Philosophy, Ethics, and Humanities in Medicine* that any act of retrospective diagnosis should serve at least one of three purposes: (1) to understand the influence of an illness on the works and behaviors of the individual; (2) to better understand the experience of living with a particular illness in a particular historical period; and (3) to learn more about the lifelong course of a condition through a medically reconstructed biography of an individual.

These three purposes, particularly the first, underpin the rationale for examining the mental health of Scotland’s national poet. Constructing a medical biography was necessary to test the hypothesis that Burns was affected by a mood disorder. This was undertaken using a novel interdisciplinary approach which combined techniques of clinical psychiatric diagnosis and literary analysis (Hansen et al, *Journal of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh*, 2018, 48:165–74). While examination of Burns’s life through a diagnostic lens confirms the possibility of the presence of what would now be recognized as Type II bipolar disorder (a combination of episodes of recurrent depression and hypomania), the more useful and interesting product of this study, fitting within Muramoto’s suggested purposes, is a “mood timeline” of Burns’s life against which key events, decisions, and creative output can be mapped. Doing so makes it possible to assess the potential influence of Burns’s moods (whether or not they reached the threshold for being a clinically significant episode) on the poet’s life, relationships, and creative activity.

An example of the outcome of this mapping approach emerges from a study of the winter of 1786–87, during which Burns made his first visit to Edinburgh. 1786 had been a tumultuous year for him: in July the Kilmarnock edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* was published; in September Jean Armour gave birth to twins, though her father refused permission for her to marry the poet who had fathered them; and later that autumn Burns scrapped his plans to emigrate to Jamaica, possibly accompanied by Mary Campbell, after being encouraged to head to Edinburgh instead, to secure subscriptions for publication of an expanded edition of his *Poems*. Burns arrived in Edinburgh on 28 November 1786 and, initially, things seemed to go well. On 7 December he wrote to Gavin Hamilton, describing the various notables he had been introduced to and the great success he was having securing subscriptions. His grandiose, although somewhat tongue-in-cheek, claims that he was “becoming as eminent as Thomas a Kempis or John Bunyan,” and that his birthday would be included in almanacs alongside such notable events as the battle of Bothwell Bridge, seem to show that he was enjoying the experience of his growing fame as a poet (*The Letters of Robert Burns*, ed. J. De Lancey Ferguson; rev. G. Ross Roy, 2 vols., 1985, L62; all subsequent references are taken from this edition, citing letters by number).

Yet this may not be as it seems. No letters written by the poet during the week following his letter to Hamilton are known to exist. Although it may be that such letters were lost or destroyed, it is also possible that no letters were written. That the latter may be the case is suggested by an examination of Burns’s next four known letters, which are far less optimistic in tone. He apologizes to John Ballantine on 13 December for his “stupid, matter-of-fact epistle” (L63) and to Robert Muir on 15 December for delaying writing until he could give a “rational account” (L64). In his letter to Ballantine, as well as in his letters to Robert Aiken on 16 December (L65) and to

Rev. William Greenfield around the same time (L66), Burns expresses his anxiety that, as a result of his new-found fame, he has been “dragged forth...to the full glare of learned and polite observation,” where, “with all [his] imperfections on [his] head,” “the stroke of envious Calumny...should dash it to the ground” (L66). He also comments that, since arriving in Edinburgh, he has suffered with “a miserable head-ach & stomach complaint” (L63). Such anxiety is compounded by a lack of self-esteem. Burns feels that his merits as a poet are insufficient to support the heights to which his fame is being raised, and he fears that he will be found wanting and, consequently, socially ruined. He is overtly pessimistic, convinced that such a fate will befall him, and he looks to the future with the same sense of despair as he would look into “the bottomless pit” (L65).

These four letters all exhibit, in varying combinations, signs of anxiety, lowered mood, lowered self-esteem, and a pessimistic outlook. The physical symptoms of headache and stomach upset would be consistent with somatic manifestation of psychological disorder, arguably a result of Burns’s efforts to maintain a positive public persona in the face of his worsening depressive symptoms. That he could maintain such a persona is evidenced in the reply of Robert Muir on 17 December and George Lawrie’s letter on the 22nd. Both comment on Burns’s success in Edinburgh, with Lawrie remarking, “I rejoice to hear, from all corners, of your rising fame” (William Scott Douglas, *The Works of Robert Burns*, 6 vols., 1877, 4:180–81).

Thus, it would seem that after the euphoric letter to Gavin Hamilton, Burns no longer felt able to sustain the pretense of normality, to mask the symptoms of depression clouding his mind for more than the few hours of a public appearance. The gap created by the lack of letters becomes evidence of his lack of energy and desire to engage socially any more than was absolutely necessary, reserving the energy needed to disguise his impairment when on public display. Consequently, the early letters from Burns’s visit to Edinburgh (and the potential reason for a lack of letters for a week during that time) become evidence of a period of pervasively lowered mood following Burns’s arrival in the capital, of sufficient severity and duration to meet the criteria for mild depression.

Regardless of whether the symptoms of lowered mood fulfil the criteria for a formal clinical label, mapping them through the evidence of Burns’s previously mentioned correspondence allows a picture of experience to be constructed. The picture reveals the impact of success on his sense of self, his willingness and desire to socialize and associate with others, and the physical symptoms which accompany these disordered moods. Other personal writing, such as the commonplace book and correspondence with others (particularly Frances Dunlop), also give insight into Burns’s own perceptions of his moods. In particular, these periods of lowered mood are episodes he fears, knowing that he will retreat to dark inner places where he becomes preoccupied with bleak and pessimistic thinking, at times to the point of expressing a desire to bring his life to an end.

In addition to his correspondence, Burns uses his creativity as a means of expressing both his experience and his concerns, using his poetry as a vehicle for coming to an understanding and, in later years, an acceptance of the place of these disordered moods in his life. This strategy is evident in what was likely his first significant depressive episode, in Irvine during the winter of 1781–82. In his commonplace book entry of March 1784, where he talks of his body being attacked by “confirmed melancholy,” he continues “in this wretched state, the recollection of which makes me yet shudder, I hung my harp on the willow trees, except in some lucid intervals, in one of which I composed the following—” (Leask, p. 44). He then transcribes “Winter, A Dirge,” a poem full of stormy, wintry images, where the trees, bare and vulnerable, are buffeted by the merciless winds of Fate. Burns would acknowledge the association between such scenes, the season of winter, and his lowered mood states in further commentary in his commonplace book (Leask, pp. 44–45). “Winter, A Dirge” would be included in the 1786 Kilmarnock edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect*, alongside other titles produced in response to that period of illness in Irvine, such as “To Ruin,” “A Prayer, in the Prospect of Death,” and “A Prayer, Under the Prospect of Violent Anguish,” further conveying the challenge and difficulty faced by Burns when in such a mood.

The 1787 Edinburgh edition of *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* would add another poem evoking the ideas of “Winter, A Dirge.” Again evoking the season which Burns associated with his lowered mood state, “A Winter Night” was written in the latter half of November 1786, when Burns was about to travel to Edinburgh, or had recently arrived there. Its images, themes, and references suggest that Burns composed this particular piece in response to his growing awareness of the accumulating signs of the onset of depression and worries about repetition of previous episodes which nearly drove him to give up his “wildly-sounding, rustic lyre” (L125). In the context of his trip to Edinburgh, this poem can be understood as a poetic manifestation of Burns’s concerns regarding pressure to be accepted by the elite and to adequately perform the role that will encourage them to subscribe to a further volume of poetry, as well as the need to produce new material for that volume—concerns which he voices in the previously mentioned letters written during the early weeks in Edinburgh (L63–L66). With the additional context of Burns’s mental health, however, the poem can also be understood to encapsulate Burns’s fears that these circumstances are precipitating factors for another depressive episode.

Prefixed to “A Winter Night” is an epigraph from Shakespeare’s *King Lear*, specifically from the moment in Act 3 when Lear is taken by Gloucester and his Fool to shelter, having been found on the storm-ravaged heath which is taken to symbolize the deterioration of Lear’s own mind into madness. Burns actively sets the scene for his own work, drawing together the connections between winter and his deteriorating state of mind. The standard Habbie stanza form and Scots language signal it not only as a Burns poem but also a poem where Burns can be considered the speaker of the lines. The “leafless bow’r” is subject to “biting Boreas” (the north wind) and the

“short-liv’d glow’r” of Phoebus (the sun god Apollo), immediately creating a sense of vulnerability in the face of the “Dim-dark’ning” of winter and its storms. This sense of Burns as speaker, subject to the winter storms, is consolidated in the self-referential second stanza where “...burns, wi’ snawy wreaths up-choked, / Wild-eddying swirl, / Or thro’ the mining outlet bocked, / Down headlong hurl.” (*The Poems and Songs of Robert Burns*, ed. James Kinsley, 3 vols., 1968, Poem No. 130, lines ll.9–12; all subsequent citations to this poem are line references from this edition). Just as the flowing streams are increasingly obstructed by the mounting snow, so too is Burns the poet increasingly unable to express himself creatively, his flow impeded by the rising depression. While everyone else “sweet in sleep was locked,” he lies awake, increasingly focused on the animals in the field (l.8, ll.13–16), an unhealthy preoccupation with a single subject which is typical of depression. This preoccupation is interrupted by a new voice (ll.33–36). The identity of the voice is unclear but does call to mind his earlier work “The Vision,” where the voice was that of his muse, Coila. In contrast to Coila, however, this new voice is given no physical description and is capable only of a “plaintive strain” which is expressed in standard English (l.35). The voice is melancholic and barely heard, a pale and distant imitation of Coila. It embodies his concerns that his creativity will become similarly distant and difficult to capture in words as his shift into depression ensues, resulting in a voice unrecognizable as his own.

The middle section of “A Winter Night” consists of the disembodied voice calling on “smothering Snows” to come down (ll.39), isolating Burns further, before focusing intensely on the suffering of the precariously living poor. This bleak contemplation finishes in a very dark place: “But shall thy legal rage pursue / The Wretch, already crushed low / By cruel Fortune’s undeserved blow? / Affliction’s sons are brothers in distress; / A Brother to relieve, how exquisite the bliss!” (ll.84–88). As well as recalling the “poor naked wretches” of the epigraph, the capitalization personalizes the term to Burns and also calls to mind his use of the same term in “A Prayer, Under the Pressure of Violent Anguish” and “To Ruin,” both of which call for relief of his troubles through death.

In contrast to these works, however, “A Winter Night” reemerges into the Scots language and regular rhythm which opened this poem, the exquisite bliss of relief coming in the form of the cockcrow. There is a resilience in this shift which is not evident in his earlier poems, signaling his growing understanding that while these periods of lowered mood are bleak and frightening, they are also temporary states of being. So too is the sense of distance he might have from his muse, shaking off the “pouthery snaw” (l.19) to regain his distinctive poetic voice, and using his experience as inspiration for a creative capturing of the emotions, or lack of emotion, it stimulates. Creativity becomes a tool to protect himself against, to develop an understanding of, and to come to terms with his disordered moods. It is a tool which he deploys repeatedly throughout the final decade of his life, giving voice to both the ups and downs of his tempestuous mood states. Poetry written following his Irvine illness, extempore verses written upon sighting the home of Lord Galloway in the summer of 1792, even some of his best-known pieces such as “To A Mouse” and “Tam o Shanter,” can be read through the lens of Burns’s mental health, produced at times during or shortly following such periods of disordered moods.

The lowered mood—likely depression—that Burns experienced in the winter of 1786–87 exemplifies the wider study undertaken in my doctoral thesis, “‘Melancholy and low spirits are half my disease’: Physical and Mental Health in the Life and Work of Robert Burns.” It also demonstrates how such a study can satisfy all three of Muramoto’s proposed purposes for retrospective diagnosis. The aim is to set out Burns’s lived experience of the episodes of disordered mood associated with his condition, detailing both the physical and mental symptoms which affected him, and how living and functioning within society while under their influence were a great strain. Burns would later write to Frances Dunlop, his great confidante on his mental health, who was similarly afflicted by melancholy, about the distinction between the “nervous affectations” of fashionable members of society, who wanted to demonstrate their sensibility, and the “diseases of the mind” that so markedly affected those such as himself (L374). This episode in winter 1786–87 demonstrates how a wider study of Burns’s moods can lead to understanding the course of his condition throughout his life, how it was exacerbated by stressful circumstances and calmed by stability and security. Most importantly, and arguably most interestingly, is the insight that we gain into the influence of these moods on Burns’s life and creativity. It allows for an examination of the impact of these moods on his relationships with women and his use of alcohol, as well as on the quality, quantity, and nature of his creative output. It offers new ways of understanding the man and novel interpretations of some of his works to sit alongside those already within the literature, and new ways of connecting with him as a person and a poet. In this way, an already complex and fascinating figure becomes even more so.

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## BOOKS AND EXHIBITIONS IN REVIEW

### REVIEW ESSAYS

#### The Frasers and Baillies in India and Scotland, 1757–1857

By Frances B. Singh, City University of New York

Kathy Fraser, *For the Love of a Highland Home: The Fraser Brothers' Indian Quest*. Foreword by William Dalrymple. St. Kilda: Grey Thrush, 2016. Pp. xxvi + 406.

Alexander Charles Baillie, *Call of Empire: From the Highlands to Hindostan*. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017. Pp. xii + 468.

In the 1980s, when the distinguished medieval scholar F.R.H. Du Boulay tried to interest publishers in a manuscript about his family's imperial service in India, Africa, the Middle East, and China, it was rejected. Today, the subgenre of nonfiction works that personalize the sojourner or settler narratives of East India Company/British Empire men and women within the historical and global contexts in which they unfolded has an impressive genealogy. This multi-branched family tree includes works such as William Dalrymple's *White Mughals: Love and Betrayal in Eighteenth-Century India* (2002), Elizabeth Buettner's *Empire Families: Britons and Late Imperial India* (2004), Durba Ghosh's *Sex and the Family in Colonial India* (2006), Linda Colley's *The Ordeal of Elizabeth Marsh: A Woman in World History* (2008), Stephen Foster's *A Private Empire* (2010), Emma Rothschild's *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (2011), and a chapter on Margaret Stuart Bruce Tyndall in Deborah Cohen's *Family Secrets: The Things We Tried to Hide* (2013). Du Boulay's book, *Servants of Empire: An Imperial Memoir of a British Family*, which was published posthumously in 2010, is now regarded as an important contribution to our understanding of the "lifestyle, affections, political thinking and social assumptions" (p. x) of those who served the Raj in its waning years.

The two books discussed in this review essay both began when their authors decided to do something with their trunks of family documents (Kathy Fraser is the wife of the present Laird of Reelig, while Alexander Charles Baillie is a collateral descendant of William and John Baillie). The Baillie archive is now catalogued, classified, and summarized at the Highland Archive Centre in Inverness. The Fraser material remains in family custody. Ground zero for both authors is the 1746 Battle of Culloden, which opened up a vista of risky, albeit lucrative, opportunities with the East India Company for well-educated Scottish lads whose beloved family estates needed transfusions of cash. Both books cover the same general time period, 1750–1850, or from the 1757 Battle of Plassey, which secured India for Britain, to the 1857 First War of Indian Independence, formerly known as the Indian Mutiny or Rebellion—the unsuccessful uprising against British rule that also led to the formal dissolution of the East India Company in 1874. Baillie provides the post-colonial "empire strikes back" coda to the hundred years of East India Company control and rapacious collecting of revenues: in 2005 the company was acquired by an Indian, who chose "East India Company" as the name for the high-end retail emporium he opened in London's Mayfair.

*For the Love of a Highland Home* is a quintuple and cross-cutting biography, rich in thick descriptions of lived life. The author shows rather than tells, by letting her subjects speak through their letters. But the choices she makes enable us to infer some of her attitudes. From her presentation of Jeannie Tytler Fraser, the wife of eldest brother James, for example, we sense Kathy Fraser's awareness of the difficulty of overcoming color-based prejudice. James Skinner, the best friend of James's brother William, had sent his mixed-race children to Scotland, and from India William asked James, now back in Scotland, to visit the children. In the early 1820s Jeannie wanted nothing to do with biracial children, and James said no. William was deeply offended and told him, "you should treat them as your own children." James induced Jeannie to change her mind, and the boys visited. When they left, she wrote a family member that "they are fine boys" but wished they were "'white bairns," particularly young Hercules, whose complexion was "'oh...dark" (p. 312). Not long after, Jeannie and James needed no persuading to invite William's mixed-race daughter Amy to visit the family estate along with two of her "pure" Scottish cousins, Mathilda and Amy. The children got along well. While their youthful spirits made everyone happy, Jeannie still could not help but think in terms of racial difference as she watched them play. She wrote to a family member that it was "strange to see her [either cousin Matilda or cousin Amy] wreathing her little white arm about Amy's olive coloured neck on the green and all playing uproariously together" (p. 318). But if cousins Mathilda and Amy were boys, would Jeannie's happiness have been tinged with sexual anxiety? The fear that dark-complexioned boys sent from the East and West Indies would "degenerate the race and give a sallow tinge to the complexion of Britons" had been voiced as early as 1789 by Innes Munro, author of *A Narrative of the Military Operations, on the Coromandel Coast*. Baillie quotes the relevant passage at length (pp. 291–92).

Fraser's chapters are short temporal units, sometimes as short as a year, in which the author brings the reader up to date about the Fraser brothers' lives in India as well as the lives of family members back in Scotland. This difficult plotting process is carried out brilliantly. In the foreword, William Dalrymple, no mean storyteller



himself, praises the author for “pulling together all the correspondence of all the Reelig Frasers...deftly knitting it together with a light touch and elegant turn of phrase, as she paints a series of penetrating and psychological portraits of this...band of brothers” (p. vii). There are the focused eldest-born James, happiest when sketching; the risk-taking William, who falls in love with India and its peoples; Edward, fun-loving, charming, a ladies’ man; and Aleck, brilliant, disputatious, a sparkling letter writer. Compared to his elder brothers, George, the youngest, seems rather plodding, yet he alone had an almost eureka moment when he wished that the trades and manufacturing could be career destinations for portionless young men of his class.

Kathy Fraser also treats us to complex portraits of the brothers’ parents, Edward Satchwell and Jane Fraser. Profoundly attached to his drowning-in-debt estate, and unable to think outside the landed gentry box, Edward could conceive no other way to save it than by sending all his sons out of the nest, even though his greatest concern was for their health and welfare. Convivial Jane loved large social gatherings. She was always hoping that her sons would find congenial women to marry and bring many children into the world. Though she wrote William in 1820 that “whoever you make choice of will be acceptable to us” (p. 255), and George in 1827 that nationality and rank did not matter as long as there was “loveliness of mind and of person” (p. 315), she excluded women with family histories of hereditary diseases and absolutely drew the line at women who were Indian or suspected of being of mixed race. She intuited that her son William had formed an attachment with an Indian woman, took laudanum, outlived her husband and all but two of her children, and died purblind, physically and mentally. For me, the cherry on top of this rich cake was “Old Pop,” otherwise known as the Rev. Thomas Robert Malthus, who, in 1806, was one of Aleck’s professors at the East India College. Aleck thought his material was fascinating and his manner gentle, but had “Rate my Professors” been around, may have taken off half a point for the disagreeable effect of his speech caused by a cleft lip and palate.

I was particularly pleased to meet Jane’s sister’s husband, Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee. My research on Jane Cumming, the biracial woman who in 1810 alleged that her Edinburgh schoolmistresses were sexually intimate, had previously introduced me to Woodhouselee in his judicial capacity. I knew him as one of the Court of Session judges who determined the defamation case which Jane’s allegation had spawned when her grandmother Helen Cumming Gordon’s spreading of Jane’s story led to the teachers’ loss of livelihood. Woodhouselee argued in his 1812 determination that lesbianism was “a thing almost impossible,” and his cogent presentation of the Orientalist woman as lascivious tipped the balance against the defendant, Lady Cumming Gordon. In *For the Love of a Highland Home*, I met a very different Lord Woodhouselee—a loving and doting uncle to the Fraser children. For a while Aleck was educated at his residence, along with Woodhouselee’s children, by a Reverend Black, a man so painfully shy that he couldn’t walk straight into a room. We take the concept of reasonable accommodations for granted, but Woodhouselee had already implemented it in 1803 when, in the evenings, he left the family door slightly open so that the elfin Mr. Black could, as Fraser writes, “slip through the shadows from one chair to the next while no one was looking” (p. 39) until he found his own place near Woodhouselee.

*Call of Empire* is the more researched, the more academic account. While both authors necessarily read through their family archives, Baillie also spent hours poring over supporting material at the National Records of Scotland, Cambridge University Library, and the Asia and Pacific Collection of the British Library, which includes the India Office Records. His documentation is exemplary. From time to infrequent time, while reading *For the Love of a Highland Home*, I was in doubt as to authorship of a quote or whether a quotation came from a letter or a journal, and if a letter, to whom it was addressed. Reading Baillie’s narrative, however, I always knew who said what to whom, where, in what context, whether in personal letter, formal correspondence or account, memoir, or in a diary. Baillie’s notes will therefore be of great help to scholars who wish to pursue lines of inquiry raised by this study. As many of the characters were in the army, large swaths of *Call of Empire* describe in detail the battles and wars they fought. Since Baillie makes no concession for the ignorance of those for whom, for example, the Anglo-Maratha Wars don’t ring a bell, generalist readers might find these sections of his book dry. The audience that would most appreciate these factual sections would be eighteenth-century military historians.

Yet the man behind that authoritative voice is very much a thoughtful presence in his book about his ancestors. In the preface he opens up about what he calls “the European sense of entitlement and racial superiority” (p. x) that permeates the letters in the family archive. Baillie distances himself from these offensive attitudes but notes that writing as a historian required him to include them in order to give an accurate picture of the period; he trusts that his readers will be able to distinguish between the views of his ancestors and his own. And throughout the book, Baillie reveals himself as a bracingly subversive commentator on the British in India.

The epigrams that begin each chapter offer mordant commentary on the chapter content. My favorite is the quotation from Woody Allen that heads the chapter titled “Baillie-ki-Paltan,” Baillie’s regiment in the East India Company Army, which he joined in 1764: “More than any other time in our history, we face a crossroads. One path leads to despair and total hopelessness, the other to total extinction. Let us pray we have the wisdom to choose correctly” (p. 47). Six chapters and nineteen years later, William’s troops are defeated at the Battle of Polilur; in the seventh, William is imprisoned in a dungeon and dies. His defeat and death rest squarely on the shoulders of the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir Hector Munro. Munro dilly-dallied in sending reinforcements and underrated the military genius of Hyder Ali, whose rockets hit the tumbrils holding the British explosives. As for Hyder Ali, he showed an indifference to human life by making William’s men march 240 miles in irons. What

awaited the survivors of this death march was spirit-breaking defilement: forced conversion to Islam. Author Baillie quotes from a post-circumcision remark from a note written by one of the men: “All Mussulman, all lost, all undone forever” (p. 180).

In focusing on two Baillies, William Baillie of Dunain, the loser hero in the Battle of Pollilur, and his nephew John Baillie of Leys—by turns professor of Arabic, Persian, and Mohammedan law at the College of Fort William, securer of the rich territory of Bundelkhand, resident at Lucknow, M.P., and a director of the East India Company—while not neglecting Baillies of later generations, Alexander Charles Baillie follows a structurally simpler narrative path than Kathy Fraser. But in hewing to the straighter path, *Call of Empire* introduces the reader to two formidable, self-confident, and bossy women, Isabella and Anne Baillie, respectively the mother and sister of two unfortunate brothers of the third generation, Archibald (“Archie”) and William. Archie was at best an indifferent student, but Isabella pulled strings and the East India Company Board of Directors appointed him to a writership in 1810. However, though selected for service in India, Archie developed health issues and relinquished the position. Soon after, his mother mounted a successful campaign to have Archie’s writership transferred to his brother William. William arrived in Bombay in 1811 but by 1813 was showing signs of severe mental illness in which he raved of an attachment to a male Asiatic he met in Baghdad. By 1814 he was back in London, where Isabella was informed by a concerned family acquaintance that he was “far from...correct or coherent” (p. 244). Isabella then asked the Court of Directors to grant him an allowance of £300 a year and was partially successful, as the Court ruled him eligible for an annual allowance of £120. William returned to Dunain, where he was cared for by a male cousin; he never recovered. William’s sister Anne, a meddlesome, obstinate, and annoying woman, attempted to obtain guardianship, but as her appearances upset him, she was told to limit them to short, supervised visits and consider moving in with her mother. Family members exchanged letters in which they commented openly on her interference, though rather like the proverbial mice, none dared bell the cat. Court orders of protection being far in the future, William’s caregivers could only express their unhappiness that Anne continued to visit.

The Baillies of Dunain and of Leys and the Frasers of Reelig were related by marriage, and George Fraser’s wife remarked that the Baillies and Frasers, together with only two other families, constituted “the ornaments of the country” (p. 375), meaning India. Since the Frasers and the Baillies were families in East India Company service, it is not surprising that their paths crossed or their careers took them to the same places or that, over time, the men found themselves at home in India. In 1812 cousin John Baillie, now the Resident at Lucknow, but understanding the attachment of a gentry family to its ancestral estate, apparently offered to provide Edward Fraser with close to seven thousand pounds to bail out Reelig. In 1814 James Fraser was hospitably entertained by the same cousin. The panoramic views from the Residency’s rooftop inspired the artistic James to resume sketching, and James is largely known today because of his watercolors. In 1813 James Fraser was able to ingratiate himself into the society of Lord Moira (Francis Rawdon-Hastings), who served as Governor-General of India, but Moira was John Baillie’s nemesis and in 1815 dismissed John from his Lucknow post for what he called a “captious disposition and domineering tone” (p. 351). Luckily James got to Lucknow before John was dismissed.

William Fraser visited Afghanistan in 1809 at the age of twenty-five, as part of a diplomatic mission to Kabul. He looked forward to ice skating there but instead endured weeks of boredom while the mission waited for the king, Shah Shuja, to grant them an audience. When the king finally appeared, William was overwhelmed by his appearance. His eyes and eyelashes were blackened with antimony, and from the crown down he was, William wrote to one of his brothers, “smothered in enormous emeralds, rubies and pearls” (p. 108). Every inch the Oriental despot, his posture nonetheless reminded William of the Whig politician Charles James Fox thundering against his opponents in the House of Commons. By the time a third-generation Baillie named Alexander marched into Kabul in 1841, this peaceful (if fraught) meeting of the twain had given way to the Afghanistan-centered struggle between imperial Britain and Czarist Russia, the so-called Great Game. Intent on protecting India from Russian aggression, the British invaded Afghanistan in 1839, the first of a number of costly and unsuccessful attempts to win the Afghans’ allegiance. Author Baillie quotes a contemporary (and still timely) newspaper account of the 1839 invasion as “the most unjust, ill-advised and unnecessary [war] that ever the British name or reputation was risked on” (p. 260).

William Baillie spent two decades in India. As time passed, and he felt increasingly comfortable in the homosocial world of the East India Company Army, he stopped asking to be kept informed of the minute particulars of life back in Scotland and kept postponing his return. William Fraser spent three decades in India and also bonded with men. His bonding was cross-cultural, for he surrounded himself with devoted Indians who were formerly members of lawless groups. He also became a vegetarian, adopted Indian dress, wrote an English so flowery that it appeared to have been translated from Persian, and came to be regarded as a lost cause by his family. In their different ways, each found an India where he formed meaningful relationships. John Baillie spent more than two decades in India. After he used diplomatic and military means to secure Bundelkhand, he won the approbation of his superiors. He felt he belonged to British India, but when he fell out of favor and was forced to return to Britain, he came to feel at home there as well. As already mentioned, he became a director of the East India Company and an M.P. So his story is one of adaptability as well as affiliation. He also had the satisfaction of living to see Lord Moira “skewered” in the press for leaving India with so many unpaid bills that, in order to avoid his English creditors, he fled to the Continent (p. 349).

Manuscript collecting and language learning is a common theme in both books. The Fraser connection to India began with James Fraser (1713–1754), a gifted linguist who returned home from East India Company employ with Sanskrit manuscripts and other Oriental treasures, now housed at the Bodleian Library. Until quite recently, grammar translation was the method used to acquire a foreign language, and by the end of his second year in India his grandson William Fraser developed written proficiency in Persian, Arabic, Hindustani, and Bengali through this method. Something of a perfectionist, he was disappointed when he won only two prizes in Arabic and Bengali in the exams conducted at Fort St. George. Later he acquired verbal fluency in these tongues; it would seem that among his happiest moments were the times when he and tribal elders sat out in the open, exchanging Persian couplets, each trying to outdo the other.

As I read about this poetic exchange, I was deeply moved, for I saw how William Fraser had become, in his own words, “wedded to India” (p. 122). The poetry competition also reminded me of how tabla and sitar players engage in an improvised musical duel in the *alap* movement of a *raga*, much to the delight of the audience. Then I remembered how an old friend of mine who had served in the British Army in World War II said that in villages now in Pakistan the elders would speak of “Sikander” (Alexander the Great) as if he had recently passed through. Unlike Alexander Charles Baillie, who visited the places in India associated with his two principal subjects, Kathy Fraser did not cross any seas; had she done so, would she have met local *griots* for whom William Fraser’s performances were still fresh?

John Baillie’s command of native languages was remarkable. He wrote two Arabic grammar books, and his exceptional fluency garnered him the attention of the Governor General, Sir John Shore, who in 1798 selected him to translate from Arabic a compilation of the laws of Shia Islam. When he returned to Britain in 1816, he brought with him priceless manuscripts, now housed in Edinburgh University Library. Some years before the third-generation William Baillie became mentally ill, he told his brother Archy that success in East India Company employ depended on the acquisition of Oriental languages. He advised Archy to first master Greek and Latin, as “they are the roots of all foreign languages” (p. 331). With an eye on succeeding to the residency at Baghdad, the unfortunate William went there to master Arabic and Persian. The sale of William’s Arabic books paid for his transport home. On a slightly different note, which also brings out the value of having a second language at one’s disposal, the first generation William Baillie and his underwhelming superior Sir Hector Munro had enough communicative competence in Gaelic to use it as cipher.

A second family resemblance relates to sexual behavior. In the Scotland in which both the Baillies and the Frasers grew up, irregular connections between men of the landed gentry and women of lower classes were common, and children were born from them in significant numbers. Kathy Fraser informs us that before James left for India, he asked his father to look after two of his offspring. Though we don’t know how the lives of James’s two children turned out, we know from other sources that such children were often absorbed into the Scottish social fabric. Some males became factors; others were guided toward the law and the army or received an education that enabled them to follow potentially lucrative commercial careers. This pattern of behavior was carried to India by the Scots lads who went there, most of whom were adolescents. William Fraser arrived in India in 1802, aged eighteen. He understood that the young men in East India Company employ, thinking that India was a bottomless corn chest, were in reality lonely and homesick. Though food was plentiful, life under the Indian sun was harsh, and temptation was everywhere. His father may well have given him the common advice to maintain a concubine rather than frequent prostitutes. And, as author Baillie notes, “the economics of keeping a mistress were... advantageous” to the maintenance of irregular connections (p. 84). The staggering number of births recorded in baptismal records indicates that many young East India Company officers—as one of them, James Thomas Grant, wrote in a letter to his father—were not staying “morally insulated from everything of interest” in their new environments (National Records of Scotland, GD248/690/2/B). William Baillie, the loser hero of the Battle of Pollilur, was the father of a girl named Ann by an unknown Indian woman. His nephew John, having fallen in love with a noblewoman of the court of Oude (now Awadh), was gifted this lady by her father, the king. John and the Begum, affectionately referred to as Lulu, had three children. Author Baillie devotes a chapter to John’s best friend Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, a Persian translator who distinguished himself in the foreign, political, and secret service of the East India Company and also had four children, possibly by different mothers.

However, in spite of growing up in a sexually tolerant culture in which mixed-class children were born, William Fraser, now twenty-two years old, was disturbed by the Baillie and Edmonstone contribution to population growth in India. India-born children of mixed race were for him in a different category from Scottish-born children of mixed class. In a letter written from Calcutta to his parents in 1806, he singled out Baillie and Edmonstone for producing “families of countryborn children,” and then continued, “What a care is that to provide for, and if they are Girls, how much more difficult to bring them up in the paths of virtue and honor!” (p. 81). Somewhat later he stepped off the moral high road and formed an attachment to a woman named Amiban, with whom he had three children.

William Fraser’s remark about mixed-race girls recalls the Orientalist paradigm which, to use modern terminology, held as a notorious fact that the blood of all women of Asian origin carried a marker for lasciviousness as well as the feeling that caste-conscious Indian society had no mechanisms for accommodating mixed-race children. If their Scottish fathers didn’t take responsibility for them and their Indian mothers couldn’t bring them

home to their families, these girls were without protectors and particularly vulnerable to sexual exploitation. Recognizing the problem, the British set up schools and orphanages for this new and growing social community, but many fathers from the landed gentry, hoping that their children would have a better future in more sexually tolerant Scotland, sent their children back home. These included William and John Baillie, Neil Benjamin Edmonstone, and William Fraser who, not surprisingly in light of his earlier comment, sent only his daughter, Amy. Since Fraser and Edmonstone thought the children would be embarrassments to their families, they sent them back under names that everybody knew were assumed and boarded them with others. However strong their attachment to their children's mother, and not considering the mother's feeling for her children or the children's need for the mother, all these fathers left their partners behind, sometimes assuaging their conscience with a monetary bequest in their wills. (Baillie convincingly disputes the claim that John Baillie returned with his partner, the Begum.)

However, the evidence suggests that the mixed-race girls who were sent back fared better than their male counterparts. Lest he rise above his station, Edmonstone prevented one of his sons from attending university, but he might have had a hand in the marriage of his daughter Eliza to John Barker Plumb. Plumb and Eliza went to Calcutta, where Plumb was in banking. He did well, and upon their return, the Plumbs lived in affluent Notting Hill. Their children also did well, many of them becoming servants of the British Empire. Amy arrived in Scotland by 1814, but by 1834 she had only twice met her grandmother, who deliberately maintained the by-now exploded fiction that Amy was the daughter of one Frederick Young. Amy subsequently married John Forsyth, a leather merchant in Keith. They named their boys after the Fraser brothers; their divorce in the third decade of their marriage was unrelated to her Indian past. Amy was as proud of her Indian heritage as she was conscious of her link to the Frasers of Reelig. In later life, Amy called herself Amy Surwen Fraser Forsyth, Surwen being another of her mother's names. On her death certificate she is identified as the daughter of William Fraser of the East India Company. Neither of Amy's brothers did as well. In 1844 one of them, a dissolute character, wrote to his grandmother asking for money, claiming he was the sole support of his wife and his aged mother (Amiban), but back in Scotland his uncle James intercepted the letter.

Of the three families, the Baillies were the least racist. The Baillie children were sent back under the name of Baillie. William Baillie's daughter Ann was fully integrated into the Baillie family circle. She married a surgeon and returned to India. The couple lived happily until they died, one day apart, in a cholera epidemic. John Baillie had children from a "lawful" marriage but favored his three mixed-race children with the Begum, Henrietta, John Wilson, and Anne, and brought them to Britain. When Henrietta died, he put up a plaque in the High Church of St. Stephen in Inverness. The death of John Wilson devastated him. Daughter Anne returned to Lucknow in 1829, apparently to visit her mother. If that was indeed the reason, then John Baillie showed a sensitivity uncommon for his age, particularly in light of perhaps the most heart-wrenching scene in Dalrymple's *White Mughals*, where Kitty Kirkpatrick recalls India, her mother and grandmother, and her forcible removal: "I often think of you," Kitty wrote to her grandmother many years later, "and remember you and my dear mother. I often dream that I am with you in India and that I see you both in the room you used to sit in... When I dream of my mother I am in such joy to have found her again that I awake, or else am pained in finding that she cannot understand the English I speak. I well remember her cries when we left her" (p. 387). When John Wilson died, John Baillie changed his will so that Anne became the principal beneficiary of an estate valued at about £180,000. When she died, this estate passed to her children. They squandered their inheritance, but luckily for us, bequeathed the manuscripts to Edinburgh University.

Most studies dealing with India in the long eighteenth century and even beyond (both these books extend into Victoria's reign) must confront the problem of death and dying in a foreign land, and *For the Love of a Highland Home* and *Call of Empire* are no exceptions. As I write in advised isolation during the time of the Covid-19 pandemic, when families cannot visit their hospitalized loved ones or observe funeral rites, this theme resonates deeply. William Baillie spent his last months shackled to a prison wall. When he died, his burial was attended by one European. In late November 1821 James Fraser was twenty miles south of Isfahan when his traveling companion Dr. Andrew Jukes died of cholera. James recruited local Armenian Christians to attend the ceremony at which he read *The Order for the Burial of the Dead* from the *vade mecum* of the epoch, *The Book of Common Prayer*. In his journal, he wondered who would perform these rites for him if he too succumbed to cholera.

However, the grimness is sometimes accompanied by flashes of humor, images of coping and preparedness, and kindness. In 1837 James and Jeannie Fraser were moving from one quarantine camp to another as the plague raged around them during their return from Turkey. From one lazaretto high up in the Transylvanian Alps, Jeannie wrote a droll letter to her sister-in-law back in Scotland that normalized and minimized their danger. While their carriages were always in danger of toppling down a ravine, she focused on how the jolting "confounded" the mechanism of her watch. A doctor came daily to inspect them for signs of the plague. They beguiled the time reading, singing, writing, and drinking tea. They did not lack for food, which was sent from the local inn. Jeannie reported that their clothes were hung up higgledy-piggledy on pegs round the walls of their three rooms: chemises, velvet gown, pantaloons, waistcoats "most tastefully interspersed...with caps, veils and ribands" (p. 374). This sartorial easy familiarity, which reminded her of a pawnshop in Edinburgh's Old Town, allowed her reader to comprehend the new normal as a variation on a customary practice.

Finally, there was compassion. In 1841 George Fraser was granted sick leave and told to go to a hill sta-

tion in south India to regain his strength before attempting the long voyage home. He got as far as Aurangabad. Unable to proceed further, he was taken to the home of complete strangers, Captain and Mrs. Strange, where he died. In 2015 George's tombstone was uncovered in the cemetery of the Christian church in Aurangabad, and Kathy Fraser includes a photograph of it. This evidence suggests that far from home someone performed the funeral rites that might provide solace and closure.

If these books go through another edition, I would ask Baillie to add "paltan" to his *Glossary of Anglo-Indian and Scottish Terms* and the current spellings of the places he refers to as Bundelcund and Oude to his list of *Colonial and Current Place Names*. I would ask Fraser to change the identity of the hospitable general James met in Mhow from "General Sir John Baillie" to General Sir John Malcolm, add Mhow to the index, and identify the recipients of all the letters she quotes. But these are minor points. Like gossip family, these books talk to and at each other, allowing the reader to weigh and compare the experiences of these Scottish men and women from the past. The experience was particularly rewarding for me because I was able to connect on a personal level as well. By the end I felt immeasurably enriched, as if I had taken two complementary tours to the same country, led by guides who summoned up, without nostalgia, the places known to their ancestors, uncovering both the personally interesting and the still historically reverberating events that shaped their characters' lives.

## The Virtues of Commerce, or the Tenderhearted Idler?:

### Rousseau and Smith in Exchange

By Mike Hill, University at Albany, SUNY

Maria Pia Paganelli, Dennis C. Rasmussen, and Craig Smith, eds., *Adam Smith and Rousseau: Ethics, Politics, Economics*. Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018. Pp. vii + 331.

Charles L. Griswold, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith: A Philosophical Encounter*. London and New York: Routledge, 2018. Pp. x + 275.

Ryan Patrick Hanley, *Love's Enlightenment: Rethinking Charity in Modernity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017. Pp. ix + 182.

In *Politics in Commercial Society: Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith* (2015), a book originating as the Carlyle Lectures at Oxford University, the late Istvan Hont asked us to reconsider the longstanding tendency in modern political theory to place Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith in opposition. In one way, the default-setting of Anglo-French theoretical estrangement is understandable. Although Rousseau (1712–78) and Smith (1723–90) were near contemporaries, they never corresponded, and probably never met. All we have from Smith are two references to Rousseau's *Discourse on Inequality* in an anonymous letter to the *Edinburgh Review* in 1756.

However, in another way, the similarity of concerns in their respective bodies of work is too remarkable to ignore. That Smith linked his French counterpart to Mandeville in the *Edinburgh Review* letter suggests he may have had commercial vice on his mind well before—or at least alongside—the more elaborate claims for commercial virtue he lays out in his later books. To think so would be consistent with Hont's wanting to break the stalemate between Smith and Rousseau, where the advocacy of commerce and liberalism comes up against the abhorrence of inequality and the revolutionary impulses of republican ideals.

It is therefore fitting that the editors of *Adam Smith and Rousseau* (hereafter, *ASR*) introduce the volume with Hont's goal of interpreting Rousseau and Smith in exchange and beyond their roles as political foils. Indeed, all of Part I of this book provides convincing rationale for the new "task [of] comparative Enlightenment Studies" (*ASR*, p. 9). The emphasis here is not only on the long-acknowledged "tension between self-interest and sentimental sociability" but also on bringing forth "significant shared connections" (*ASR*, p. 10) between two once disparately regarded figures.

Taking a cue from the editors' introduction, the first chapter of Part I by Ryan Patrick Hanley focuses on Hont, qualifying his invitation to see Rousseau and Smith in common cause. He does this by sussing out three primary theses from Hont's work. First, "More needs to be done," Hanley suggests, to show that Smith "rejects sociability" (*ASR*, p. 22). Secondly, to suggest that the *Wealth of Nations* contains a Hobbesian strain of capitalism does not acknowledge Smith's "forthright critique of the selfish system in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*" (*ASR*, p. 22). Hanley's third qualification of Hont is to ask for further scrutiny of Smith's "'natural history,'" which mixes a tinge of Humean skepticism with the theories of Hutcheson on sympathetic moral spectatorship. Hont suggests that we focus on "Rousseau's account of the origin of government" alongside "Smith's [stadial] account of the emergence of institutional authority" (*ASR*, p. 25). But, as Hanley notes, private property is regarded by Rousseau in the *Discourse on Inequality* as "a confidence trick" (*ASR*, p. 27). This has radical implications for assessing Smith's position that the state's primary role is protecting the rich from the poor. In order to bring Rousseau and Smith closer together, one would have to concede that government can also be called upon to "transcend the worse

effects of [material] inequalities [and] rectify political injustice” (ASR, p. 27).

Mark Hulliung, too, in the following chapter, suggests that we must think twice “when we compare and contrast [the] two thinkers” (ASR, p. 9). Hulliung states that the moderate Scottish literati wished to “bury from memory...the dangerous experiment [of] natural rights and inalienable popular sovereignty” (ASR, p. 40). They repudiated the Puritan revolution’s leveling tendencies and opposed Lockean contract theory. The glaring absence of Rousseau in the works of Smith, David Hume, Adam Ferguson, and the like is consistent with their wanting to “keep the contract away from the many, the uneducated populace, [and] the mob” (ASR, p. 41).

The chapters in Part II, which emphasize the common concern in Rousseau and Smith for a reconciliation between self-interest and sympathy, serve as rejoinders to the caution expressed in Part I. Christel Fricke examines Hanley’s earlier work, which presents a “more skeptical account of Smith’s appropriation of, and agreement with, Rousseau” (ASR, p. 58). He also notes that Smith does not accept Rousseau’s “utopian political solution.” Fricke moves from there to a “cost-benefit analysis of [that solution’s] socio-economic effects” (ASR, p. 55).

The argument is similar in the two subsequent chapters in Part II. According to Mark J. Hill, Rousseau’s “general will solution” marks a tension between the “internal and voluntarist” (ASR, p. 94) nature of Smith’s impartial spectator and Rousseau’s desire for a strong state. For John McHugh, an innate human appeal to moral sympathy underlies Smith’s response to Bernard Mandeville and serves as a point of contrast with Rousseau’s indictment of our “vain desire of superiority” (ASR, p. 119). Smith’s pursuit of an “idealized other” is presumed to serve the twin goals of social and self-control in the form of “sentimental harmony” (ASR, p. 119).

Part III provides three additional chapters pursuing the theme of sympathy and social order, specifically, in the context of commercial self-interest. Michael Schleeter shifts the disciplinary focus from the *Discourse on Inequality* to *Emile*, finding in the novel a “proposal for moral education” (ASR, p. 10) that should lead to public peace. Here Smith is noted for seeking a way to “reshape the internal conditions...of those who might succumb to illiberal vices” (ASR, p. 137). This is preferable to initiating the external force of “commercial regulations” (ASR, p. 136). As a case in point, the protagonist in *Emile* becomes a model for activating the imagination in order to assuage class conflict: “If the rich and powerful see themselves as being entirely incapable of ever becoming poor and oppressed, they will be unable to see the suffering of the poor and suffering that they could themselves experience” (ASR, p. 139).

Tabitha Baker also moves in a literary-fictional direction. The focus here is on “the eighteenth-century landscape garden” in Rousseau’s *Julie, or the New Héloïse* as “a tool with which to exclude the lower class” (ASR, p. 148). In correspondence with passages often highlighted from Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, the “capacity to empathize is an intrinsically natural mechanism” and restrains “our tendency to emulate and sympathize with the wealthy [and] legitimate the existing social order” (ASR, p. 148). In the next chapter, Adam Schoene finds similar examples of sympathetic spectatorship. Schoene reads *Rousseau, Judge of Jean-Jacques* as an example of its author’s own “divided self.” Rousseau’s attempt to liberate his gaze [and seek] unbiased judgement” is presented as being “kindred to Smith’s impartial spectator” (ASR, p. 167). Here, as in Smith, the harmony between classes is potentially achieved through imaginary means.

Part IV turns to issues of “commercial society and justice,” with its first chapter, by Charles L. Griswold, offering a version of Smith contrasting with Rousseau on “the appearances and estrangement from one’s true self” (ASR, p. 11). According to Griswold, “Smith’s contrasting take on the issue” is to balance “commerce as social exchange” (ASR, pp. 185–86). Thus, Smith counters Rousseau with a “kind of cool, third person detachment” (ASR, 192). This is a necessary element of “persuasion” (ASR, p. 204), and is preferable to whatever implicitly impassioned forms of direct action might be advanced by the uneducated masses. Jimena Hurtado approaches the question of justice by specifying three different typologies of just action, the first akin to one of Griswold’s themes: “the communicative, the distributive, and the estimative” (ASR, p. 11). While Smith and Rousseau “disagree in their appraisal of commercial society on the grounds of justice” (ASR, p. 214), they agree that “the law, or positive justice” can establish fair rules, “and that government exists to enforce them” (ASR, p. 215).

The final section of the volume, Part V, features chapters on Rousseau’s definition of republicanism in comparison with Smith’s conception of liberty (Dennis C. Rasmussen); the relationship between public opinion, personal liberty, and popular sovereignty (Jason Neidleman); and finally, the vexed issue of international relations in Rousseau and Smith (Neil Saccamano). Rasmussen moves the term republicanism in a more historically nuanced direction, suggesting that there are elements of both negative and positive conceptions of liberty in each figure’s rendition of the bond between citizen and state. Neidleman notes: “both [figures] are troubled by the seeming incompatibility between personal liberty and popular sovereignty” (ASR, p. 12). Even though they differ in expected ways on “government intervention into the process of will formation” (ASR, p. 262), rather like the impartial spectator within each individual human subject, each philosopher serves the other as a point of mutual “correction” (ASR, p. 279). Where Neidleman sees common cause to “protect personal liberty from the incursions of interested factions” (ASR, p. 279), Saccamano’s closing essay suggests a point of contrast between Rousseau and Smith. While Smith “advocates for global flows of commerce...as a means to temper hostilities” (ASR, p. 285), Rousseau “takes seriously the possibility of transnational political institutions” (ASR, p. 286).

In *Jean-Jacques Rousseau and Adam Smith* (hereafter, *JRA*), Charles Griswold joins the “heated controversy” (*JRA*, p. xix), but with an emphasis on subjective rather than political or historical concerns. His

“orientation is that of a philosopher, not a historian” (*JRA*, p. xx). This adherence to modern disciplinary norms (perhaps the reason Hont is not mentioned) has consequences that are connected to both the method and the principles of selection that orient the book. Philosophy, understood specifically as ontology and ethics, rather than politics or epistemology, also dictates its theme.

Because “philosophy is fundamentally dialogical,” all five chapters stage a “back and forth between Rousseauian and Smithian views” (*JRA*, p. xx). Because philosophy eschews “the transmission of ideas, [and] historical context” (*JRA*, p. xx), Griswold is not interested in “a comprehensive interpretation” of Rousseau and Smith. Instead, his work is a “highly selective” one (*JRA*, p. xix). This means discrete selections from Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and *Wealth of Nations*; from Rousseau, we are referred to his play, *Narcissus* (including its “Preface”), the first and second *Discourse*, and *The Social Contract*. With this selection of texts, Griswold homes in on philosophy’s appropriate province: “the question of the self” (*JRA*, p. xvii).

In Chapter 1, Griswold concludes that Rousseau’s recasting of Ovid on “whether we ever know or love the other as other...remains unanswered” (*JRA*, p. 13). By contrast, Smith’s “theory of sympathy [and] imaginative understanding [posits] no inner-self behind the persona” (*JRA*, p. 29). In Smith’s approach, selfhood is depicted as a harmonious composite of intersubjective influences through which “a measure of tranquility” is found (*JRA*, p. 25). Chapter 2 addresses how genealogical narrative relates to self-knowledge. For Smith, this is “an act of imagination” (*JRA*, p. 62) conceived as “conjectural history” (*JRA*, p. 75) in personal form. Biographical and historical events are shown to produce “moral benefits” (*JRA*, p. 91) narrated and repeated coherently as long as the narration remains silent about factors deemed too large to comprehend. This principle of selectivity counters Rousseau in the second *Discourse*, where one finds the unhappier predicament of “self-estrangement...cognitive, affective, dispositional, and desiderative capacities, very much tied to social formation” (*JRA*, p. 53).

The dialogue between Rousseau and Smith continues in Chapter 3, on sociability, sympathy, and *pit e*. Before the emergence of sociability and *amour propre*, *pit e* is “minimally cognitive” and “does not involve putting oneself in place of the agent” (*JRA*, p. 105). Rousseau regards sociability as artificial, which nudges self-understanding into Ovidian narcissism. This problem is circumvented by Smith in his dismissal of “false consciousness” as adhering too closely to an essentialist distinction between truth and error (*JRA*, p. 146). In Griswold’s rebuttal to Rousseau vis- -vis Smith, “parties to a sympathetic exchange can be trusted to get it right enough” (*JRA*, p. 147).

Chapter 4 explores the concept of “exchange” in its more overtly commercial context, particularly as it contributes to the “inequality of power, wealth..., [and the] anxiety about measuring up to conventional norms” (*JRA*, p. 150). Where Rousseau “means very much to include commercial exchange as an object of critique” (*JRA*, p. 154), Smith replies in *Wealth of Nations*: “vices have no explicit role in exchange” (*JRA*, p. 157). Moreover, “exchange” may be interpreted in its communicative mode as a matter of “persuasion.” This ideal, echoing Samuel Fleischacker’s affirmation of the “virtues of commerce,” is “not only derived from speech and morality but also involves norms and fairness” (*JRA*, p. 159).

The ideal equation between commercial exchange and communicative reason extends to Griswold’s analysis of the politics of religion in the book’s final chapter. Whereas Rousseau’s social contract posits “a mandatory civil religion [that] is broadly political rather than theological” (*JRA*, p. 191), Smith “argues for a free market of religions...a competitive process [that mirrors] a free market model.” This model is pronounced by Smith to be a “self-organizing and self-regulating social whole” (*JRA*, p. 232).

In Griswold’s book overall, Smith’s “conception of the imagination as fundamentally harmonizing” (*JRA*, p. 237) ascends over Rousseau’s critique of commercially oriented selfhood. In that affirmation, Griswold offers the prospect that personal identity and social justice can be integrated without appealing to political or theological absolutes.

In Ryan Patrick Hanley’s *Love’s Enlightenment* (hereafter, *LE*), the squaring of individualism and equality is less an issue than the way in which modernity’s canonical thinkers too eagerly jettisoned classical appeals to “transcendence.” Hanley argues that the “Enlightenment’s...revolutionary reconsideration of the forms of love [that existed] prior to Romanticism” (*LE*, p. 6) ought to be reconsidered from a more expansive historical vantage point. He thus shifts from the consensual view of Smith and his intellectual kin, which holds that sentimentalized other-directedness is (recalling Griswold) “right enough” for “mitigating the exclusivity of [commercially directed] self-concern” (*LE*, p. 3). “The Enlightenment conception of love,” he writes, “reduced the triangle [of self, other, and divine] to a...flat continuum defined by two poles of love of self and love of others (emphasis mine, *LE*, p. 16). This binary,” he continues, “may incline us toward the selfish side” (*LE*, p. 20). What is “transcendent”—a keyword in Hanley’s argument—is both “illegitimate” and “unseen” (*LE*, p. 16). Moreover, the “transcendent” is philosophically and ethically expansive, as he puts it: “both wide and felt by every human being, toward every human being” (emphasis original, *LE*, p. 20).

It is apt that Hanley starts with Hume’s concept of “humanity.” Whereas sympathy can prove to be reductive, Hume seeks a definition of human kind that can “forge bonds with even the most distant others” (*LE*, p. 46). His theory of “resemblance” is particularly notable in this regard because Hume assigns to it a “capacity to...make the distant or absent seem immediate” (*LE*, p. 47). The important point here, once again, is that what is “absent” to human cognition is not a form of emptiness *per se* but is rather a kind of affective surplus: Hume presents a theory

of “humanity [that] attempts to transcend gaps in contiguity [and embrace] *all* mankind” (emphasis mine, *LE*, p. 46). The problem that remains is how to conceptualize that *all*-ness without “requiring [a] recourse to transcendent categories” (*LE*, p. 48). That is what Hume’s skepticism doesn’t allow.

Hanley’s accounts of Rousseau (Chapter 3) and Smith (Chapter 4) are paired in a way that also exhibits a “skepticism toward the human capacity to realize transcendence” (*LE*, 67). The two figures also reveal an “imaginative longing” (*LE*, pp. 74, 77, 81) for “mitigating self-preference” (*LE*, p. 68) that comes up against the problem of large-scale difference which we see in Hume. Rousseau’s “critique of Christianity” suggests “love must indeed succumb to self-love” (*LE*, p. 74). Hanley’s theory of pity seeks the “full actualization...not only of sensation but also the capacity of reflection built on comparison” (*LE*, p. 83). But what “comparative” thinking lacks when it jettisons “transcendence” is not only the “capacity to compare *multiple* objects” but also a “willingness to experience that which is *new* and foreign” (emphasis mine, *LE*, p. 83). Recalling Griswold’s turn to genealogy, Hanley’s reference to “newness” adds the key variable of time to the intricacies of category and the hard-to-scale multiplicities of being.

Smith’s normative ethics compare with Rousseau (and Hume) in a similar way of coming up against skepticism’s epistemic limits. Here again “the desire for sympathy to be “felt *by and for all*” (emphasis original, *LE*, p. 116) falls short. Citing Smith’s remark that moral spectators tend to “despise, or at least, to neglect persons of poor or mean condition,” (*LE*, p. 122), Hanley is more critical of Smith than mainstream scholars of sentimental other-directedness. “Sympathy’s chief social purpose,” he writes, “is to mitigate the main threat to these [liberal social] bonds,” and provide the minimum level of morality necessary for “the preservation of social order” (*LE*, p. 123).

Hanley believes that Immanuel Kant is closer to achieving the “universal love of human kind” than are the Enlightenment figures for whom this kind of bond is “chimerical” (*LE*, p. 140). The “mere tenderhearted idler” thus receives the damning criticism that moral sympathy “reifies inequality between the compassionate and the objects of their compassion” (*LE*, p. 41). In his reading of Kant on the sublime, Hanley notes the importance of aesthetic activities in the pursuit of transcendental moral ideals. But for Kant, telling stories (e.g. of Carazon’s dream) only provides a “wide” enough solution to sympathy’s minimum morality if “the love of others [is placed] under the control or reason” (*LE*, p. 149). Here, Kant’s “categorical imperative” is essential. “The key category,” Hanley writes, “is the subject’s recognition of a very specific element of his nature: his neediness” (*LE*, p. 153). The maxim of “need” presents a way to “have both universal love and self-transcendence without theism” (*LE*, p. 173). Subject and object are unified in this instance. Affective wishfulness is fulfilled by material equality, rather than being addressed in the merely tenderhearted, idle way.

In the epilogue, Hanley opines that in spite of Kant’s “sophisticated response” to the desire for universality, he still “feels that there is something deeply lacking” (*LE*, p. 172). In that statement, Hanley himself (and perhaps we along with him) go on with the “longings” identified in Hume, Smith, and Rousseau. In suspecting that “the resources for this [universality] may be available beyond the West” (*LE*, p. 173), he suggests that the desire for universality continues both within and beyond the Enlightenment, and that it can be renewed if we reconsider the Enlightenment in a more capacious way.

Taken as a whole, these volumes pick up where Istvan Hont was sadly forced to leave off: they open up the field to broader and more productive theoretical landscapes. By ensuring that Smith and Rousseau are no longer reducible to mere theoretical foils, this new wave in comparative Enlightenment studies challenges worn-out orthodoxies while at the same time extending, restoring, and refining some of their shared concerns. There are other Adam Smiths and other Rousseaus still left to discover. These discoveries should lead to new ideas about their theoretical preoccupations and create new knowledge for an Enlightenment still very much in the process of creation.

## Enlightening Enlightenment Edinburgh

By Christopher A. Whatley, University of Dundee

Clarisse Godard Desmarest, ed., *The New Town of Edinburgh: An Architectural Celebration*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2019. Pp. xvi + 320.

David M. Walker, *A Capital Investment: Commercial Architecture in Edinburgh’s New Town*. Edinburgh: The Aperture Trust, 2019. Pp. 36.

A. J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750–1840. With Photographs by Edwin Smith and Contemporary Images by Colin McLean*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2019. Pp. xxxvii + 327.

“This isn’t Scotland,” a friend of mine commented last year during an early evening walk down Edinburgh’s Johnston Terrace, which veers off from the Lawnmarket in the Old Town and then curves round the back of Edinburgh Castle. I know what she meant. We had worked our way up the High Street through thick clusters of meandering tourists, past shops selling all sorts of woollen goods (mainly tartans), whiskies, Scotland football shirts, flags, and plastic models of Highland cattle and other “Scottish” icons. There is even a “Wee Scotland”



shop. True, the line of the steeply ascending, narrowing Royal Mile follows the pattern established in medieval times, and the gilt-edged name plates above the entries to the closes—Mylne’s Court, Gladstone’s Land, Lady Stair’s—and the towering buildings above evoke an unmistakable sense of history. Even so, excessive self-consciousness about a place’s past can make it difficult to escape a feeling of artifice. In many respects Old Edinburgh has that quality—as was incisively observed some time ago by R. J. Morris in an unpublished working paper from 2000 titled “Re-Using the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century City.” Some buildings are what can only be described as medieval Victorian, products of Edinburgh’s Improvement Act of 1867. The statues of Scotland’s heroes of the Wars of Independence, William Wallace and Robert the Bruce, were erected in the same period as monuments to what Graeme Morton defined in 1999 as “Unionist Nationalism” in his seminal book bearing that title. Since 1995 a statue of David Hume has graced the Royal Mile, proudly declaring in bronze Edinburgh’s role in the Enlightenment. More recently, the same sculptor, Sandy Stoddart, was commissioned to produce a statue of Adam Smith for a nearby location—despite Smith’s strong associations with and fondness for Glasgow, where he wrote his ground-breaking *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and his economic ideas began to form.

Yet there can be little doubt that Edinburgh’s Old Town, and the Royal Mile in particular, is Scotland’s best-known *lieu de mémoire*, Pierre Nora’s term for places (or objects) that have become invested with symbolic importance as expressions of a community’s shared past. The three publications that are the subject of this review article deepen our understanding of how Edinburgh, that is the Old and New Towns together, has become a national *lieu de mémoire* and, since 1995, a UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is the city’s history and heritage that is the main draw for international visitors to the Scottish capital. Edinburgh Castle, at the top of the Royal Mile, is Scotland’s number one tourist attraction, but it is through the central areas of the city as whole—including the New Town—that visitors perambulate, with good reason.

First, as the late A. J. Youngson (1918–2004) observed in the 1988 preface to his pioneering *The Making of Classical Edinburgh* (1966), “anyone walking along Princes Street today is presented with one of the most eye-catching views in Europe, and must experience at the same time a wonderful sense of space and, if he or she has any imagination at all, of the passage of time” (p. ix in this edition). It is fitting that Youngson’s enormously influential history should have been published again—for the ninth time in various formats—in 2019, the 250<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the act that began the building of the New Town. Youngson’s tome—illuminated by Edwin Smith’s evocative black and white photographs—provided the intellectual foundation stone for the campaign that led to what Colin McLean of the Scottish Civic Trust describes in his preface to the current edition as the “heroic” conservation of the New Town, which in the early 1960s was in a “sorry state” (p. xxiii). Secondly, as Ranald MacInnes explains in his chapter in the multi-authored *New Town of Edinburgh: An Architectural Celebration*, edited by Clarisse Godard Desmarest, the two “towns” are one entity, and had been from the outset. The portrayal of them from the early nineteenth century as different, the Old as *ad hoc* and organic, the New as a product of improving ideas of rationalism, was mistaken. True, they were separated by the North Loch, now Princes Street Gardens, beneath which is the tunneled railway cutting that opens to the west of Waverley station, but they were connected early on by North Bridge and the man-made Mound upon which were constructed two of “Europe’s great linking buildings” (p. 236), the Royal Scottish Academy and the National Gallery of Scotland. Thirdly, it was the so-called Old Town that begat what was to become the New Town, not as a virgin birth but as the natural product of the ambitions of Edinburgh’s Lord Provost George Drummond and others to improve the existing and overcrowded town in a manner befitting the capital city of North Britain, a process that was being echoed across Europe from Moscow to Lisbon. It was well under way in Edinburgh—notably with the building of the John Adam-designed Exchange (now the City Chambers) in the High Street, centerpiece of Sir Gilbert Elliot’s 1752 *Proposals for carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh* (the subject of the first chapter in Youngson’s book), over ten years before the advent of John Craig’s design for a rectangular development on a ridge to the north of the North Loch. Indeed, Craig had worked on building projects in the Old Town prior to drawing up his plans for what would become the New Town.

Murray Pittock’s chapter in *The New Town of Edinburgh* supports this theme, employing the recently conceived notion of the “Smart City” to argue that the “discrete conditions for a nationally inflected Enlightenment” (p. 19) were to be found in (old) Edinburgh, in some aspects dating back to the later seventeenth century. These included geographic concentration of mainly high tenement buildings and all sorts of people, an unusual degree of intermingling between the classes (notably of the nobility and the professions), and a strong and well-informed associational culture which drew from and underpinned the town’s cosmopolitan social structure and openness to new ideas. Central to much of this, Pittock suggests, was Allan Ramsay, whose circulating/subscription library, role in the development of art education, theatre proprietorship, and conceptualization of a northern cultural metropolis “clearly” foreshadowed the ideas of Drummond and Elliot with respect to the New Town (p. 38). Thus, for Pittock, prior conditions in Edinburgh meant that it was here that the Enlightenment in Scotland was most likely to flourish, and where the impetus for the New Town came. Similar to those economic historians who have been inclined to find greater strength in Scotland’s pre-Union economy than those of us who have argued that the period immediately preceding 1707 was one of multi-factorial, interconnected crisis, Pittock is persuaded that the genesis of ideas for the extension and improvement of the burgh can be found well before 1707, toward the end of the 1670s, when James, Duke of Albany (from 1685 King James VII and II) was in residence in

Edinburgh. Indeed, Margaret Stewart in her chapter goes further and credits James with promoting Bearfords (or Barefoots) Park as a suitable location for a new town, the site upon which James Craig began to implement his plans some eighty years later. Stewart's principal subject, however, is John Erskine, 6<sup>th</sup> Earl of Mar, an architect of the 1707 Union as well as a noted landscaper, who had laid out his own estate at Alloa between 1702 and 1715, when he proclaimed James Edward Stuart as king, and led the Jacobite rising toward its denouement at Sheriffmuir. Thereafter in exile on the continent of Europe, he envisioned a federation of Scotland, England, Ireland, and France, including a triumvirate of the cities of London, Paris, and Edinburgh, for which he drew up ambitious designs. As regards Edinburgh, Stewart argues, much of what Mar suggested—not least the grid pattern of the New Town's streets—was to be found in the 1752 *Proposals*.

While not directly challenging Pittock, Anthony Lewis, in a chapter which features Glasgow alongside Edinburgh, demonstrates that Glasgow's New Town was "well-established" by the time Edinburgh's *Proposals* were published. Indeed, if we were to apply "Smart City" tests to Glasgow—which could also claim an early Enlightenment pedigree—it would be surprising if the result was radically different from Edinburgh's, even though the former was not a seat of government, other than local, was differently organized spatially, and had what seems to have been a less well developed associational culture; arguably, it was less open to external influences and ideas if these challenged prevailing Presbyterian orthodoxies. It is worth bearing in mind too that although they were too small to fit within the "Smart City" framework, as the research of Bob Harris, the late Charles McKean, and myself has demonstrated, throughout much of Scotland during and after the 1720s and 1730s, many provincial burghs, some of which had also in the seventeenth century shown sporadic interest in urban improvement, took up the mantle more enthusiastically—without any reference to Edinburgh. They had been provoked by the nationwide search for a new role and identity for Scotland within the new, post-1707 United Kingdom and, in the aftermath of Culloden, by intensifying demands for order, broadly interpreted, and economic advance. While relatively little remains of New Town buildings in Glasgow, the grid pattern of its streets survives as a powerful material record of the city's architectural ambitions between 1720 and 1750, decades during which, as Lewis notes, "Edinburgh's lord provosts did comparatively little" (p. 83). Lewis's main—and welcome—focus is the two architects who masterminded their respective new town developments, Allan Dreghorn (1706–65) in Glasgow and the better-known James Craig (1739–95) in Edinburgh. What the two men had in common was an awareness of and admiration for European cities such as Lisbon and Paris, while their contemporaries were also aware of other, earlier advances in European urbanism—as in Berlin's broad avenues and city squares. If less can be said on this score with any certainty about Dreghorn, we can be sure that Craig drew on a remarkably rich and diverse range of influences, such as London's fashionable circuses, James Thomson's *The Seasons* (Craig presented himself as an architect of poetry), and eighteenth-century Scottish authorities on mathematics, aesthetics, and beauty, including Lord Kames—with whom Craig worked on the New Town in the 1780s.

Pittock is not alone in searching for the origins of the New Town. The boldest among the contributors to *The New Town of Edinburgh* is Aonghus MacKechnie, whose tantalizing if not entirely convincing thesis is that Edinburgh's New Town—along with the hundreds of planned towns and villages that were created in Scotland from the 1720s and over a century beyond—was part of a Scottish urban tradition that long predated the eighteenth century. MacKechnie sees elements of planning in the layout of Neolithic sites, and even more in the burghs created by King David I in the twelfth century. These displayed common characteristics, such as a wide main street fronted by evenly spaced houses with narrow lots behind, prominent "authority" buildings such as a church or castle (as in Edinburgh but also Stirling, Berwick, and Roxburgh) at the ends of the street or in a similarly prominent location and, from the thirteenth century, tolbooths. Further new towns were created under James VI—Stornoway and Stromness are examples—after which came places like Inverary, relocated after 1743, but with the Duke of Argyll's new castle positioned in relation to the new settlement in a "perpetual display of hierarchy, precisely as Edinburgh's castle overlooked both the Old and New Towns" (p. 56), along with the aforementioned planned village movement. In his chapter MacKechnie deliberately avoids discussion of the latter, as well as of Scotland's post-1945 new towns.

The post-World War II new towns are introduced by Alistair Fair, although his focus is East Kilbride, designated in 1947 as Scotland's first "modern" new town. The new towns—the others were Glenrothes (1948), Cumbernauld (1956), Livingston (1962), and Irvine (1966)—were "part of a [British] national programme of urban and industrial decentralisation, and slum clearance" (p. 195). They differed from the new towns of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries not only in being under the direction of central government but also because they comprised what were called neighborhood units that were deliberately set apart from through roads, with each being large enough to support local shops, schools, and some leisure facilities. Although Fair doesn't quite say so, by pointing out that one aspiration of the planners was to create "ideal" communities, "made up of people from a range of class backgrounds" (p. 199) who would become engaged and active citizens in a democratic society, there is an echo here of one of the distinguishing features of Old Edinburgh, although ironically in the 1940s and 1950s Scottish tenement living was deemed antithetical to sociability. Soon after its foundation it was claimed that East Kilbride was "very much alive socially," and by 1961 it could boast that fifty percent of its 70,000 people were members of a club or society, and that library membership per head of the population was higher than anywhere else in the UK.

Inspired by the Englishman Ebenezer Howard's later nineteenth-century utopianism, which led to the "garden cities" of the 1920s and 1930s, Scotland's post-1945 new towns cannot easily be placed within MacKechnie's centuries-long Scottish schema. Yet in her chapter on the twenty-seven planned textile manufacturing villages that emerged in Scotland and elsewhere in Britain later in the eighteenth century, Ophélie Siméon can legitimately claim to locate the eighteen that were created in Scotland within "national urbanising traditions" (p. 184). These had been made manifest in the many hundreds of "essentially paternalistic" (p. 185) planned settlements that preceded the textile factory villages. The new settlements were an important aspect of estate—and national—improvement, often, as we have seen, with a patriotic dimension. She argues too that factory villages such as New Lanark were not only heirs to such rural urbanism but examples of the traditional overlaps between agricultural and industrial activities on Scottish estates. Yet one wonders if the villages in question—at the heart of which were water-powered spinning mills—are as intrinsically Scottish as she suggests. Indeed, as Siméon herself points out, the establishment of textile mill communities was in large part due to the need of the English mill owner and water frame patentee Richard Arkwright to establish works outside England without legal challenge. In Scotland he was heartily welcomed in places such as Stanley in Perthshire and Spinningdale in Sutherland. And not surprisingly it was Arkwright's Cromford mill village in Derbyshire that provided the model, not only of the size, dimensions, and technical aspects of the mill buildings themselves but also, at least in the beginning, the housing layout, amenities, and workplace discipline. This is not to deny an identifiable Scottish contribution, such as David Dale's advanced paternalism at New Lanark and the Adam-esque features on some Scottish mill buildings. It does, however, justify Siméon's conclusion that "the story of the planned villages of the Scottish countryside is, manifestly, a complicated one" (p. 192). A similar assessment can be applied to the matter of the pedigree of New Zealand's Dunedin, often called the "Edinburgh of the South." Robin Skinner, in his painstaking investigation of the links between the two places, concludes that despite the derivation of the name—New Edinburgh—and the fact that it would be settled by Scottish emigrants in the mid-1840s, there is little to suggest that Dunedin's English surveyor Charles Kettle owed much to James Craig's New Town. True, Kettle was aware of the plans for Edinburgh's Old and New Towns, adopted a grid plan for Dunedin, and gave many streets names "which recall those of Edinburgh's New Town" (p. 172). Tellingly, however, the class distinctions and social hierarchy which marked Edinburgh's New Town were altogether absent from Dunedin, where plots on what was a very different kind of site topographically were allocated by ballot. Neither were distinctions made between major and minor streets. Furthermore, with Kettle and others working alongside him having been involved in laying out colonial towns in New Zealand previously, Skinner concludes that while the New Town may have given Kettle some ideas, there is little to suggest anything other than a superficial similarity.

A complication relating to Edinburgh itself, as revealed in Godard Desmarest's delightfully diverse book, are the perceptions we have of the city, the New Town in particular. The somewhat prosaic title of Stana Nenadic's chapter, "The Spatial and Social Characteristics of Craft Businesses in Edinburgh's New Town, c.1780–1850," belies a fascinating investigation into the character and social composition of the New Town. This had quickly become the prestigious part of Edinburgh. It was its "built evidence of...intellectual progress and civility" (p. 106), as Giovanna Guidicini reveals in her chapter on Royal welcomes in 1822 and 1842, that the organizers of such regal processions wanted King George IV and his successor Queen Victoria (and Prince Albert) to witness. They must surely have been impressed too by the embedded plethora of loyalist symbolism. Although, as Guidicini explains, the monarchs were subsequently taken to view their Old Town residences at the Castle and Holyrood Palace, "the burgh being an in-between space to be passed through" was largely ignored (p. 110). Readers may be surprised by Nenadic's revelation that the New Town plan included "specific provision for artisans" (p. 117) (in Rose and Thistle Streets, for example), where they found employment in a variety of occupations providing for the housing, clothing, furniture, and luxury goods needed by their elite New Town neighbors. Workshops, often attached to retail premises, were commonplace, tucked in at the rear of shops that soon lined Princes and George Streets—although other than the jewelers and silversmiths Hamilton & Inches, little trace of their noise, steam, and smoke remains today. The surprisingly commercial nature of the New Town is underlined in Richard Rodger's study of Edinburgh's place at the heart of an expanding and complex interlocking transport network serving local, regional, and national requirements. Again, Rodger challenges popular perceptions of the New Town in its early decades: "Far from a genteel residential development," he writes, it "was a busy building site with a transport hub and over ninety lodging houses and a handful of hotels" (p. 141). While, as John Lowrey remarks in his chapter, the New Town as originally conceived was to be "without commerce" (p. 147), the initial ambition for an orderly residential suburb was quickly overcome by commercial necessity—that is, rental income for the builders and proprietors from multi-occupancy tenements and, at ground level, retail premises.

The theme of the significance of commerce in the New Town is developed in the third publication noticed here: David M. Walker's brief, illuminating, and superbly illustrated study of the New Town after c.1840, the end point in Youngson's *Classical Edinburgh. A Capital Investment: Commercial Architecture in Edinburgh's New Town* accompanied an exhibition held in the City Art Centre over the winter of 2019–20 that featured the atmospheric black and white images of the city in the early 1960s by the eminent architectural photographer Edwin Smith from alongside those taken recently by Colin McLean. Walker explains the processes by which large areas of the New Town further diverged from the original conception as "an almost wholly residential development" (p.

5) and, instead, from the 1820s became part of the capital's financial hub, hosting a series of spectacular new self-contained buildings by which banking companies, insurance companies, and the like promoted their grandiose business ambitions (and, sometimes, their political affiliation). Designs were by some of the country's leading architects, such as David Bryce, who broke with Georgian neoclassicism in favor of the grandeur and exuberance of the Victorian Renaissance. At the heart of this as well as much debate from the 1930s was Princes Street, once a "barometer of wealth" according to Lowrey (*New Town of Edinburgh*, p. 157). However, as Godard Desmarest shows in the final chapter of her book, by the 1950s, if not before, "the heterogeneous, nineteenth century appearance of the street [where several of the Victorian and Edwardian buildings stood] was considered a problem" (p. 253). Despite, or perhaps partly due to, clashes of opinion which can be traced back to the nineteenth century, and ambitious and only partially fulfilled plans proposed in 1967 for a more integrated redevelopment, it still is. So too at its eastern end was James Craig's elegant George Square. In 1973 this was replaced by the "monumental" St James Centre, which in its turn has been demolished and is being replaced by a modernistic structure, under construction at the present time, that is in stark contrast to the New Town buildings to its west and rear—to the extent that there are fears on the part of conservationists that Edinburgh could lose its UNESCO Heritage Site ranking.

Further change is in the offing. Pre-Covid-19 city planners were looking to permit the opening of restaurants, bars, and cafes along and off Princes Street, rather than its being devoted exclusively to shopping. But this pragmatic adjustment, as the three books noticed here have revealed, has been Edinburgh's experience from the end of the seventeenth century. The needs of the moment—commercial, financial, political, romantic—have at times compromised aspiration and idealism and ensured that neither the Old Town nor the New Town has been allowed to set in aspic. Nevertheless, for residents and visitors alike, Edinburgh still exudes in its streets, closes, buildings, and institutions the spirit of that remarkable era of Europe-wide urban re-envisioning and construction which are the material manifestation of the Enlightenment. The point is reinforced visually in the new edition of Youngson's *Classical Edinburgh*, which includes a set of twenty-four of Colin McLean's images taken in locations used by Edwin Smith on his photographic journey half a century earlier. These McLean deploys to demonstrate that while there have been some slight alterations since the mid-1960s, he was humbled by the "vision and skill of the architects, masons and builders who created such an exquisite ensemble" (p. xxvi) in the seven or so decades after the building of the New Town commenced. And despite the conversions, modifications, and even periodic demolitions, there remains a city that is unmistakably and intrinsically Scottish.

## Edinburgh's Public Face

By Clarisse Godard Desmarest, University of Picardie Jules Verne

Ray McKenzie, with Dianne King and Tracy Smith, *Public Sculpture of Edinburgh*. 2 vols. Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2018. *Public Sculpture of Britain. Vol. 1: Old Town and South Edinburgh*. Pp. xxxi + 538. *Vol. 2: The New Town, Leith, and Other Suburbs*. Pp. xxiii + 574.

Kirsten Carter McKee, *Calton Hill and the Plans for Edinburgh's Third New Town*. Edinburgh: John Donald, 2018. Pp. vii + 224.

*Public Sculpture of Edinburgh* comprises numbers twenty and twenty-one in the Public Sculpture of Britain series, the ambitious collaboration between Liverpool University Press and the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association that will eventually document the outdoor sculptural heritage of the whole UK. These two volumes were carried out by Ray McKenzie, with research by Dianne King and Tracy Smith. The scope and coverage of the catalogue are clearly defined: "Edinburgh" covers the geographical area defined by the Ward Map published by the City of Edinburgh Council; "sculpture" includes free-standing commemorative monuments, architectural carvings, war memorials, fountains, columns, allegorical figures, and decorative work of exceptional quality; "public" refers to works accessible to the public at all times. Falling outside the remit of this study, being outside the guidelines of the National Recording Project, and so of the Public Sculpture of Britain series, are works in graveyards, museums, and churches, or works which are privately held. Thus, Greyfriars churchyard is mostly neglected, while parts of St. Giles and marble statues in Parliament Hall are included.

This publication is the result of research started in 1999 and completed in two volumes rather than one (as originally planned) because of the unexpectedly large body of historical documentation available. The main body of the text is in the form of a *catalogue raisonné* that lists the principal works of art, each of which is presented alphabetically by street name. Individual entries are structured according to a standard template: a detailed description of the work, a critical discussion of its history and, in the case of commemorative monuments, a brief biographical sketch of the subject. Each of the entries is preceded by core data, listing key facts relating to each work, such as its date, materials from which it is made, the content of any inscription associated with it, its dimensions, listed status, custodian, and condition. A number of larger, in-depth entries offer a comprehensive understanding of major works, with appendices on lost and removed works, minor works, and coats of arms, providing a context for more concise entries. As sculpture is so frequently dependent on architecture, architectural notes provide essential

background information.

This work, with its numerous black and white illustrations, will be of immense value to scholars and the wider public. Its main purpose is to make public sculpture “visible” once more to the inhabitants of the city, and to reflect on the social, political, and architectural contexts within which these sculptures emerged. Some of the emotions and enthusiasms which led to their being produced are here carefully presented, relying on a wide variety of primary sources. Contrary to Glasgow, on which Ray McKenzie also worked to produce a sculpture volume in the series, Edinburgh was historically more reluctant to disturb the topographical status quo in the nineteenth century. Clashes of opinion, testing the views of the public and commissioners, were part of the story of many projects; this attitude is epitomized in Lord Cockburn’s polemical pamphlet *A Letter to the Lord Provost on the Best Ways of Spoiling the Beauty of Edinburgh* (1849), regarding the Town Council’s proposal to build Waverley Station on the site of the Trinity College Church.

Both volumes open with an introduction preceded by maps. Volume 1 on the Old Town revolves around James Pittendrigh Macgillivray’s lecture entitled “Sculpture in Scotland,” delivered to the Edinburgh Architectural Association in 1917. His somewhat downbeat view of Edinburgh as a sculptural wasteland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is skewed, according to the authors, who also contend, against Macgillivray, that the nineteenth century offered a base for the encouragement of local sculpture, with the Royal Institution (founded in 1826) and the Scottish Academy of Painting, among others. Many entries prove the fact that the structure of patronage and the choice of subjects changed, as memorial culture developed in the nineteenth century; the commemoration in Edinburgh of James Watt led to the commission of a building, the “Watt Institution” for the School of Arts founded by Leonard Horner in 1821 (designed by architect David Cousin; now the Crown Office, Chambers Street). The role of monuments and sculpture, and the sense of visual closure as developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is analyzed in the introduction to volume 2 on the New Town, which argues that the Melville Column, the Walter Scott Monument, and the Albert Memorial defined urban planning in the post-Enlightenment period. Temporary sculptures were common in the nineteenth century, as exemplified by Robert Forrest’s group sculptures on the Calton Hill, an exhibition which was removed soon after the sculptor’s death in 1852.

This publication is timely given the creation of the piazza outside the National Museum and the inauguration of Alexander Stoddart’s monument to William Playfair (June 2016), which involved the relocation of the existing statue of William Chambers (by John Rhind, 1891) on the street which bears his name. It is also highly relevant in the emotionally charged debates, in the UK and beyond, which question the relevance and continuing appropriateness of statues that were erected in the context of cultural and political circumstances vastly different from those of today.

*Calton Hill and the Plans for Edinburgh’s Third New Town* focuses on the urban development of one of Edinburgh’s seven hills—the most significant in terms of its neoclassical architecture—and sheds light on the broader intellectual and cultural debates that shaped the development of Calton Hill in the early nineteenth century. In this richly illustrated publication, architectural historian Kirsten Carter McKee presents the results of her doctoral dissertation. The book begins with a clear identification of the area under study, as delineated in the 1819 plan by William Henry Playfair (1790–1857) for the Third New Town: the north back of the Canongate to the south, the bottom of Leith Walk to the north, Waterloo Place and Princes Street to the west, and Easter Road to the east. The book aims to reflect on the political and cultural discussions that shaped the development of the Third New Town, and it highlights the importance of the Greek Revival to Scottish national identity, at a time when Scotland had little political identity of its own.

The first of the book’s three parts, “Rural Urbanism to Urban Arcadia: The Evolution of Calton Hill,” explains how Playfair’s unique urban design is the culmination of the development of a discourse surrounding picturesque theory as applied to the urban realm at the turn of the nineteenth century. This, coupled with the construction of Greek Revival architecture on this site, demonstrated Scotland’s understanding of its own significance as a nation, and its pivotal role in ensuring the successes of nineteenth-century British imperial ambition. Chapter 1 discusses how Calton Hill developed into a semi-rural periphery that was to be seen from the rest of the city, as well as being a place from which to view the city. This new approach regarding the cityscape was influenced by Thomas Short’s Observatory (1776), the earliest development of note on the hill, and the *Panorama of Edinburgh from Calton Hill* created by Robert Barker (1739–1806) in 1792. By offering a 360-degree depiction of the urban surroundings, this panorama opened up the landscape, an approach which contrasted with Slezer’s *The North Prospect of the City of Edinburgh* (1693) and its depiction of the narrow confines of the city on the Old Town ridge. The popularity of Barker’s panorama was exploited in the design of the Nelson Monument as an outlook tower fifteen years later (designed by Robert Burn). In the story of Calton Hill’s development and its integration to the city, Robert Adam’s Bridewell played a significant role, prompting numerous attempts by Adam to reconcile the Old and New Towns (as illustrated in his designs for bridges in the 1790s, plates 1.17 and 1.18).

The connection between the Old and New Towns was purely visual until the physical connection was instituted by the bridge spanning Low Calton in 1817; Robert Stevenson’s dramatic piece of engineering and Archibald Elliot’s designs for Waterloo Place are discussed in Chapter 2. This monumental entrance gateway, the equivalent of Waterloo Place in London, set Edinburgh firmly within the context of imperial Britain; Edinburgh, it is argued, adopted a British architectural style to legitimize its place within the union. The details of the 1812–13

competition for the development of the area to Leith is explained in this chapter, as is also the importance of William Stark's report, published posthumously in 1814. Playfair's adopted plan, and his own reports of April and December 1819, were heavily indebted to Stark and his approach to the landscape (Chapter 3). Both Playfair and Stevenson understood the importance of responding inventively to the natural context of the surrounding landscape, and the importance of scale regarding development on the hill. Stark had discussed how the gradual reveal of buildings along bending streetscapes created a level of suspense and interest in the dynamic nature of the urban realm. The development of the site was shaped by the urban aesthetic of the picturesque; architects Thomas Hamilton, Archibald Elliot, William Henry Playfair, and William Stark were all responsive to such ideas.

In 2019 the significance of the approach to the Hill from the west was a major argument given by amenity groups to oppose a modern-day extension of the Royal High School. Both the 2015 and 2017 schemes of the hotel developer included wings on each side of the building, and the potential obscuring of views of the building on that approach. Carter McKee explains that Archibald Elliot's design for Waterloo Place, especially the twin triumphal screen arches, emphasizes the importance of the approach along this route. This classical vista created a ceremonial approach from Edinburgh to Calton Hill, which was used during the visit to the city of the Prince Regent (by then George IV) in 1822.

Part 2, "Burial, Memorial and Commemorative Monuments," explains the development of the commemorative landscape of Calton Hill; how its planning evolved from private (a routine cemetery, and place to bury the dead) to public (a place of national commemoration of dead "heroes"). Through a detailed analysis of the monuments on the hill (in Chapter 4), the author concludes "with the exception of the monument to Lord Nelson, those who were to be commemorated were not representative of the British state, but rather marked the significance of the Scottish contribution to the 'British idea'. In this manner, the allegorical nature of the classical architecture used on this site conducted a dialogue which not only was to glorify the successes of the British state, but also to claim Scotland's role within that success" (p. 121). This interpretation of the Edinburgh landscape in the early nineteenth century accords with John Lowrey's and Richard Rodger's studies of Edinburgh. Carter McKee also shares much of what other scholars—such as Johnny Rodger, on local or national heroes, Miles Glendinning, and Aonghus MacKechnie, on the Scots Baronial—have written about romanticism, and the shift from Greek classicism to Gothic Revival and Scots Baronial, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Part 3, "Unionism to Nationalism," brings to the fore the more social and political dimensions of the Hill, especially in more recent years. Chapter 6 questions the orthodoxy of Calton Hill as a utopia, by focusing on the disjunction between the original agenda promoted by the elite (sitting in municipal and trust committees) and the harsh reality faced by the poor as the nineteenth century unfolded, with the associated effects of industrialization. In addition to beautiful pictorial views of the Hill and its monuments by artists, including J.M.W. Turner and Alexander Nasmyth, the author shows Thomas Begbie's nineteenth-century photographs as well as David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson's experiments with the calotype technique; images of the Dugald Stewart Monument, the Nelson Monument, and the political Martyrs' Monument appear in a different light as the more mundane activities of those who experienced the Hill are presented (such as women bleaching linen). Chapter 7 focuses on the later part of the nineteenth century, when neoclassicism was seen to reflect a unionist, or English, style, and so could no longer be seen to express Scottish cultural identity in face of the developing demand for home rule. The author explains how Calton Hill and its structures became a symbol for state control over Scottish affairs (see the debate about the design for St. Andrew's House in the 1930s), and later for demands for independence in the 1990s.

This book is a welcome analysis, and a beautifully illustrated and well-rounded account, of a discrete area of a city which—as the author shows—is also one of Scotland's most culturally resonant, symbolic, and momentous places.

*Public Sculpture of Edinburgh and Calton Hill and the Plans for Edinburgh's Third New Town* are welcome analyses of the urban layout, architecture, and sculpture of Edinburgh. They also show from the turn of the nineteenth century a changing pattern in patronage, as the rising middle classes celebrated their city and its heroes, utilizing the wealth which flowed in from the empire to produce both an architecture and a sculpture of superlative quality. It is hoped that these two publications will make these facts more apparent to a wider public.

## Scotland: Nation, Enlightenment, and Empire

By Clarisse Godard Desmarest, University of Picardie Jules Verne

*The Remaking of Scotland: Nation, Migration, Globalization, 1760–1860.* An exhibition at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh, 16 June 2018–27 June 2021

*The Remaking of Scotland*, which opened at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery (SNPG) two years ago and runs for another year, explores the remarkable transformation that took place in Scotland over the period from 1760 to 1860, when the nation's place in the world was dramatically redefined following the collapse of the Jacobite cause after the Battle of Culloden in 1746. As well as tracing the changes that took place within Scotland in the areas of science, technology, and literature, the exhibition looks beyond Scotland's borders to highlight the many Scots who ventured farther afield, as soldiers, sailors, administrators, artists, missionaries, and adventurers.

Their destinations ranged across the world, and the exhibition showcases Scots with close relationships to India, the Americas and Caribbean, and the Arctic. Lucinda Lax, Senior Curator of Eighteenth-Century Collections, has created a dynamic exhibition, bringing together a range of fascinating paintings, sculptures, and drawings from the National Galleries of Scotland's outstanding collection.

The opening panel features a portrait from 1769 of James Russell (c.1720–73) with his son James (1754–1836) by David Martin, the most talented pupil of Scotland's leading portrait painter, Allan Ramsay. These two prominent figures in Enlightenment Edinburgh's medical profession (the elder James was head of the Incorporation of Surgeons and later Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University) are presented in an exquisite domestic portrait, or conversation piece. Two stock details—an open book and a globe—are placed in the foreground beside the sitters, symbolizing the intellectual and scientific achievements of the time.

Some of Scotland's best-known literary and musical figures are also shown, including Robert Burns (1759–96) by Alexander Nasmyth; Niel Gow (1727–1807) by Sir Henry Raeburn; Lady Nairne (1766–1845) by Sir John Watson Gordon; James Macpherson (1736–96), in a portrait after Sir Joshua Reynolds; and Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832) by Andrew Geddes. Portraits of internationally celebrated Scottish thinkers and innovators—including the geologist James Hutton (1726–97) by Raeburn; the chemist Joseph Black (1728–99) by David Martin; and the engineer James Watt (1736–1819) by John Partridge—are a reminder of Scotland's central role in European development. These figures laid the foundations for modern science and industry, and their achievements were paralleled in literature by Burns and Scott.

Andrew Geddes's portrait, c.1818, of Sir Walter Scott looking to one side offers a more informal view of the novelist than Raeburn's classic portrait, which was previously on display. Such a choice reflects the curator's effort to include lesser-known works from the collection. A portrait from 1806 of James Maitland, 8<sup>th</sup> Earl of Lauderdale (1759–1839) reminds us of the importance of this intriguing figure who, despite being born into one of Scotland's aristocratic families, developed progressive political convictions. Although familiar to economic historians—he argued against Adam Smith's theory that an increase in private riches would naturally create an increase in public wealth and welfare—Lauderdale remains somewhat obscure to the lay public. A marble bust of Lauderdale, 1803, in neoclassical style echoes the painting in a section on the Revolutionary Wars. The sculpture creates a good vista down the gallery and reminds us that Lauderdale was a fervent supporter of the French Revolution.

The new challenges that arose from a changing social reality, the development of industrialization, and the erosion of religious values, which could easily be hidden by a form of romantic escapism, were nowhere more apparent than in Scotland's involvement in the growing British Empire. A small landscape "On the Quay at Leith" by David Octavius Hill, one of the longest serving and most successful secretaries of the Royal Scottish Academy, gives a vivid sense of Leith's importance for trade. This painting, which evokes the east coast's participation in the empire, was purchased by the Royal Scottish Academy in the year of its foundation in 1826, and later transferred to the SNP. At the same time, as able colonial administrators sought to apply "enlightened" principles to their work, the "triangular trade" was taking thousands of slaves across the Atlantic from Africa to North America and the Caribbean, where an array of commodities—including sugar, rum, and tobacco—were then transported from the plantations to the British Isles.

Able colonial administrators sought to apply "enlightened" principles to their work. A newly acquired portrait, c.1810, of the lawyer Sir Thomas Strange (1756–1841), by the fashionable London painter John Hoppner, offers an insight into this fascinating character, who spent his entire career abroad, first in Nova Scotia and then in India. While in Nova Scotia he used his position as Chief Justice to protect runaway slaves from their masters. In India he helped create the fusion between British common law and Hindu traditions that would be the foundation of the modern Indian legal system. Hoppner's expressive portrait gives a sense of the rigor and intelligence of the sitter.

Scotland's relationship with India at this time is highlighted in a number of other works. A full-length portrait from 1777 of Mohamed Ali Khan Waledjah, Nawab of Arcot (1717–95), in native dress, yet in a distinctive European setting, reflects the complex and sometimes fraught relations between India, and its different cultures, with the powerful British colonists. This portrait forms part of Edinburgh-born George Willison's numerous commissions in India and contrasts with Willison's better-known 1765 portrait of James Boswell (1740–95). Raeburn's portrait, c.1812, of novelist and philanthropist Elizabeth Hamilton (1757–1816) recalls Hamilton's criticism of the absurdities of contemporary British society and its failed attempt to understand Indian life and values. Meanwhile, a portrait of David Scott (1746–1805), c.1775, by Tilly Kettle, the first prominent British artist to work in India, exemplifies Scottish involvement in Britain's commercial empire. Scott exploited the opportunities brought by the British East India Company's growing power to obtain wealth and recognition from his own private trading company, Scott, Tate and Adamson.

The enormous wealth accrued by many Scottish merchants connected with the slave trade enabled them to buy large amounts of land and property back home in Scotland. Raeburn's portrait, c.1794, of Robert Cunningham-Graham of Gartmore (1735–97), who owned estates in Perthshire and Renfrewshire, shows a gentleman conscious of his status as a landowner and politician, but gives no hint of his Jamaican connections—although the sitter's first fortune was made in the slave economy. Raeburn's forceful full-length portrait from 1798 of William Forbes of Callendar (1743–1815) reflects the immense wealth of Scots who seized the opportunities offered by

Britain's growing involvement in the Atlantic trading system. A native of Aberdeen, Forbes made a fortune by supplying high-quality copper pans to sugar plantations in the Caribbean. On his return to Scotland, he was able to pay for his country estate, Callendar, with a single, specially printed £100,000 banknote.

A large canvas, "The Slave Market, Constantinople," by Sir William Allan forms the focal point of another key theme in the exhibition: artists abroad. Scottish painters ventured farther than ever during this period, as exemplified by Allan, who journeyed to Russia, the Caucasus, and Turkey in 1805. The painting, which signaled the painter's opposition to slavery, was exhibited in London on its completion in 1838, the year the last slaves in the British Empire received their freedom. It also reflects Scottish sympathy for the Greeks during the Greek War of Independence (1821–32). Lord Byron's support for the Greeks is commemorated in a marble statue of the poet, c.1816.

The debate over the abolition of slavery is exemplified in two bust portraits in white marble: Sir Archibald Alison (1792–1867) by Patric Park, c.1850, and Henry Brougham (1778–1868) by John Adams Acton, 1867. Alison, a successful Tory lawyer in Edinburgh, was a regular contributor to *Blackwood's Magazine*. In 1833 he received compensation as a trustee for his brother-in-law's plantation in St. Vincent and, at the time of the American Civil War, he became a prominent defender of slave-holding in the American South. By contrast, Brougham, also from Edinburgh and a co-founder of the liberal *Edinburgh Review*, led the campaign against the slave trade for many years. The highlights of Brougham's tenure as Lord Chancellor were the passing of the 1832 Reform Act, of which he was a staunch supporter, and the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833.

In one of the exhibition cases, an engraving depicting a Mediterranean landscape by the Scottish landscape painter Hugh William Williams (1773–1829) reflects the importance of the artist in the popularization of Edinburgh's Athenian identity. His journal *Travels in Italy, Greece and the Ionian Islands in a Series of Letters* (1820) had an immense impact in Edinburgh, where his watercolors went on display in 1822, before they were published in twelve parts as *Select Views of Greece* (1823–29). Williams's role in the general enthusiasm for all things Greek in the Scottish capital earned him the nickname "Grecian Williams," and he reputedly coined the phrase "Athens of the North" in 1824. In 1819 Alison argued in *Blackwood's Magazine* that Scotland should have its own national monument to sustain its status in the British Empire and that the Parthenon of Athens offered the finest model for the national monument to be raised in Edinburgh.

The Scottish participation in the Revolutionary and Napoleonic Wars is underlined in several large-scale paintings, including a portrait of Admiral Duncan (1731–1804), a distinguished officer in the Navy, by Henri-Pierre Danloux, a French artist who found refuge in London in 1792. Although the iconic "Rev. Robert Walker Skating on Duddingston Loch" was once attributed to this talented portrait painter, the official line at the National Galleries of Scotland is now that this is undoubtedly the work of Raeburn. Some of the most severe episodes of the wars against Revolutionary France are recollected (Battles of Aboukir and Alexandria, both in 1801) as well as the prominent role of senior officers in the Army and Navy (Lt General Sir John Hope, Major Hugh Montgomerie, and John McArthur).

By showing the different strands that were coming into play at the turn of the nineteenth century, the exhibition brings together the revolutionary spirit and the spirit of Romanticism. Wars and human exploitation formed part of a reality which is too often obscured by the mythic image of Scotland expressed by romantic writers. The extraordinary enterprising spirit of the Scots is signaled in the two world maps reproduced in the display, from 1747 and 1831. Scotland's relation with far-away territories, and the Arctic, is encapsulated in a small, powerful portrait of John Sakeouse (1797?–1819) by Alexander Nasmyth. The sitter was the first arctic Inuit to travel to Scotland, and in 1816 he arrived in Leith, where he became a local celebrity. Fittingly, Sakeouse is shown alongside a portrait of Sir John Ross, one of the great explorers of his time, who led the first Northwest Passage expedition in 1818.

The yellow walls in the exhibition work well with the paintings and sculptures and offer a fitting presentation for this nuanced narrative of Scotland's role in the British Empire. The exhibition shows that the intersection between the Enlightenment and the problem of slavery remains a fruitful area of inquiry, and the display is particularly timely in the present global context.

Editor's Note: A longer version of this review essay first appeared on 13 September 2018 on the Collège de France website *Books and Ideas*, which kindly permitted us to reprint it in revised form.

## OTHER REVIEWS

Mungo Campbell and Nathan Flis, eds., *William Hunter and the Anatomy of the Modern Museum*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2018. Pp. 437.

When The Hunterian opened in 1807 in the Old College of the University of Glasgow, it was the first publicly accessible museum in Scotland. William Hunter (1718–83), physician to Queen Charlotte and teacher of anatomy, had willed his vast and diverse collection, along with £8000 to build a museum in which to house it, so that it would be available for continued use as a teaching resource. In 1870 the museum moved to its current home in the main building of the university's new Gilmorehill campus.



From 28 September 2018 to 6 January 2019 The Hunterian hosted “William Hunter and the Anatomy of the Modern Museum,” an exhibition celebrating the tercentenary of Hunter’s birth and the ongoing legacy of his bequest. It was a collaborative effort with the Yale Center for British Art, where it ran from 14 February to 20 May 2019. This volume, produced to accompany that exhibition, shows both the collection and its intentions to great effect, fulfilling the hope of the directors of the sponsoring institutions to “stimulate an ongoing examination of knowledge production in our own world, just as Hunter’s activities and collections did in his time” (p. 10).

Following some introductory notes and a timeline which lays out Hunter’s life alongside his work, collecting, and the historical contexts of the time in a quickly accessible fashion, the volume is divided into two parts, the first focusing on Hunter himself as “Physician, Anatomist and Collector,” the second on the collection itself. Mungo Campbell and Nathan Flis bring together a rich combination of informative text from a range of specialists with high-quality images that showcase the breadth of the exhibition as well as the process of design and curation that underpins it. In this way the volume fulfils three distinct purposes: it builds an understanding of Hunter as a collector; it explores the diversity (and research potential) of the contents of the collection; and it explores the issues and concerns in exhibiting historic collections which modern institutions must contend with and account for in their curatorial practices.

The exploration of Hunter as a collector situates him firmly within his eighteenth-century context. The essays in this first half of the book look back to examine various people and factors which influenced Hunter in his intentions and practices of collection and curation, and forward to demonstrate Hunter’s own influence on collectors and natural historians who interacted with the collections. Consequently, the reader gains an understanding of how figures such as Francis Hutcheson, Richard Mead, and James Douglas played key roles in shaping Hunter’s “show, don’t tell” approach, which gave priority to observation of physical samples or highly accurate representations as an aid to teaching and demonstrating. This is augmented by coverage of the skill and craftsmanship which would go into the production of these specimens and models, as well as how those representations might themselves be manipulations aimed at producing what Hunter considered the ideal specimen rather than an exact copy of the source material. Examinations of how Hunter organized his collection give an idea of the insight this might offer into his character and intentions, as well as his teaching and demonstrating practices. Lesser-known aspects of his collection, such as his library or the artifacts from the South Seas, provide a fuller picture of Hunter as a man of diverse interests and open-minded inquisitiveness, at the forefront of scientific developments in the organization, categorization, and presentation of knowledge, as well as in emerging fields such as anthropology. Throughout, there are references to the wide range of individuals from various backgrounds and fields of interests who accessed Hunter’s collection, during his life and after his death, showing how he was keen not only to acquire new knowledge and specimens but also to disseminate his own knowledge, skills, and techniques. As a whole, the first half of this volume builds a picture of a man firmly located in his time, influenced by his forebears but equally influencing those who would come afterward.

The second half of the book is dedicated to different aspects of Hunter’s collection included in the exhibition. Each section is prefaced by a short introduction, sometimes detailing how Hunter brought the artifacts together, or how specimens were prepared, or the significance of a particular group within the wider eighteenth-century context. Often these introductions refer back to the essays in the first half of the book, drawing the volume together by providing specific examples to illustrate ideas discussed earlier. This is followed by pages and pages of high-quality images of the items included within the exhibition and their curatorial listings. Each page also includes some commentary on the significance of these individual items in their own right, rather than as part of Hunter’s collection, highlighting the value of The Hunterian’s holdings as a repository of research potential across a diverse range of fields.

The introductions and commentaries within the catalogue pages, situated alongside the essays examining Hunter’s context as a teacher and collector, his practices, and the intentions behind his collections, also work to draw attention to the questions and issues which arise when curators and archivists plan a public display of an important historic collection. Questions of colonialism and race surrounding artifacts from the South Seas, questions of identity and gender politics which accompany the anonymous plaster casts and drawings of gravid uteri and specimens of preserved foetuses, questions of the organization of knowledge in a modern context which sits in tension with the differing organizations which governed Hunter as he amassed his collection—all are addressed objectively but sensitively. Full descriptions of cultural artifacts and their significance within their originating cultures frame them as a celebration of difference. Acknowledgment of the paucity, even absence, of medical notes regarding the sources of anatomical specimens and models foregrounds the dehumanizing effect that can accompany scientific objectivity, reminding the observer of the humanity of both the collector and the collected, regardless of the extent of the extant documentation marking their existence.

Although Hunter’s primary idea of the visual runs right through this volume, in its visuals and its accessible layout, this is not simply an attractive coffee table book showing off an extensive and eclectic collection. It is a genuine engagement with Hunter, his practices, and his importance as an anatomist, teacher, observer, and collector. As such, it is an insightful engagement with the untapped potential of Hunter’s collections as well as the questions that are generated for the modern museum handling and displaying historic collections.

**Moira Hansen, University of Glasgow**

Kelsey Jackson Williams, *The First Scottish Enlightenment: Rebels, Priests, and History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020. Pp. xvi + 351.

Kelsey Jackson Williams's book makes a bold and stimulating argument: before the Scottish Enlightenment we ordinarily think of, the one involving Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, and Adam Smith, there was a separate and very different cultural movement, also worthy of being called an "Enlightenment." The intellectuals at its heart were historians, antiquarians, genealogists, and geographers; disproportionately, they were Episcopalians or Roman Catholics from the northeast of Scotland. Many were Jacobites, and several resided for significant periods on the Continent.

Jackson Williams characterizes this "first Scottish Enlightenment," which took place between 1680 and 1745, by analyzing a series of scholarly projects and debates. The most consequential concerned the Scottish monarchy, which historians since the fourteenth-century chronicler John of Fordun had traced back to Fergus I in 330 BCE. In the 1680s Sir George Mackenzie of Rosehaugh defended the traditional story against English doubters. Despite growing reservations about the sources on which the interpretation rested, Scottish Jacobites were reluctant to question a narrative so advantageous to the Stuart claimants of the throne. Until, that is, Thomas Innes of the Scots College, Paris, jettisoned the myth of Fergus I and traced the Scottish monarchy's origins instead to the line of Pictish kings. Innes's achievement was to reconsider Scotland's history with the source-critical techniques of recent French scholarship, and nevertheless to produce a reading compatible with Jacobite political aspirations.

The first Scottish Enlightenment, then, resulted from the gradual transformation of traditional humanist approaches to the past under the influence of new critical and empirical methods. Jackson Williams's book thus complements the work of recent historians of scholarship such as Dmitri Levitin, who has stressed the continuities between seventeenth- and eighteenth-century intellectual practices. Some of the areas of inquiry discussed by Jackson Williams witnessed comparatively little change. The chorographical descriptions of Scottish regions in Jan Blaeu's *Atlas* (1654) and the county studies of Robert Sibbald (1710) had much in common with the *Statistical Account of Scotland* (1791–99), usually seen as a monument of the late Enlightenment. And if eighteenth-century students of Scotland's standing stones and Roman antiquities were more precise than their predecessors, they were recognizably part of a tradition stretching back to the sixteenth-century humanists Hector Boece and George Buchanan. In genealogical writing, by contrast, the early eighteenth century saw rapid evolution, as anecdotal myth-making gave way to charter scholarship. In this field, as in the historical work of Thomas Innes, Patrick Abercromby, Thomas Ruddiman, and others, the lessons of Jean Mabillon's approach to documentary sources inspired a radically new attitude toward the past. As Jackson Williams argues, this was a "revolution," which "overthrew older historiographical traditions of the late Middle Ages and the Reformation" (p. 192).

In the final chapters, Jackson Williams shifts from the production and discussion of historical scholarship to its publication and readership. His analysis of successive attempts to identify a canon of Scottish writers covers both the entries on Scottish themes in Pierre Bayle's *Dictionnaire Historique et Critique* (1697, 1702) and the program of literary publication by Robert Freebairn and Thomas Ruddiman. Noting that the works he examines were pioneers in Scotland of the practice of publication by subscription, he assesses the evidence offered by subscription lists of the first Scottish Enlightenment's probable readers. Given the political flavor of the books in question, it is natural that the Episcopalian clergy and gentry were disproportionately inclined to subscribe.

Jackson Williams attributes the origins of the first Scottish Enlightenment to two main developments. The first was the revival of Scottish learning in the Restoration period, thanks especially to royal patronage. Catalyzed by the support of James, Duke of York, a royalist and later Jacobite intelligentsia punched above its weight until the 1740s. In this respect, Jackson Williams provides a much-needed assessment of the long afterlife of the royalist culture of the 1680s. Slightly less convincing is Jackson Williams's second explanation for the blossoming of historical inquiry: his claim that "the vast majority of Scotland's Enlightened scholars came from the north-east" (p. 39). This book provides ample evidence that a distinct regional culture existed in the northeast, based on the universities of Aberdeen, the patronage of recusant and Episcopalian landowners, and connections with continental Catholic institutions and the Jacobite court. But Jackson Williams tends to exaggerate the contribution of this regional culture. A map of the places of origin or residence of the main scholars discussed in the book reveals that about a third came from south of the Tay, including such vital figures as Sir Robert Sibbald and James Anderson. Much of the work of Mackenzie, Ruddiman, and others (who are seen as evidence of the northeast's importance) took place in Edinburgh. And had Jackson Williams given more space to Presbyterian writers such as Robert Wodrow, Sir James Dalrymple, and George Logan, Episcopalians, Catholics, and the northeast would have seemed less significant.

Was the scholarly culture illustrated in this book more or less important than the reception of Bacon, Newton, and Shaftesbury, or the debates inspired by Hobbes, Spinoza, and Bayle? Ultimately, Jackson Williams leaves his readers to decide. Like J.G.A. Pocock, he is in the business of multiplying Enlightenments. He wisely stresses the discontinuities between the culture he describes and the post-Culloden Enlightenment of William Robertson and his associates. He thereby avoids the urge to characterize the later movement in terms of the former, a weakness he rightly identifies in Hugh Trevor-Roper's famous account of the Scottish Enlightenment. But perhaps a further modification of Jackson Williams's interpretation would distinguish between the antiquarian early Enlightenment and other types, whether Newtonian, natural jurisprudential, or Shaftesburian. As he acknowledges,

the period's intellectual activity had many strands. Erudite and attractively written, *The First Scottish Enlightenment* is a compelling reconstruction of historical culture in the first half of the eighteenth century. Connecting the familiar with the overlooked, alive to cosmopolitan links and local peculiarities, it deserves to be widely read.

Alasdair Raffe, University of Edinburgh

Alexander Broadie and Craig Smith, eds., *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. vii + 375.

*The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, edited by Alexander Broadie, has played an important role in shaping eighteenth-century Scottish studies since its publication in 2003 [reviewed by Christopher J. Finlay in the Spring 2004 issue of this periodical]. The second edition, co-edited by Craig Smith, expands that influence with the addition of five new chapters as well as substantially revised chapters from the first edition. The volume's accessible introduction to Scottish Enlightenment philosophy and intellectual culture reflects Broadie's holistic view of scientific approaches to the experimental philosophy of natural and moral worlds. The book is not intended to be a vehicle for Broadie's particular definition of the Scottish Enlightenment, however; rather, it represents a thoughtfully assembled collection of essays that survey different branches of Scottish Enlightenment thought.

The first chapter, originally by Roger Emerson and now revised with Mark G. Spencer, explains the general ways in which the Republic of Letters, climate, economics, politics, religion, patronage, institutions, and regional variations informed the "Several Contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment." The next chapter, "Religion and Rational Theology" by M. A. Stewart, is unchanged from the first edition. But Stewart's portrayal of David Hume's extraordinary treatment of religion and the Kirk's hostile reception of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* has aged remarkably well. Hume's philosophy features prominently among other Scottish anatomists of the mind, most notably Thomas Reid, in a new chapter by Jacqueline Taylor, "The Human Mind and Its Powers," which skillfully explores the ways that moral philosophers (George Turnbull, Francis Hutcheson, Hume, Reid, and James Beattie) applied the experimental methods of Bacon, Locke, and Newton in their approaches to the science of mind. Perhaps Heiner F. Klemme's chapter on "Scepticism and Common Sense" and Christel Fricke's new chapter on "Moral Sense Theories and Other Sentimentalist Accounts of the Foundations of Morals" should have immediately followed Taylor's introduction to the Scottish science of mind, rather than appearing later in the volume, as Chapters 6 and 7. Competing naturalistic perspectives of "common sense" in the philosophical works of Hume and Reid are well known. While Hume treated common sense as an "ignorance about first principles," which Klemme argues is compatible with Hume's brand of mitigated skepticism, Reid's philosophy of common sense identified "pure principles of our original constitution" (p. 128). Replacing Luigi Turco's chapter on moral sentimentalism from the first edition, Fricke sheds new light on the nature of moral sense and the foundations of sentimentalism in the moral philosophy of the Earl of Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, Hume, Lord Kames, and Adam Smith. In doing so, Fricke argues that the "moral sense philosophers and the moral sentimentalists remain the first to try and provide an empirically informed, psychologically realistic account of human morality without giving up claims to universal authority" (p. 148).

Interest in the cultivation of natural knowledge was not confined to the science of mind. Aaron Garrett's fascinating chapter on the experimental study of the "human frame" and the stadial "progress" of man in different civilizations exemplifies the naturalistic and historical characteristics of Scottish "anthropology" in the age of the Enlightenment. In his chapter on "science," Paul Wood contends that original Scottish contributions to the natural sciences and medicine "were central to, and in some cases the driving force behind, the intellectual changes encompassed by the term 'the Scottish Enlightenment' and were therefore instrumental in shaping modernity in Scotland as elsewhere" (p. 91). And yet, Scottish Enlightenment natural philosophy remains woefully understudied relative to the secondary literature on moral philosophy and political economy. Hopefully a new generation of scholarship will build on the foundation that Wood and Charles W. J. Withers established with their 2002 collection of essays, *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment*.

The emphasis on natural knowledge in the science of mind, man, and nature extended to political and legal considerations. In her chapter on political thought, Fania Oz-Salzberger suggests that Scottish political theories "developed along several axes of debate, notably those between republicanism and law-based monarchism, civic alertness and civil politeness, the *agora* as both a political forum and as a marketplace" in the modern commercial societies of Scotland, England, and Europe (p. 169). Craig Smith's new chapter on the chronological development of political economy contextualizes why Hutcheson, Hume, Sir James Steuart, John Millar, and Smith reacted in different ways to "improve" the transitional age of mercantilism in which they lived. Before Dugald Stewart's model of teaching political economy, professors of moral philosophy taught principles of political economy as well as natural jurisprudence, which Knud Haakonssen examines in relation to Scottish Enlightenment theories of justice. John W. Cairns's seminal chapter shows that the institutionalization of teaching Scottish legal theories in the natural law tradition informed legal practice and efforts to reform the structure of the courts in the pursuit of justice.

It is generally acknowledged throughout the volume that Scottish Enlightenment thinkers examined the historical “progress” of civil society as philosophers. Murray Pittock shows the ways in which conjectural historians had pioneered a school of Whig history from their identification of conditions for modern “improvements” from past civilizations. Similarly, Christopher J. Berry portrays Scottish Enlightenment thinkers as social scientists who advanced their modernist view of improvement as prominent actors within a cosmopolitan, commercial society. He argues that the “writers of the Scottish Enlightenment combined a ‘scientific’ appreciation of the complexity of social life with an evaluative assessment of the relative worth of forms of social experience” (p. 244). The philosophical treatment of aesthetics featured prominently in the Scottish improvement of “polite” society, as shown in Catherine Labio’s new chapter on “Art and Aesthetic Theory,” which surveys the evolution of aesthetic theories in the writings of Hutcheson, Hume, Turnbull, the Chevalier Ramsay, Kames, Smith, Reid, Hugh Blair, Alexander Gerard, George Campbell, Archibald Alison, and Stewart. In another new chapter, Deidre Dawson illustrates the development of literary sentimentalism that “focused on individuals as social beings whose sensibility was directed towards, and defined by, their interactions with other individuals” (p. 289).

The final chapters on the early American reception of Scottish philosophy and the nineteenth-century aftermath do not include the Scottish Enlightenment’s impact on Europe, which Michel Malherbe had contributed to the first edition. Nevertheless, Samuel Fleischacker provides an excellent outline of the historiographical debate regarding the extent to which Thomas Jefferson and James Madison appealed to the philosophy of Hutcheson and Hume as well as the application of Reid’s version of common sense philosophy in early American higher education. Gordon Graham argues that the “unravelling of the great philosophical project” of the Scottish Enlightenment during the long nineteenth century centered on the different ways in which post-Enlightenment thinkers (James Frederick Ferrier, James McCosh, James Seth, Henry Laurie, and T. E. Jessop) defined and criticized “Scottish philosophy” (p. 335). In doing so, Graham makes a convincing case why nineteenth-century Scottish philosophy merits our attention.

The second edition of the *Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* does not merely reproduce a celebrated volume in eighteenth-century Scottish studies. It offers an updated, invaluable source for teaching the Scottish Enlightenment at the undergraduate and graduate levels. The addition of new chapters certainly strengthens the volume, although the book could have benefited from a chapter on the philosophical and theological underpinnings of late eighteenth-century ecclesiastical politics. The arrangement of seventeen complementary chapters flows remarkably well as an accessible and sophisticated introduction to the historical contexts that shaped Scottish Enlightenment philosophy.

**Brad Bow, University of Aberdeen**

Dionysis G. Drosos, *The Gentle Commerce of Sympathy: Civilized Society and Moral Community in the Scottish Enlightenment* [in Greek]. Athens: Nissos Publications, 2016. Pp. 753.

In great measure, we owe to Dionysis G. Drosos the systematic introduction of the thought of the Scottish Enlightenment in Greece. Since his first book in 1994, *The Market and the State in Adam Smith: A Critique of the Foundations of Neoliberalism*, he has offered us *Virtues and Interests: The British Moral Philosophy Debate* (2008), acquainting the Greek audience for the first time with this intellectual tradition. In 2011 he published the first Greek translation of Adam Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, with an extended introduction. The Scottish Enlightenment was *terra incognita* in our country before these publications.

The merits of his latest book are not restricted to being the first to touch on the tradition of the Scottish Enlightenment in the Greek academic community. It is not an introductory handbook but an ambitious contribution to the international debate. The core of his argument lies in the challenging concept he coins: the “modern moral community.” This notion, which at first glance sounds like an oxymoron, encapsulates the new forms of moral intercourse projected by the representatives of the Scottish Enlightenment as an alternative to the declining traditional forms of community after the Act of Union. The first part of the book provides an extended analysis of the importance and the changing attitudes of religion and the Church of Scotland on the threshold of modernity. The book sheds light on how the universities, clubs, and societies, with the support of literati and the Moderates, elaborated new standards of morals and manners and weakened the authority of the church. The Scottish *literati* formed the nucleus and the dominant model of what the author calls “a modern moral community.” Such a modern community, unlike the premodern one, is not described by the submission of the individuals and their allegiance to a set of communal, substantive values. It rather signifies the intercourse among independent individuals in pursuit of both personal advancement and social recognition from their peers in a changing world. Such collegiality of the literati worked as a kind of substitute for the lost political community of old, independent Scotland. At the same time, these developments paved the way to a modern morality founded not on abstract principles but on everyday interactions in a living and debating community of equals. This is the place of mutual formation and validation of moral sentiments. Drosos’ book is concerned with a wide range of moral philosophy from the Earl of Shaftesbury and Bernard Mandeville to Adam Smith’s version of a discursive theory of morals, which anticipates some of the insights of Jürgen Habermas.

The author provides a critical appraisal of the theoretical contributions of Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Smith, and Adam Ferguson. In addition, he offers an extended analysis of Shaftesbury and Mandeville in an analytic appendix. Following Hume's critical reception of Hutcheson's concept of the moral sense, Drosos points out the way in which the substratum of common language, common values, and habits underpins the exchange of sentiments as well as how the latter reinvigorates the former, developing the standards of moral judgment. Thus, passions, moral sense, and sympathy are not conceived as eternal and immutable traits of human nature or as sheer automatisms. Rather, they form the field of social exchange, of debate and reflection in the continuum of socialization. Not only does the homogeneity of human nature (a common postulate of the Scottish Enlightenment) produce sympathy but the reverse also holds true: sympathy itself produces homogeneity.

This point is even more evident in Adam Smith's version of sympathy theory. Smith's insistence on the role of the ideal, well informed, and impartial spectator introduces an emphasis on the importance of knowledge for the formation of moral judgments. The author provides a detailed analysis of the technical distinctive traits of the Smithian spectator theory. The nexus of the modern moral community takes place on the basis of spectatorship, as conceived by Smith. This special notion moves beyond the limit of empiricism, questioning not what the moral sentiments actually are but what they should be. It is not surprising that this conception of spectatorship was so dear and agreeable to Immanuel Kant. The book closes with a critical assessment of the paradigm of sympathy concerning the question of politics, drawing on the Machiavellian reserves of Adam Ferguson.

For all its shortcomings, and its limited relevance if one should try to "apply" it directly today, the Scottish paradigm of sympathy still merits our attention. If Hannah Arendt is right that the "banality of evil" consists in a dramatic deficit of empathy, resulting in a deficit of judgment, then the ideal of a modern moral community of equal and independent individuals, based on mutual sympathy and recognition, is of great value as a source of inspiration for an Enlightenment that still makes sense.

**Fotini Vaki, Ionian University**

Mark Towsey, *Reading History in Britain and America, c.1750–c.1840*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. xii + 304.

Mark Towsey's new book provides an important perspective on intellectual history too often overlooked by scholars—how books were perceived by their actual readers. This is a history of the impact of books in the immediate and medium-term aftermath of their composition, specifically in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. In an era of profound social and political change, the book examines how readers, before history became an accepted topic of study in schools and universities, used their reading of historical works to construct a better understanding of their own time. In doing so, they were creative and active agents, not passive recipients of texts, but ones who often criticized and subverted the intentions of canonical authors. They recognized that it was up to them "to decide for themselves what was meaningful about the past and how it mapped onto their understanding of the world around them" (p. 258). These readers included people, both men and women, from various social standings, who often, at least the less wealthy among them, had access to books through such avenues as subscription libraries. The individual experiences which Towsey examines thus offer a unique insight into the changing historical consciousness of society in general, or at least of literate society broadly conceived. The book makes impressive use of a wide range of sources, including letters, diaries, marginalia, and commonplace books. Apparently, depending on their own unique needs, many readers often even wrote lengthy detailed summaries of history books. In examining these sources, the book aims to contribute "to the continued recovery of readers and reading in eighteenth-century intellectual history," but also "its central ambition is to establish the wider social, cultural and political significance of history books and their reception in the period" (p. 17).

The history books which Towsey examines are primarily those authored by British historians of the late Enlightenment (prominent contemporary foreign works of history, such as those by Voltaire, are not examined). These include above all the famous works of the era's most renowned historians, Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, but even more thoroughly David Hume's *History of England* and William Robertson's various works. This is therefore in large measure a book about the Scottish Enlightenment, or at least about the influence of Scottish Enlightenment historical works on the British reading public in general. Thus, for example, Towsey notes how Robertson's *History of the Reign of the Emperor Charles V* was read variously as a handbook of governance, as a guide to religious toleration, as a critique of such things as superstition, imperial ambition, the slave trade, or the Spanish rule of America, and eventually also as a condemnation of the Napoleonic conquest of Spain.

The book examines various perspectives from which readers read these historical works. Following a discussion of how they learned from an early age to read history selectively, it turns to the controversies over the perceived irreligion emanating from the works of Gibbon, and even more so Hume, whose well-known skepticism seemed even more alarming following the posthumous discovery of his support of the right to commit suicide. Nonetheless, readers were able to overcome the hostility of some periodical reviewers. Both Hume and Gibbon were interested in maintaining their broad reading public and, therefore, responding to public criticism, they miti-

gated the irreligious overtones of the later volumes of their historical works. Apparently, how they were being read mattered to the authors themselves.

Hume's support for the Stuarts, and his attempt to provide a neutral reading of British constitutional history, in contrast with the Whig view of the ancient constitution and the notion of the superiority of British mixed government, was also received with broad criticism. As Europe transitioned to the revolutionary era, Hume's moderation was overtaken by the new political challenges posed by revolution, radicalism, and reform. This exemplifies Towsey's emphasis on the distance which often existed between the historical context in which historical works were written and the different context, whether immediate or shortly thereafter, in which they were read. Whether consciously or not, and most often it was the former, readers often subverted the original intentions of authors. This was evident in the various responses of readers to the relatively new British Union. Readers in Wales, and even more so in Ireland and Scotland, were either supportive or critical of the Union, while English readers also had different responses, some supportive, others worrying over the danger this posed to English identity. Hume's and Robertson's support for the Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707 was consequently often criticized by readers. At the same time, American readers read British historical works through their own lens. Lord Kames's denigration of the American Indians as an inferior race was often refuted, as was Robertson's support for the idea of the natural inferiority of America, while Hume was often read in a subversive manner justifying the American Revolution.

The final chapter of the book focuses on the disparate readings, particularly of Robertson's historical works on America and India, on the part of servants of the East India Company on the one hand, and readers in Britain on the other. While the former read these works subversively as an assertion of the need for imperial control, the latter read them either to justify or to criticize imperial rule. Enlightenment stadial theory in particular, mainly in its Scottish form, was often utilized to justify the control of British, seemingly superior, rulers, over indigenous populations purportedly stuck in less advanced stages of historical development.

Throughout, Towsey demonstrates how readers tailored historical knowledge to their own interests and values. In our age, when the art of critical and creative reading seems so imperiled, we can wonder at a different era, described with consummate scholarship and in eloquent style in this book, when the need to read even challenging historical works was taken for granted.

**Nathaniel Wolloch, Independent Scholar**

David Hume, *A Petty Statesman: Writings on War and International Affairs*. Edited by Spartaco Pupo. N.p.: Mimesis International, 2019. Pp. 215.

David Hume lived an active life and published several works of history and politics. For a long time he was known mainly as a historian, but his modern-day reputation rests on his philosophical works. A related theme is Hume's career as a diplomat and how his experience of dealing with matters of state affected his oeuvre. Strangely enough, Hume scholars have tended to neglect this aspect of his life and thought, although Istvan Hont, for one, succeeded in capturing the relevance to Hume of war and political instability in Europe in his 2005 book, *Jealousy of Trade*. With a view to changing such perceptions, Spartaco Pupo has collected documents written by Hume that illuminate his lifelong experience of war and international affairs. Drawing the attention of a general audience to this statesman-like side of Hume is a just cause.

Pupo's collection is not a critical edition and is not intended as such. Its five sections consist of documents that are all known and have been previously published in different forums. *A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart* is a political pamphlet on the occupation of Edinburgh during the 1745 Jacobite uprising, published in 1748 and reprinted most recently by M. A. Box, David Harvey, and Michael Silverthorne, as "A Diplomatic Transcription of Hume's 'Volunteer Pamphlet' for Archibald Stewart" (*Hume Studies*, 2003). "Account of the Descent on the Coast of Brittany and the Causes of Its Failure," unpublished during Hume's lifetime, is a defense of General James St. Clair (Hume was his secretary at the time) and an explanation of why his military expedition did not succeed. The remaining three sections—"Journal of the British Embassy to the Courts of Vienna and Turin," "Dispatches of a British Diplomat in Paris," and "Correspondence of an Under-Secretary of War"—contain selections from Hume's letters. It is clear that Pupo has chosen these letters in accordance with what he considers relevant in portraying Hume's statesman side, and his reading of the letters is generally sensible. However, no explanation of the selection process is provided.

Pupo's aim is to offer an easy read for a reasonable price (€20). "Account of the Descent on the Coast of Brittany and the Causes of Its Failure" is reproduced from manuscript. Any further archival research he may have undertaken as an editor is not visible in this volume. Pupo's choice of following transcripts for Hume's letters in the texts of J.Y.T. Greig's edition of *The Letters of David Hume* (1932) and Raymond Klibansky and Ernest C. Mossner's edition of *New Letters of David Hume* (1954), with "some comparisons between the printed texts and manuscripts" (p. 63), is somewhat problematic because of the known shortcomings of these editions. At the same time, Pupo omits the editorial notes in these earlier collections. There is a downside in minimizing editorial inference, as there are times when more information is necessary. For a reference to Mr. Liston in a letter to Turgot of

16 June 1768, for example, a reader could use a little more context than just that his first name is Robert (p. 198), since he and Hume had an important connection stemming from Liston's tutorship of Sir Gilbert Elliot's sons in France, which Hume was overseeing. Also, the editor should have noted when a letter is incomplete. Moreover, some letters that are reproduced without any contextual information do not really make much sense (e.g., Hume's letter to Hugh Blair of 18 June 1767, p. 183), and the reader has to turn to the standard collections of Hume's letters to find the missing pieces of information. There are inaccuracies in the transcriptions as well: I found four typos within the random specimen of about ten pages (pp. 158–73) that I examined systematically. There is a casual reference to *Sister Peg* as a work by Hume (p. 49), although, after almost forty years of debate, the matter of whether Hume or Adam Ferguson was the author is far from settled.

Moreover, given the general nature of this collection, and the editor's lack of serious engagement with previous editions of these collected pieces, Pupo's desire to show in the introduction that Hume's *Account of the Descent* is "really a counterblast to Voltaire" is odd. Even if Hume did have Voltaire in mind (and I am not certain about this), the account of the St. Clair expedition is much more than "a counterblast to Voltaire." As a defense of someone's actions in the context of a military or political event, the pamphlet reads like *A True Account of... Archibald Stewart*, in that the aim was to justify the actions and defend the character of St. Clair in one instance and Stewart in the other. Hume's experience of this military expedition remains understudied even after the publication of this collection, and there is much more that needs to be said about the *Account of the Descent* with respect to Hume's manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland. Nevertheless, Pupo's analysis of the connection between this 1747 French experience and Hume's *Political Discourses* is interesting and thought-provoking.

Overall, Pupo has done us a service. Reading these texts with an eye on Hume as a statesman will be rewarding to any Hume scholar. The underlying problem is that the majority of modern philosophers reading Hume's philosophical texts ignore everything that is, in their view, non-philosophical. Hume was a man of practice and the relevance of his experience shines through in these writings. It is also clear that he was familiar with and knowledgeable about the diplomatic mores of his time, and he moved in diplomatic circles throughout Europe with ease and confidence. The issue of Canada bills and paper money is also a major topic in Hume's political thought, and it is worthwhile to picture Hume in the middle of the action when these matters were negotiated. It is also good to see how closely Hume was connected to many of the colonial problems that led to American independence, and to see that the French seemed to have had the upper hand in many of the diplomatic negotiations that involved him (regarding both Canada bills and the Dunkirk demolition project).

Questions relating to the army and protocol also resonate with Hume's rather hierarchical mind. What is most significant about him as a statesman concerns the writing of history. There is much material here to connect Hume's life with his role as a historian. Interestingly, too, many biographical topics make more sense when one gives Hume due credit as a statesman. For example, there is a thread linking Hume's secretarial work in Bristol in the 1730s, his ability to manage a household and manage the practical aspects of a military expedition in the 1740s, and his administrative reports in the 1760s. Pupo's collection shows that, in the case of Hume, biography and intellectual development go hand in hand.

Mikko Tolonen, University of Helsinki

Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Historical Law-Tracts. The Fourth Edition with Additions and Corrections*. Edited by James A. Harris. Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Carmel, IN: Liberty Fund, 2019. Pp. xxv + 367.

In *Historical Law-Tracts*, Henry Home, Lord Kames (1696–1782) endeavored to demonstrate the principled development of the law within the context of advancing society and a natural law framework. This process presented the indomitable Kames with numerous difficulties, notably his admission that, "In tracing the history of law through dark ages, unprovided with records...we must endeavour to supply the broken links" (p. 24). This challenge portrays Kames at his most well rounded, uniting a disparate array of sources and showing himself to be one of the most well-read men of the Scottish Enlightenment. By means of poetry, scripture, and statute, he marshals his evidence and makes his case for the rational and systematic development of Scots criminal and private law. *Historical Law-Tracts*, divided into fourteen separate tracts, deals with a broad sweep of the Scottish legal system, including courts, pointing of the ground, briefs, and criminal law. The scope of Kames's intellectual range means that his writing expresses much more than a narrow treatment of the state of Scots law in the eighteenth century.

This is a handsome volume. As is to be expected of similar new editions in this series, the editor, James A. Harris, proves to be adept at explaining the thinking of Kames and the reason and rhyme of *Historical Law-Tracts*. A short but informative introduction describes how this book fits within the wider oeuvre of Kames's impressive literary output and, importantly, its place within the context of the mid-eighteenth century generally. As the editor makes us aware, the date of publication of the original edition of *Historical Law-Tracts* in 1758 is especially significant, coming ten years after the abolition of Heritable Jurisdictions in Scotland. The Heritable Jurisdictions Act of 1747 (Harris incorrectly gives the date of the act as 1746) dealt a blow against some of the most powerful and visible manifestations of feudalism in Scotland's feudal franchise courts, principally those of regali-

ty. Kames was in the vanguard, leading the cry for modernization in Scots law, especially with regard to criminal law, and giving vent to what the editor describes as “his long-standing antipathy for the feudal system” (p. xv)—a theme to which Kames returns frequently in the book. The attack on regalities in Tract VI is a good example of Kames’s espousal of modernization and commercialism, and his rejection of feudalism. In this tract, Kames’s writing positively drips with contempt for Europe’s feudal experiment: “experience discovered, what might have been discovered without experience, that to make the bread of a man’s family depend on his life, is apt to damp the bravest of spirits” (p. 129). Tract VI is devoted to explaining the concerted efforts made by the crown to reduce regalities’ right of repledgiation, symbolic of their independence from central authority. According to Kames, the curtailment of this right owed as much to the indolence of the regalian lords as to the maneuverings of the central courts, thus providing a fine example of the increasing irrelevance of feudalism to the operation of the law in eighteenth-century Scotland.

Of the additions to this edition, perhaps the most welcome is the extensive glossary of legal terms. For readers snugly ensconced by the fireside, this is indeed a blessing, saving them from trudging back and forth between their chair and a copy of *Bell’s Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland*. Now, thanks to the new glossary, they need only search in the back of the book for the meaning of such obscure legal terms as “purpesture” (a feudal delinquency incurred by a vassal encroaching upon his superior’s commonties). I have no doubt this glossary will prove useful when approaching other eighteenth-century sources. Alongside the updated footnotes, these new additions make the original text much more accessible to modern readers.

This reviewer would have liked to have seen an expanded introduction, giving more biographical information about Kames. A further quibble is that this edition does not employ the same page numbering as the fourth edition (originally published in 1792), which results in rather irritating page numbers inserted mid-text, thus disrupting the flow of Kames’s writing. However, these are small criticisms of a timely new edition of a classic text, which will readily find a home in the library of anyone interested in eighteenth-century studies.

**Charles J. Fletcher, University of Edinburgh**

Leo Damrosch, *The Club: Johnson, Boswell, and the Friends Who Shaped an Age*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2019. Pp. viii + 473.

The Club was formed in London in 1764 at the instigation of Joshua Reynolds, who believed that the conversation and company of intelligent people would help his friend Samuel Johnson to counter his worsening bouts of depression. The nine original members (including Johnson, Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith, Edmund Burke, and Sir John Hawkins) began to meet weekly, mostly at the Turk’s Head tavern. Conversation was varied, energetic, and stimulating. The Club continued to add other famous men in future years: James Boswell, David Garrick, Edward Gibbon, and Adam Smith, to name a few.

Leo Damrosch’s *The Club* is a feast, delivering graphic descriptions of daily life across the entire social ladder, embellished with well-selected illustrations, many in color. Instead of providing new information about the Club, Damrosch uses it as a way to discuss the major characters who enjoyed membership. As the title suggests, a large portion of the book is concerned with the lives and careers of Johnson and Boswell. Because the Club had only male members, Damrosch also presumes to invent another, less official club, the circle of Hester Thrale at Streatham. In addition to Mrs. Thrale (later Mrs. Piozzi), we learn much about the important women in Johnson’s circle, including Hannah More, Mrs. Montagu, and Fanny Burney.

Damrosch is a master of synthesis, notably demonstrated in a short paragraph which contrasts Johnson and Smith: “Johnson was a moralist, reflecting on how people ought to act. Smith was a social scientist, analyzing how they did act. Johnson was an essayist, writing ad hoc as opportunities turned up...Smith was a theorist and produced formal treatises, matured over many years” (p. 318).

As a Boswell specialist, however, I noted several disturbing lapses. When describing Boswell’s early education, Damrosch records that at age six he was enrolled in a private academy in Edinburgh (Mundell’s, although Damrosch does not name it). Damrosch relates that in later life Boswell enjoyed reunions with his classmates, and that at age thirteen he enrolled in the University of Edinburgh. A reader might infer from these statements that Boswell remained in the school, happy with his schoolmates, until his Edinburgh education commenced. In fact, Boswell stayed at Mundell’s just two years, withdrawing at the age of eight to be educated at home. Frederick Pottle, the preeminent Boswell scholar, surmises that he left Mundell’s because he disliked the school and also was in delicate health.

Damrosch collides more directly with Pottle when he recounts an anecdote often told (and embellished) by Col. Ralph Isham. Isham is justly famous for his purchase and unification of the Boswell private papers. An engaging raconteur, Isham told how he came upon an especially lurid piece of journal, describing Boswell’s affair with Rousseau’s mistress. Isham showed the pages to Lady Joyce Talbot when they were in negotiation for the sale of the papers. Upon reading the offending pages, Lady Talbot ripped them from the journal and thrust them into the fireplace. Isham claimed to recall the content of the missing pages accurately. Damrosch, like Isham, thinks this a blockbuster story. The problem is that Isham almost certainly invented it. Pottle refutes the story convincingly.



ly in a detailed analysis covering more than four pages in *Pride and Negligence: The History of the Boswell Papers* (1982) (pp. 97–100), including Lady Talbot’s assertion in 1951 that she never destroyed any manuscript material. Her method of expurgation (agreed to by Isham in their sale contract) was to line over objectionable material with heavy black ink. Damrosch was either unaware of Pottle’s analysis or unable to resist the Isham story. Similarly, in describing Boswell’s marriage to Margaret Montgomerie on the same day as his father’s second marriage, 25 November 1769, Damrosch asserts that Lord Auchinleck was “taking revenge” upon his son (p. 234). In fact, however, the sequence of events, as related in Pottle’s *James Boswell: The Earlier Years* (1966) (p. 441), reveals that it was Boswell who learned the date of his father’s bans and scheduled his bans and wedding for the same date.

Damrosch includes the very strange “family” portrait of Boswell, attributed to Henry Singleton (plate 25). In my opinion, there are two major problems with this portrait. First, why would Boswell go to the trouble and expense of a family portrait that omits two of his children? A more glaring problem is that the parents in this portrait do not much resemble any known portraits of James or Margaret. As Pottle and Chauncey Tinker commented in *A New Portrait of James Boswell* (1927), “one is justified in questioning whether this is Boswell’s family at all.” There is no record that the painting had ever been in the Boswell family.

A final error involves publication of the conversation between Johnson and George III in the King’s library. Damrosch asserts that “this interview would so interest readers that he published...it by itself, a year before the *Life [of Samuel Johnson]*, as an eight-page pamphlet at the remarkably high price of half a guinea” (p. 282). In fact, Boswell’s sole motive for printing a few copies of this account (there is no evidence that it was ever published, let alone sold at such a high price) was to protect his literary rights to it. Boswell took a similar defensive maneuver, also in 1790, by printing a separate copy of Johnson’s letter to Lord Chesterfield. The text of both of these pamphlets was to appear in the *Life of Johnson* (1791), and Boswell did not want others to exploit his prime material or undercut his sales.

The abundance of anecdotal content and obvious depth of learning on display in *The Club*, living side-by-side with occasional errors such as those mentioned above, suggests to me that this book is the result of decades of teaching and writing, rather than extensive recent research. I do, however, hope my criticisms will not discourage anyone from experiencing the considerable entertainment and educational pleasure of reading *The Club*.

**Terry I. Seymour, Independent Scholar**

Arun Sood, *Robert Burns and the United States of America: Poetry, Print, and Memory, 1786–1866*. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. Pp. v + 275.

Since the early 2010s, scholars in the fields of Scottish and transatlantic studies have been reappraising Robert Burns’s legacy and influence in North America and the Caribbean. To this fruitful area of inquiry must be added Arun Sood’s *Robert Burns and the United States of America*, which seeks to interrogate the nature of the poet’s appeal in the United States. Sood’s book offers productive analysis of Burns’s transatlantic reception, with close examination of American editions, reprints, poetic imitations and tributes, celebrations, and statuary from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century. Throughout his study Sood employs current theories of cultural memory to interpret this body of work, with the objective of refiguring Burns as a “(trans)national,” rather than solely national, poet.

Sood begins this process by looking at “Burns beyond Scotland,” arguing that Burns had deep “engagement with contemporary transatlantic affairs and international politics” (p. 3). This point is amply addressed in the book’s first chapter, in which Burns’s “American works” in verse and correspondence are interpreted in depth. Of particular interest is the author’s analysis of “When Guilford Good,” Burns’s “Ballad on the American War.” Readers of this poem can attest to its extensive allusiveness to topical events, which Sood skillfully interprets and explains in order to highlight “the hostile environment in which Burns was writing, where challenges to the political hegemony...would not go unpunished” (p. 19). The early chapters make intriguing connections between Burns’s political sentiments and his “*idea* of what America stood for” (p. 38), resulting in largely successful analysis of this transatlantic dimension of the poet’s work.

In Part 2, entitled “American Print Culture and Poets,” Sood offers several intriguing chapters on Burns’s poetic reception in American newspapers, journals, reprints, and biographies. The discussion of the early newspaper printings of Burns’s verse reveals the author’s valuable archival research, with fine asides on the American reception of poems like “Man Was Made to Mourn” in venues such as the *Pennsylvania Packet*. This is followed by discussion of biographical accounts by Robert Heron and James Currie in American editions of the poet’s works. Sood examines the reviews of Currie’s edition in several American venues, speculating that one found in *The American Review and Literary Journal* (1801) may have been written by the American novelist Charles Brockden Brown. In fact, Sood asserts that Brown may have been “the first major American literary figure to engage with Burns in any great detail” (p. 67). He bases this assertion on stylistic similarities found in the review and Brown’s other writings, as well as the fact that Brown was the journal’s primary editor and contributor. This is rather slender evidence for definitively establishing Brown’s authorship, but Sood convincingly highlights the “amusement” and “instruction” that the reviewer believes Burns’s *Works* can afford fellow Americans, sentiments

found in other American reviews of Currie's edition (p. 68).

The fourth chapter explores other editions of Burns's work from 1801 to 1859, a list of which is helpfully included in the first appendix; as with previous chapters, the author's archival research reveals a proliferation of American editions, correspondence, and biographies. There is a brief section on well-known figures like Thomas Carlyle and John Gibson Lockhart, as well as a discussion of the "radical celebrity" of the New York printer William Pearson and "Honest Allan" Cunningham, the notoriously mendacious editor and biographer of the poet. An obscure biography of Burns by Samuel Tyler, a "Scottish-born Baltimore-based lawyer," is assessed as a peculiarly "American" variation on the poet's life (p. 94). The American edition of Burns's works by Robert Chambers is also examined for its inclusion of the disputed poem "The Liberty Tree" in the Burns canon; unlike Sood's attribution of Brown for the Currie review, Sood regrettably does not take a definitive stance on the poem's authorship, instead seeing it as "a fitting microcosmic reminder of how the broader reputation of Burns in nineteenth-century America was continually reshaped and altered" (p. 101). Given the resonance of "liberty trees" in early American political discourse, the disputed poem might have been explored in greater depth, particularly as the likely work of one of Burns's many imitators.

The remaining chapters examine Burns's legacy and influence on American poets, from canonical figures like John Greenleaf Whittier, James Russell Lowell, Walt Whitman, and Ralph Waldo Emerson to the lesser-known Robert Dinsmoor, an Ulster-Scot who emigrated to America and wrote Scots verse imitative of Burns. Sood also offers detailed discussion of the lines of influence connecting Burns with "American cultural memory," the subject of one of the book's last chapters. Differing appreciative expressions of this "cultural memory" are assessed, ranging from Burns suppers and societies to statuary and literary tourism. The book closes with a chapter on the "Burnsian Palimpsest and 1859 Centenary Celebrations," interpreting the wide range of commemorations of Burns's "immortal memory" throughout the United States. In sum, Sood's book provides compelling testimony of Burns's transatlantic significance, adding to a growing body of important scholarship in Scottish and transatlantic studies.

**Corey E. Andrews, Youngstown State University**

Elizabeth C. Ford, *The Flute in Scotland from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century*. Studies in the History and Culture of Scotland. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2020. Pp. xxiii + 202.

The much-revered and oft-quoted antiquarian William Tytler stated categorically, in his 1792 essay on an Edinburgh St. Cecilia's Day concert in the first volume of *Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, "On the Fashionable Amusements and Entertainments in Edinburgh in the Last Century," p. 66, that the German flute (i.e., the transverse flute, as opposed to the recorder) arrived in Scotland circa 1725. Suspecting this statement to be inaccurate, in light of the German flute's considerably earlier arrival in London, and evidence of flute sales and flute playing in Scotland, Elizabeth Ford has examined the facts critically in her doctoral research and the present monograph.

Ford's detailed detective work emerges in a readable account which aspires to address the historical position of the flute in Scottish music-making. After the opening chapter has examined the evidence for the flute in Scotland as far back as the sixteenth century, successive chapters shine a light on other key facets of flute history. We read in the second and third chapters about flute ownership and flute playing by both amateur and professional musicians. An eighteenth-century amateur was a wealthy, often leisured individual, whereas professional musicians were essentially skilled tradesmen, far lower down the social pecking order, albeit of some importance in regard to leading orchestras and bands, or teaching music to the offspring of wealthy patrons. Ford looks at the evidence for flute ownership not only by amateurs, in the eighteenth-century definition, but also among middling and working-class players, whether they played for leisure or for profit—or perhaps both, as in the case of the blind son of a bricklayer, Thomas Blacklock. Educated, and ordained, but not employed, as a Presbyterian minister, he devoted much time to scholarship, but Ford relates that he took a flageolet everywhere with him, also played the violin, and may indeed have considered himself a professional musician.

The chapter on amateur musicians contains a coherent analysis of flute playing among women. The idea that women did not play the flute because it was undignified has become something of a trope over the years, but Ford dispels this myth, conceding that although fewer women than men played it, it was certainly not a taboo instrument. This should probably become required reading for music undergraduates, if the myth is to be finally dispelled! Chapter 3 contemplates the employment of professional musicians in Scotland, followed by a chapter about composers. The latter outlines composers' output of flute music (or music capable of being played by flute, among other instruments), whether of instructional or performance material, and of a more or less "Scottish" nature.

Since they address first published, and then unpublished sources, Chapters 4 and 5 form a distinct subsection in the book, and aim to convey some idea of the contents of these collections. While published resources can generally be tracked down through library catalogues and overarching union catalogues (such as the UK's *Jisc Library Hub Discover*—formerly *Copac*—and *WorldCat* for international coverage), it is much more difficult to gain an overview of key manuscript sources. For this reason Chapter 5—in which these sources are clearly de-

scribed, with library sigla and something of their history—is very helpful indeed.

Chapter 6 turns to organology, i.e., the history of the instruments themselves. While early eighteenth-century flutes had only one metal key, the passage of time saw the development of flutes with more features. Ford reveals who the flute manufacturers were and where wealthy amateurs obtained their flutes (not always from within Scotland), and she also discusses the likelihood that there may have been some overlap between makers of flutes and of bagpipes, since some of the skills would have been directly transferable.

A final chapter is titled “The Flute in Scotland Today: Not Scottish Enough?” Contemplating why the instrument is somewhat downplayed in Scottish traditional music today, compared to its prominence in Irish music, Ford draws on private conversations with key proponents of the flute in the contemporary Scottish music scene and on discussions in the online forum at [flutefling.co.uk](http://flutefling.co.uk). The inclusion of this chapter rounds off the subject, with a nod toward modern debate about what “Scottish music” actually means to different people today, and which instruments are generally considered part of the usual traditional sound. At the same time, however, it feels a little lightweight by comparison with the bulk of the monograph, which is rich with detailed footnotes and references.

Ford occasionally takes issue with what has in recent years been accepted as the received history of Scottish music, particularly as outlined by David Johnson in *Music and Society in Lowland Scotland in the Eighteenth Century* (1972) and other writings. For example, Ford notes at the start of Chapter 2 that Johnson categorized instruments played in Scotland as for professional or amateur use, but she opens her next chapter with the observation that the situation was more nuanced than that, and indeed that while there were obviously more professional flute players in the bigger cities, there were also local amateurs. She goes on to provide ample evidence. Similarly, in Chapter 4 (Composers), Ford alludes to Johnson’s division of Scottish flute music into a “Scots drawing room” style and “Corelli-inspired variation sonatas,” but implies that Johnson’s apparent belief that there was a distinctive Scottish idiom is somewhat shaky, and furthermore that it may be too simplistic to suggest that the Scottish drawing room style arose as a reaction to the political events around the 1707 Act of Union. Of course, whether one agrees with one point of view or another may depend on one’s depth of knowledge of the precise detail under discussion, or one’s familiarity with the earlier author’s documented views. Ford gives her reasons for her differing interpretation of the facts. Our understanding of the past is constantly evolving, and progress cannot be made without sometimes taking issue with the scholars who precede us.

This is a very readable book, with quiet humor emerging as an occasional aside from the generously provided footnotes. It is clear that an impressive amount of research has gone into unearthing this history. Inevitably, this kind of analysis can sometimes turn into a recitation of names, but there is value in having so many names brought together and seeing new connections between historical figures whom we may only briefly have encountered before. One does not always gain the most benefit by reading a book from cover to cover, and much pleasurable learning is to be gained from perusing a chapter at a time, perhaps pausing to follow up a particular individual, published collection, or manuscript which catches one’s attention.

It goes without saying that the book, the eleventh volume in Peter Lang’s “Studies in the History and Culture of Scotland” series, comes with the normal scholarly apparatus of an extensive bibliography and a functional index. It is available in paperback, PDF, and e-pub formats.

**Karen E. McAulay, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland**

William McGibbon, *Complete Sonatas*. Edited by Elizabeth C. Ford. Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2018. Pp. xvi + 186.

William McGibbon (1690–c.1756) was a leading violinist-composer in Edinburgh in the first half of the eighteenth century. This edition brings together twelve complete trio sonatas, six “solos” for treble instrument and bass, and a collection of six duos for two flutes without bass, all of which were published in McGibbon’s lifetime between 1729 and 1748; an appendix includes the surviving first flute part from an additional third collection of trio sonatas. Elizabeth Ford argues that “Of the Scottish composers writing for the flute at this period, McGibbon’s music displays a particularly keen understanding of the instrument” (p. xi). In composing for this instrument, McGibbon (a violinist) was clearly responding to a market of amateur flute players, which according to Ford’s research, began to surge in Scotland in the late 1720s, though its popularity among eighteenth-century Scottish elites can be traced back as far as 1702. Selected trio and solo sonatas by McGibbon have appeared previously in modern editions prepared by Kenneth Elliot, Peter Holman, and David Johnson, but apparently none of the duos have previously been made available. In collecting this corpus together, this edition helps to confirm that the primary instrument McGibbon had in mind was the one-keyed transverse flute—in contrast to his variations on Scots tunes, country dances, and other music for violin, preserved in both printed and manuscript sources, which partly reflect the composer’s own performing repertory.

This music demonstrates McGibbon’s fluency and frequent imaginativeness employing Italianate musical styles of the period. Furthermore, the various collections illustrate a fascinating trajectory of stylistic change indicative of the composer’s responsiveness to his changing market over time. The two trio-sonata collections of 1729 and 1734 (titled “Sonatas for two German Flutes, or two Violins and a Bass”) look partially to the famous Roman

violinist-composer Arcangelo Corelli for models and also adopt a concerto-like manner in some movements; the later duos are in a lighter, more compact idiom favored in the mid-eighteenth century. Commenting on the meaning of the rubric “in imitation of Corelli” heading the fifth sonata of the 1734 set, Ford rightly points out that the slow-fast-slow-fast pattern of movements in this and other sonatas is indicative of McGibbon’s intimate knowledge of Corelli’s “da chiesa” and “da camera” trio sonatas (originally published as Corelli’s Op. 1 and Op. 2 in 1681 and 1685, respectively, and reprinted together in London in a study score by Benjamin Cooke in 1728, which was perhaps familiar to the Scottish composer). McGibbon also used the procedure of recasting the second, fugal movement as a giga finale, which he may have associated with Corelli’s sonata style.

The sources for this edition were examined meticulously, primarily in order to resolve several confusions that have arisen in reference works concerning the identities and dates of eighteenth-century publications. A useful table in the Critical Report compares the various numbering systems and editorial titles in reference works with the original titles and the locations of exemplars for each publication, each of which was consulted by Ford. An additional benefit of this approach is that it highlights several significant differences between surviving copies. One of two exemplars for the six solos of 1740, for instance, has a list of subscribers lacking from the other, which “includes the names of at least three flute players” (Critical Report, p. 164). The edition also demonstrates that the contents of the 1748 duos, which survive in three copies, had to be reordered after it was recognized that two movements belonging to the third sonata had been misplaced; the correct order is found only in the copy in Glasgow University Library. The editorial approach has been to reproduce closely the original notation, adjusting it where necessary to suit the needs of performers. The result is a well laid-out score suitable for all kinds of users. However, assuming that the transcription itself is accurate, Ford has shied away from correcting some doubtful notes, even in cases where an examination of analogous passages would have helped to clarify the need for a change.

**Andrew Woolley, Universidade Nova de Lisboa**

Daniel Szechi, *The Jacobites: Britain and Europe, 1688–1788*. Second edition. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019. Pp. xxxix + 301.

Desmond Seward, *The King Over the Water: A Complete History of the Jacobites*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2019. Pp. xxvi + 406.

It has been twenty-five years since Daniel Szechi published the first edition of *The Jacobites*, a concise introduction to a complex cultural and political phenomenon in which he convincingly articulated the importance of Jacobitism in the history of eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland. As readers of this periodical are no doubt aware, since the book’s original appearance the field of Jacobite studies has experienced an explosion of publications and interest, including regular conferences and a new book series. In light of this recent work, Szechi has undertaken the daunting and humbling task of revising his book as an expanded second edition.

As is often the case, twenty-five years contributes to a bit of added girth. No longer the slim volume it once was, *The Jacobites* remains a powerful introduction to both the history and historiography of Jacobitism, and from the first pages of the book Szechi’s forty years of engagement with the subject is evident. Organized topically, Szechi’s book is an introduction to the narrative of Jacobitism and British history as well as the ideology and structure of Jacobite society. As the table of contents makes clear, the book includes new chapters and new sections within old chapters. For instance, the introduction not only contains an entirely new section devoted to “new directions in Jacobite studies,” documenting work on gender, material culture, diaspora, and Ireland, but also a thoroughly updated version of what is arguably one of the most useful and student-friendly historiographical primers, which breaks scholarship on the Jacobites into three camps: the optimists, the pessimists, and the rejectionists.

Reference to much of this new research is not located only in the introduction. Throughout the text Szechi has updated footnotes to accurately reflect the changing field, incorporating new works on Jacobitism in Ireland, the Atterbury plot, and the Jacobite courts abroad. In addition, subtle textual additions, whether minor, such as references to the *Aisling* poems (p. 53), the plebian diaspora (p. 220), or Jacobite pirates (p. 224), or longer narrative descriptions, such as the Atterbury plot (pp. 152–56) or Jacobitism in Scotland (pp. 114–22), reflect this engagement with new secondary works, providing readers encountering the text for the first time with a seamless prose unencumbered by clunky, poorly conceived addendums. Szechi’s engagement with new research is admirable with one notable omission: the dearth of material relating to Jacobitism and gender, which though mentioned in the introduction is largely ignored for the rest of the work.

Although it would have been easy for Szechi to expand the text by relying solely on recent secondary scholarship, his work is also deeply grounded in primary source material. The most obvious manifestation of this is the inclusion of numerous new “illustrative documents” (pp. 237–64). Szechi’s mastery of the primary sources is especially evident in chapters five and six, which contain some of the most significant changes to the text. These additions are products of Szechi’s areas of research expertise and include a section on the Jacobite communication

system (pp. 92–95), expanded discussions of the 1708 rising (pp. 101–102), a description of the little known Borlum plot of 1713–14 (p. 105), and an extended section on the '15 (pp. 133–44). Similar emendations based on the author's extensive research on the 1708 rising enable Szechi to editorialize a bit, noting the irony of the Scottish Jacobites (perceived as regressive) adopting more radical political agendas such as "Heads of the Instrument of Government," which would not be implemented until the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century (pp. 47–48).

A work of this caliber engaging extensively with both primary and secondary literature is exactly what we have come to expect from Szechi. Though thoroughly documenting the importance of Jacobitism, he is careful not to overstate his case. This mix of verve and care will ensure that this book remains for many years a staple introduction to the subject for students and established academics.

The same proliferation of research reinforcing the scale and scope of the Jacobite threat that made necessary Szechi's revised edition has also made possible the publication of Desmond Seward's *The King Over the Water*, a narrative history written for popular audiences. Seward himself notes this historiographical shift, writing that "until forty years ago they [Jacobites] were dismissed as a handful of kilted anachronisms from the wilder areas of the Celtic Fringe. Nowadays they are taken much more seriously, but the new insights are restricted to academics" (p. xvii).

Intending to rectify this perceived problem, Seward has attempted to write a "complete history of the Jacobites." Arguing that most recent books have "concentrated on the rising of 1745-6 that ended at Culloden," he believes these books "fail to tell the whole story in England, Scotland, and Ireland, from James II's flight in 1688 until his grandson Henry IX's death in 1807" (p. xvii). In many respects, he is remarkably successful. Seward's book is a well-written (at times gripping), accessible narrative covering a wide geographical and chronological scope, and it should have broad appeal for students and non-academic readers. As is often the case in books like this, specialists might find the pace startling and the brevity of certain sections alarming, but the book is an effective popular introduction.

The author brings a wide variety of secondary literature to bear on the narrative, including some of the most recent scholarship on the subject. This secondary scholarship provides the backbone of the work while also enabling its engagement with diverse topics. Seward's narrative, though primarily chronological, is flexible enough to give attention to various events and developments in the three kingdoms and beyond. For example, he devotes four chapters to the Jacobite wars in Ireland (pp. 34–62), and after recounting the failure of the 1719 rising in Scotland, there is a brief but interesting discussion of reactions to the rising in Ireland, including the judicial murder of the Irish Jacobite James Cottar (p. 174). Nor is his attention firmly fixed on wars and rebellions alone, as he devotes numerous chapters to descriptions of the private lives of the Stuarts in exile. Similarly, he describes events in England, including the Atterbury (pp. 185–92) and Cornbury plots (pp. 212–15).

Though the two books under review have a great deal of content in common, their differing tones are striking. Where Szechi is careful not to overstate his case, Seward is aggressively maximalist. For example, whereas Szechi argues that the '15 was the most significant threat posed by the Jacobites, Seward describes it as coming within a hair's breadth of success. Similarly, Seward makes a maximalist case for the '45, arguing that "between 1741 and 1745 well over a third of the 150 Tory MPs supported James secretly or openly, and were actively involved in working for a Restoration" (p. 223). This optimism also leads to a bit of speculation, such as when he describes a meeting of the Earl of Chesterfield and the Duke of Ormonde at Avignon in 1740. Although Seward notes that there is no record of what they discussed, he writes that "one cannot rule out a Restoration" (p. 257). A similar willingness to speculate is evident when he discusses rumors of possible attempts by American colonists to contact the Jacobite court in the 1770s (pp. 318–20). Occasionally, Seward's prose verges on the over-dramatic, leading to some unnecessarily provocative statements. The most notable example occurs in a discussion of the despotic power of clan chiefs who possessed the authority to sell their clansmen into indentured servitude, in which Seward refers to these unfortunate characters as "white slaves" (p. 78), a loaded and problematic description.

Taken together, these two books are representative of the significant changes in Jacobite studies over the past forty years. More importantly, the timing of publication is fortuitous, as public interest in the topic has been piqued by cultural phenomena like the book series/television show *Outlander* as well as a major exhibition at the National Gallery in Scotland. Though written for two separate audiences, these books will no doubt serve as valuable primers to an exciting and complex field.

David Parrish, College of the Ozarks

Edward Corp, *Sir David Nairne: The Life of a Scottish Jacobite at the Court of the Exiled Stuarts*. Studies in the History and Culture of Scotland. New York: Peter Lang, 2018. Pp. xiii + 518.

In this deeply researched and richly detailed volume, Edward Corp provides the fullest biographical profile to date of Sir David Nairne, a critical but generally forgotten figure within the Jacobite world, and restores him to the prominent and influential position he occupied at the time. Drawing on both Nairne's extensive official correspondence and personal diaries, the work astutely deploys his public and private life as a prism through which to view and assess the ever-clashing personalities, factional ambition, and diversions within the exiled Jacobite court,

whether in France, or subsequently, Italy. Not a reluctant exile but a voluntary expatriate, Nairne had no personal stake in seeing a Stuart restoration; hence his observations (in diary and letter form) are all the more valuable for being incisive, informed, and remarkably nonpartisan. Those traits also defined his personality and explain his long success in political administration and in reconciling the chronically contentious countries which served the Stuart kings, thereby also winning the high opinion of those kings.

In highly readable form, the first chapter covers Nairne's life from his birth in 1655 to his departure for France and Ireland in 1689. Here the highlights include Nairne's legal studies at Leyden and Utrecht, and subsequent travels throughout Western Europe, including visits in 1676 to Paris, where he immersed himself in French society, history, literature, and music over the next twelve years. He also converted to Roman Catholicism, developed the serious/methodical attitude—in his words, an espousal of “sense and reason”—which shaped the attractive personality (combined with intellectual acumen) that won him many friends and supporters, and prepared him for the onerous challenges ahead.

Also highlighted is his less laudable side, including leaving his pregnant wife alone, without adequate support, while gallivanting to Ireland in the Pretender's cause and then again to Italy as the deputy of Lord Melfort, Secretary of State to James II. He appeared to have cared only minimally (if at all) about the financial calamity facing her were he to be killed in his careerist perambulations.

Still, Nairne's dedication and efficiency greatly impressed Melfort and, eventually, the exiled King James, confirming his career (despite periodic checks) for the next forty years. Thus, when Melfort was appointed James II's ambassador to Rome, he invited Nairne to accompany him as First Secretary—a tenure which, though only twenty-one months long, enabled him to demonstrate his varied administrative and political abilities in complex tasks, including negotiations with Versailles, handling the king's personal correspondence, and overseeing audiences with cardinals and popes (Alexander VIII and Innocent XII) at the court of Rome. The stay in Rome likewise prompted him to strengthen his Catholic faith and to reconfirm his deep loyalty to the Jacobite cause and his serene resignation in the face of adversity and the workings of Divine Providence, a trait informing the resilience of his overall public and private life.

Retaining his position upon Melfort's temporary recall to St. Germain, Nairne excelled as before, editing and translating the exiled count's massive documentation in addition to consolidating his connections (being fluent in Italian) within Roman society and the Papal Curia. His remained a vital role during the two abortive attempts at another Franco-Jacobite invasion of Scotland in 1692 and 1693, overseeing some of the administrative preparations and conducting lengthy deliberations with the French secretaries of state. He ultimately also witnessed England's fleet defeat the French—a reversal that augured ill for any future successful restoration attempt.

The immediate upshot was a weakening of Melfort's position and *ipso facto* that of Nairne, his confidant, whose work correspondingly diminished in quantity and importance, creating uncertainty about future prospects. His fear became a reality when, in May 1694, Melfort—at the request of Louis XIV and Jesuit powerbrokers—was dismissed as Secretary of State by James II and replaced with Lord Middleton, leaving Nairne to fend for himself.

Fortunately for Nairne, in the interim he had befriended John Caryll, the Catholic Queen's private secretary, who presently entrusted with Melfort's Roman dossiers, and made joint Secretary of State, duly appointed Nairne as his official assistant. Once again his loyalty and capacity for hard work paid dividends. “In 1696, he was given additional responsibilities as clerk of the queen's council, in 1699 he was entrusted by James II with the task of converting the latter's memoirs into a lengthy biography and in 1701, he was appointed clerk of council to the new King James III” (p. 61).

The sections covering these developments are among the most valuable in the book: assimilating substantial new archival sources with admirable interpretative skill, they show well how pervasively Nairne's religious convictions informed his public and private life, clarify the complex forces behind Franco-Jacobite policy decisions, and provide new insights into the intellectual substratum of Jacobite political ideas, set within the context of contemporary Scottish intellectual and cultural norms.

Chapters 3–5 offer an informative account of Nairne's life outside and beyond the court where he was employed from 1691 to 1708—a topic relatively neglected by historians. Successfully negotiating for a portion of his father-in-law's country estate at Compigny (1699), and obtaining enhanced remuneration for his clerical administrative duties at the Stuart court, Nairne, at last adequately provided for, was able to expand his artistic and intellectual pursuits (mainly music, history, and science) and intensify his commitment to Catholicism, as the “moral justification for the Jacobite cause” (p. 113).

The turning point in Nairne's life came in 1708, when plans matured for a French fleet to convey James III and a small army to Scotland for another attempted invasion. By this time, having emerged as one of the leading members of the exiled court, Nairne—Under-Secretary of the Queen since 1704—found himself at the center of deliberations with Jacobite factions in Scotland, senior officials at Versailles, and the Court of St. Germain—key epicenters of insurrection. He, in particular, was instrumental in gathering and collating evidence suggesting that Scottish pro-Jacobite nobles would support an uprising—albeit with French support. The culmination of these maneuverings was the Franco-Jacobite expedition to Scotland, with Nairne among the courtiers accompanying James III—an expedition that again floundered, forcing a French retreat to Dunkirk, with British squadrons in hot pursuit.

Here Corp provides an important supplement to the standard coverage of the abortive expedition by Daniel Szechi (*Britain's Lost Revolution*, 2015) by integrating operational details with valuable information about the Scots Jacobite community itself, highlighting the internal divisions and divergent aspirations that chronically undermined unity and compromised their ability to mobilize adequate support for the cause, often at the most critical moments.

The remaining chapters give due emphasis to points inadequately covered in the existing literature, throwing new light on such vital issues as Nairne's involvement in ongoing Jacobite plots (all failures), vital role as Under Secretary at Rome and Bologna from 1719 to 1739, eventual estrangement from James III, and ultimate retirement in 1740, with a pension, but otherwise politically isolated, completely aloof from contemporary public affairs.

Although at times Corp seems to lose direction in his expansive descriptions of Nairne's every doing, however mundane, the result is a book that brings us as close to revealing Nairne on his own terms as we likely will ever get. *Sir David Nairne* is recommended for students and general readers alike.

**Karl W. Schweizer, New Jersey Institute of Technology**

Valerie Wallace, *Scottish Presbyterianism and Settler Colonial Politics: Empire of Dissent*. Cambridge Imperial and Post-Colonial Studies. Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018. Pp. vii + 308.

Valerie Wallace's *Scottish Presbyterianism and Settler Colonial Politics* is a well-thought-out and thoroughly researched investigation of the political influence of dissenting Scots Presbyterians on the politics of settler societies in the British Empire in the first half of nineteenth century. Focusing on the lives of five leading Scots with staunch Presbyterian backgrounds—Thomas McCulloch in Pictou in Nova Scotia, Thomas Pringle in Cape Town, William Lyon Mackenzie in Upper Canada, John Dunmore Lang in Sydney, and Samuel McDonald Martin in Auckland—Wallace contends that resistance to an imposed Anglicanization in imperial territories, combined with a trend toward religious voluntarism, led these men to take increasingly aggressive and even radical positions on matters of church and state. Those positions cut across colonial boundaries and both reflected and reflected back on ecclesiastical politics at home in the age of the Disruption and beyond.

The time frame here extends from the arrival of McCulloch in Nova Scotia in 1803 to Auckland and the New Zealand constitution in 1852. Some of the book's interest for readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* comes from the fact that developments in those settler colonies both resembled and built upon a number of earlier Scots colonial features: the legacy of the Covenanters; the influence of the secession and other forms of Presbyterian dissent; the prominence of migration and diaspora in Scottish history; and the close involvement of Presbyterians, especially evangelical Presbyterians, in imperial endeavors generally and in radical politics in particular.

The conditions those settlers faced arose in part from conflicts that originally emerged in the settler colonies of British North America in the eighteenth century. Those often concerned the relative positions of English and Scottish churches in the wake of the Union settlement. While Anglican churches in those colonies had lodged claims to supremacy, their efforts were contested by Presbyterian groups. By the time of the American crisis, many in imperial circles began to believe that the failure to create Anglican establishments in North America had weakened British governance there and encouraged rebellion. The result was an attempt to impose further order in settler colonies, and by 1787 the Anglican Church was fully established in Nova Scotia, the first such establishment in North America since the Union of 1707. Nova Scotia then boasted Britain's first colonial Anglican bishop in the person of Charles Inglis. A similar model would be extended to Britain's other settler colonies.

Those Anglican establishments provoked Presbyterian dissent. The book is at its best in depicting the continuing influence of covenanting traditions on Scottish settlers. In contrast to the traditional image of intense Scots loyalism within the empire, the men examined here fought for ecclesiastical equality, political autonomy, and religious voluntarism: the removal not only of colonial religious establishments but of denominational preferences or any sort of state involvement. They would fight attempts to monopolize colonial colleges, as in the effort to suppress the former Glasgow seceder Thomas McCulloch's Pictou Academy as a dissenting alternative to the Anglican college. For that, McCulloch enlisted the help of Jotham Blanchard, a former student of the college and editor of the Nova Scotia newspaper *The Colonial Patriot*. They contested the special privileges given to the Anglican institution and campaigned for equal treatment for Pictou. The story was not so different elsewhere. Among the most aggressive dissenters politically was John Dunmore Lang in New South Wales, whose efforts went beyond separating the churches from the state toward a larger goal of political autonomy and republicanism for the descendants of Covenanters and freeborn Scotsmen. It was in fact the Scots covenanter tradition of fighting for their liberties that justified their call for an equal condition that could not be obtained within an Anglican empire.

In Upper Canada William Lyon Mackenzie also faced similar challenges from presumed Anglican dominance in church and academy. The result, Wallace shows, was that those disparate figures, with few if any affiliation to one another in Scotland before their departures, developed connections across imperial boundaries in order to address their difficulties. A few key figures in Scotland worked to unify them, including especially the radical M.P. Joseph Hume, a Scot from Montrose, who kept close connections with the settler colonies. Between 1829 and 1832 Hume helped connect Mackenzie, Blanchard, and Lang, all but Pringle visiting Hume in Scotland in person.

Thereafter, the government would begin to ease its attempts to maintain the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Anglican Church. Still, the political climate of Disruption Scotland helped foster an aggressive voluntarism in the colonies and a backlash tending toward radical reform and autonomy.

Another who drew them together, in this case largely through his writings, was Thomas M’Crie, of the Antiburgher communion in Edinburgh. M’Crie himself was conservative on ecclesiastical matters and never followed most of these men into a full voluntarism. What he did do was maintain the memory of Scottish Presbyterian traditions in his writings, including his biographies of John Knox and Andrew Melville and, especially, his lengthy and controversial 1816 review of Walter Scott’s *Old Mortality*. Scott had depicted the most devoted of the Covenanters as close-minded and violent fanatics, whose influence was ultimately surpassed by those of moderate Presbyterians as the true defenders of civil and religious liberties. M’Crie favored instead the more radical Covenanters, and portrayed their valiant and even violent efforts to defend their faith against the tyranny of the Stuarts and the Episcopal establishment as the true source of colonial liberties. It was a Scottish take on what was otherwise a Whig story of liberty’s foundations. Ecclesiastical equality at home and abroad was the Scots Presbyterian birthright.

For all its strengths in depicting those claims to a Scottish birthright, the book might have addressed a few things differently. While it was in many ways a good choice to discuss the five men individually, in separate chapters, the similarities that lie at the heart of the argument mean that it does at times seem almost as though one is reading the same story with the names changed. That does, of course, compound the weight of the evidence presented, and there are differences of nuance and circumstance if one attends to them. Moreover, the colonies studied here were all settler societies. All were surrounded by or displaced indigenous peoples who are hardly mentioned; it would be worth knowing what dissenting Presbyterians thought about those other peoples. One might compare here the attention Joseph Moore gave to the involvement of Covenanting Presbyterians with antislavery in the United States, or other works on Scotland and slavery. How did they think about other native and first peoples? That would be worth a further word because of what the book does tell us about the overall radical Scottish Presbyterian contribution to empire. On that theme, this important book will endure as a major source.

**Ned Landsman, Stony Brook University**

Andrew Hook, *From Mount Hooly to Princeton: A Scottish-American Medley*. Edinburgh Kennedy & Boyd, 2020. Pp. xiv + 516.

In his long and distinguished career, Andrew Hook has contributed to our knowledge of Scotland and America in many different ways. Many readers of this periodical will know his books and articles on the eighteenth century. But Andrew has also written extensively on F. Scott Fitzgerald, and in recent years he has become a sort of journalist/memorialist in the *Scottish Review*, commenting on contemporary events in Scotland and America, often with historical and autobiographical perspectives. This fascinating volume brings together no fewer than 134 of Andrew’s shorter pieces.

From the first of the book’s nine parts, “Pages of Autobiography,” we learn that the Mount Hooly in the title was the name of the house (pictured on p. 2) in Wick, Caithness, in the far north of Scotland, where Andrew lived his first seventeen years, from 1932 to 1949. Two of the essays deal with Wick in World War II, including remembrances of German bombing of the town in 1939. We then follow aspects of his education, notably his momentous encounter in the 1950s with Princeton University—a topic to which he returns at other places in the volume, to comment on Princeton’s Scottish heritage (embodied particularly by John Witherspoon, pp. 222–29) and to lobby for its restoration in the form of “a new School of Scottish Studies” (p. 224). His autobiographical reflections conclude with a lovely “Sentimental Journey” about his return to Wick for a twenty-first century bittersweet visit.

The second part of the book, “Scotland and America,” contains six pieces, most of which deal with the eighteenth century, and one of which (a fine review of Timothy J. Shannon’s recent book on Peter Williamson) appeared in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* last year. Part 3, “Scottish History and the Scottish Enlightenment,” contains only six papers, but one of them, which Andrew delivered at the ECSSS conference in Aberdeen in 1995, “Pietro Giannone’s *Civil History of Naples*, Jacobitism, and the Scottish Enlightenment” (pp. 95–106), is particularly insightful, especially for its focus on Giannone’s Aberdonian translator, James Ogilvie. In this part of the book, and in the next, on “Scott and Scottish Romanticism,” Andrew is often implicitly or explicitly in debate with Hugh Trevor-Roper, and more generally concerned with Scotland’s image and self-image, especially in relation to literature. John Home’s *Douglas* and James Macpherson’s *Ossian* are each the focus of separate essays which demonstrate the connections between them (“it is no exaggeration to say that without Home there would have been no *Ossian*,” p. 136) and their importance for establishing a hugely influential “new romantic sensibility” (p. 141) that Trevor-Roper failed to appreciate (p. 113). The chapter on *Ossian* ends with a point of irony: that in supporting Macpherson’s *Ossian*, the Scottish literati were in effect undercutting their view of enlightened civilization: “In the end *Ossian* represented a challenge to the new, material civilization of Lowland Scotland and to the intellectual and cultural hegemony it had so brilliantly established; *Ossian* was a kind of Highland counterattack, an attempt to impose upon Scotland, as her truer and more traditional self, a romantic, Celtic image created out of the wild gran-



deur of her Highland scenery, and the heroic simplicity of a poetic Highland past” (p. 144). A marvelous little piece that first appeared in the Scottish press and in slightly revised form in *Eighteenth-Century Scotland* in 1996, “*Braveheart, Rob Roy, and Sir Walter Scott*,” (pp. 126–29), reflects on Mel Gibson’s film, Scott’s novel, and Jane Porter’s *The Scottish Chiefs* (1810) on the topic of art and national identity. Of course, the Union looms large in regard to national identity, and the volume includes an appreciative discussion of Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd’s 2018 collection, *Literature and Union: Scottish Texts, British Contexts* (pp. 114–17).

The remaining parts of the book are “F. Scott Fitzgerald,” “U.K. and US Universities,” “American and Scottish Politics,” “Cultural Moments,” and “Further Dispatches from the Scottish Review.” They cover a broad range of topics, mostly recent, but not entirely so. Part 6 on universities, for example, includes a learned essay on “Irish Students at Glasgow University in the Eighteenth Century” (pp. 234–48), which I found very informative.

Sitting at my desk in New Jersey with no prospect of making my planned trip to Scotland this summer because of the coronavirus pandemic, I found reading this volume to be the next best thing to seeing my dear friend in Glasgow. I remembered receiving electronic offprints of many of the *Scottish Review* articles at the time of publication, and an essay on visiting the then-new Riverside Museum in Glasgow in July 2011 brought back memories of the shared day that inspired it. It is unfortunate that the book lacks details about when the articles were written and, often, where (and if) they were published. When Andrew tells us about his “Sentimental Journey” back to Wick, for example, describing the sights and sometimes the people he meets there, we want to know whether this excursion occurred in 2006 or 2018 or some other time. Similarly, I wondered whether the essay on Irish students appeared previously in print, and if so, where and when? But this criticism is minor. To anyone familiar with Andrew Hook’s books and major articles about the eighteenth century, but nothing more, this volume constitutes a welcome opportunity to hear clearly his varied voices as both a scholar and a public intellectual.

**Richard B. Sher, NJIT and Rutgers University, Newark**

## IN THE GALLERIES

“**Wild and Majestic: Romantic Visions of Scotland**” was on view at the National Museum of Scotland from 26 June to 10 November 2019. The artifacts on display were remarkably rich and varied, and many had never appeared before in a public exhibition. A handsome exhibition catalogue by Patrick Watt and Rosie Waite was produced to complement the exhibition. Meanwhile, at the National Library of Scotland, an exhibit titled “**Northern Lights: The Scottish Enlightenment**” was put on from 21 June 2019 to 18 April 2020. With sections on Moral Philosophy and Religion, Social Science and Academic Innovation, Literature and Language, Art and Architecture, Science and Medicine, and Sociability in Society, this show mixed title pages and illustrations from books with manuscripts in the library’s extensive collections. Although less interactive and colorful than a grand exhibition such as “Wild and Majestic,” this show included some little-known treasures, such as a 1774 letter from John Playfair to William Robertson on scientific experiments at Schiehallion and a page from the minute book of the Select Society in December 1754, when David Hume was in the chair. I also attended an interesting complementary presentation at the library on 17 July, organized by Ralph McLean (one of the curators of the exhibition) and featuring talks by Matthew Lee, Sydney Ayers, and Alastair Noble.—RBS

### ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2019–31 Dec. 2019

#### Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2019: £22,609.16  
Income: +£992.84 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal)  
Expenses: –£0  
Balance 31 Dec. 2019: £23,602.00

#### Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2019: \$22,560.81  
Income: \$7170 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal: \$2170; transfer from PayPal: \$3500.00 ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship: \$1500)  
Expenses: –\$7292.55 (newsletter printing & prep: \$1326; newsletter mailing: \$934.95; website fees [BlueHost and Sitelock for security issue]: \$417.99; equipment, supplies, and photocopying [Staples & Amazon]: \$356.45; Edinburgh conference: \$619.65 [Exec. Board dinner meeting and fees: \$368.11; Exec. Sec.’s registration: \$251.54]; payments to Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund, Edinburgh University (including conversion fees): \$3286.39; for ECSSS events at ASECS meeting: \$300; US Post Office for additional mailings: \$20.62; NJ nonprofit organization annual registration fee: \$30.50)  
Balance 31 Dec. 2019: \$22,438.26

#### PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2019: \$805.33  
Net Income (after PayPal fees): +\$4836.11 (dues, book orders, and donations)  
Withdrawals: \$3500 (transfer to Bank of America checking account)  
Balance 31 Dec. 2019: \$2141.44  
Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2019 [vs. 31 Dec. 2018]: £23,602.00 [£22,609.16] + \$24,579.70 [\$23,366.14]

ECSSS/ASECS Daiches-Manning Fellowship at IASH, Fund at University of Edinburgh as of 31 Dec. 2019 (vs. 31 Dec. 2018): £53,742 (£49,873)

### RECENT ARTICLES BY ECSSS MEMBERS

- Thomas AHNERT, "Philosophy and Theology in the Mid-Eighteenth Century," in *HST*, 56–68.
- Michael C. AMROZOWICZ, "Scottish Enlightenment Histories of Social Organization," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 48 (2019): 161–86.
- Ellen L. BEARD, "Rob Donn MacKay: Finding the Music in the Songs," in *Cànan is Cultar/Language and Culture: Ronnsachadh na Gàidhlig 9*, ed. Meg Bateman and Richard A. V. Cox (Clò Ostaig, 2019), 11–20.
- Ellen L. BEARD, "Satire and Social Change: The Bard, the Schoolmaster and the Drove," *Northern Scotland* 8 (2017): 1–21.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "Hume: The Science of Man and the Foundations of Politics," in *HM*, 313–24.
- Christopher J. BERRY, "Sociality and Socialisation," in *CCSE*, 234–47.
- C. B. BOW, "The 'Final' Causes of Scottish Nationalism: Lord Kames and the Political Economy of Enlightened Industry, 1745–82," *Historical Research* 91 (2018): 296–313.
- Karin BOWIE and Alasdair RAFFE, "Politics, the People, and Extra-Institutional Participation in Scotland, c. 1603–1712," *Journal of British Studies* 56 (2017): 797–815.
- Alexander BROADIE, "Introduction," in *CCSE*, 1–8.
- Stewart J. BROWN, "Moderate Theology and Preaching, c. 1750–1800," in *HST*, 69–83.
- John W. CAIRNS, "Legal Theory in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *CCSE*, 213–33.
- John W. CAIRNS, "The Letters of John Millar," *HEI45.2*, 232–303.
- John W. CAIRNS, "John Millar's Theses for Admission as an Advocate," *HEI45.2*, 304–309.
- Gerard CARRUTHERS, "Responses to Peterloo in Scotland, 1819–1822," in *Commemorating Peterloo: Violence, Resilience and Claim-making during the Romantic Era*, ed. Michael Demson and Regina Hewitt (Edinburgh University Press, 2019), 120–39.
- Deidre DAWSON, "Literature and Sentimentalism," in *CCSE*, 289–312.
- Vivienne DUNSTAN, "The State of Scottish Bookselling circa 1800," in *Buying and Selling: The Business of Books in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Shanti Graheli (Brill, 2019), 261–75.
- Matthew Daniel EDDY, "The Nature of Notebooks: How Enlightenment Schoolchildren Transformed the *Tabula Rasa*," *Journal of British Studies* 57 (2018): 275–307.
- Roger L. EMERSON and Mark G. SPENCER, "Several Contexts of the Scottish Enlightenment," in *CCSE*, 9–32.
- Elizabeth C. FORD, "William McGibbon and his Sonatas," *Scottish Music Review* 5 (2019): 36–51.
- Elizabeth C. FORD, "Looking Past the Scottishness: William McGibbon's Sonatas," *Underscore: The AR Editions Blog* (11 Dec. 2019). <https://www.areditions.com/news/looking-past-scottishness>
- Howard GASKILL, "Why Ossian? Why Comala?," *LIR.journal*, no. 11 (2019): 7–23. <http://ojs.ub.gu.se/ojs/index.php/LIRJ>
- Clarisse GODARD DESMAREST, "Columns, Statues and Memory in 19<sup>th</sup>-Century Scotland," *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, special issue on "Sculpture in Scotland," 24 (2019–20): 44–51.
- Gordon GRAHAM, "Hume and the Scottish Intellectual Tradition," in *HM*, 363–74.
- Gordon GRAHAM, "The Nineteenth-Century Aftermath," in *CCSE*, 334–47.
- Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "Natural Jurisprudence and the Theory of Justice," in *CCSE*, 195–212.
- Knud HAAKONSSSEN, "Millar and His Circle: A Preface," *HEI45.2*, 125–27.
- Sören HAMMERSCHMIDT, "Social Authorship and the Mediation of Memory in Anne Grant's Poetry," *European Romantic Review* 30 (April 2019): 199–220.
- Ryan HANLEY, "Bringing Religion Back In: Remarks on Gordon Graham," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 17 (2019): 1–6.
- Marc HANVELT and Mark G. SPENCER, "David Hume's 'A Character of Sir Robert Walpole': Humean Factional Fears, the 'Rage against the Scots', and Future Historians," *Scottish Historical Review* 98, Supplement (2019): 361–89.
- James HARRIS, "Gordon Graham on the Impossibility of History of Philosophy," *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* 17 (2019): 12–17.
- Mike HILL, "Scotland and the Geometric Imagination," *SSL* 45.1: 113–118.
- Colin KIDD, "Extra-Terrestrials and the Heavens in Nineteenth-Century Theology," in *HST*, 390–403.
- Nigel LEASK, "Philosophical Vagabonds: Pedestrianism, Politics, and Improvement on the Scottish Tour," *SSL* 45.1: 3–22.
- R.J.W. MILLS, "The 'Historical Question' at the End of the Scottish Enlightenment: Dugald Stewart on the Natural Origin of Religion, Universal Consent, and Religious Diversity," *Intellectual History Review* 28 (2018): 529–54.
- Florence PETROFF, "William Robertson's Unfinished *History of America*: The Foundation of the British Empire in North America and the Scottish Enlightenment," *Transatlantica* 2 (2017 [published 2019]). <http://journals.openedition.org/transatlantica/10326>

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Alasdair RAFFE, "John Glas and the Development of Religious Pluralism in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 70 (2019): 527–45.

Alasdair RAFFE, "The Hanoverian Succession and the Fragmentation of Scottish Protestantism," in *Negotiating Toleration: Dissent and the Hanoverian Succession, 1714–1760*, ed. Nigel Aston and Benjamin Bankhurst (Oxford University Press, 2019), 147–67.

Alasdair RAFFE, "Presbyterians," in *The Oxford History of Protestant Dissenting Traditions: The Long Eighteenth Century, c. 1689–c. 1828*, ed. Andrew Thompson (Oxford University Press, 2018), 11–29.

Alasdair RAFFE, "Archibald Pitcairne and Scottish Heterodoxy, c. 1688–1713," *Historical Journal* 60 (2017): 633–57.

Alasdair RAFFE – see Karin BOWIE

Jane RENDALL, "Gender and the Practices of Polite Sociability in Late Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh," in *British Sociability in the Long Eighteenth Century: Challenging the Anglo-French Connection*, ed. Valérie Capdeville and Alain Kerhervé (Boydell Press, 2019), 163–81.

Ian C. ROBERTSON, "A Note on the Tail in *Tam o' Shanter*," *Scottish Literary Review* 11 (2019): 51–57.

Roy ROSENSTEIN, "Desiring," in *European Literary History: An Introduction* (Routledge, 2018), 97–106.

Patrick SCOTT, "The Early History of "Why Should We Idly Waste Our Prime,"" *Burns Chronicle* 128 (2019): 38–49.

Patrick SCOTT, "Burns's Reading of Milton, or How Big Was Burns's Pocket?," *Burns Chronicle* 128 (2019): 58–65.

Patrick SCOTT, "A Scottish Contemporary of Burns: Alexander Wilson (1766–1813), Poet and Ornithologist," *Burns Chronicle* 128 (2019): 86–101.

Patrick SCOTT, "The Kilmarnock Census: An Update," *Burns Chronicle* 128 (2019): 104–105.

Patrick SCOTT, "Laying a Ghost: J. DeLancey Ferguson and 'The Chevalier's Lament,'" *Editing Burns for the 21st Century* (Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow, August 15, 2019): <https://burnsc21.glasgow.ac.uk/patrick-scott-laying-a-ghost/>.

Craig SMITH, "Political Economy," in *CCSE*, 177–94.

Mark G. SPENCER, "Hume the Historian," in *HM*, 287–99.

Mark G. SPENCER, "Was David Hume, the Historian, a Plagiarist? A Submission from His *History of England*," *CLIO* 47 (2019): 25–50.

Mark G. SPENCER – see Roger L. EMERSON

Mark G. SPENCER – see Marc HANVELT

M. A. STEWART, "Religion and Rational Theology," in *CCSE*, 33–59.

Carl WENNERLIND, "Hume's Political Economy," in *HM*, 325–37.

Paul WOOD, "Science in the Scottish Enlightenment," in *CCSE*, 90–112.

John P. WRIGHT, "Skepticism and Incomprehensibility in Bayle and Hume," in *The Skeptical Enlightenment: Doubt and Certainty in the Age of Reason*, ed. Jeffrey D. Burson and Anton Matytsin (Liverpool University Press, 2019), 129–60.

#### Key to the Abbreviations:

*CCSE*=*The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. Alexander Broadie and Craig Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019).

*HEI45.2*=*History of European Ideas* 45.2 (2019). Special issue: Sources for the Life and Work of John Millar.

*HM*=*The Humean Mind*, ed. Angela M. Coventry and Alexander Sager (Routledge, 2019).

*HST*=*The History of Scottish Theology, Volume II: From the Early Enlightenment to the Late Victorian Era*, ed. David Fergusson and Mark Elliott (Oxford University Press, 2019).

*SSL* 44.1=*Studies in Scottish Literature* 44.1 (Spring 2018 [2019]). Special issue: Scottish-Russian Literary Relations.

*SSL* 44.2=*Studies in Scottish Literature* 44.2 (Fall 2018 [2019]). Special issue: Reworking Walter Scott.

*SSL* 45.1=*Studies in Scottish Literature* 45.1 (Spring 2019).

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