

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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***The Newsletter of the
Eighteenth-Century Scottish
Studies Society***

SCOTS ABROAD IN LIVERPOOL

After two summers of online conferences, ECSSS returns to a “live” meeting format this summer for the “Scots Abroad” conference at the University of Liverpool from 28 to 30 July 2022. Conference organizer Mark Towsey and his team have put together an exciting program of eight concurrent sessions with sixteen panels on a wide variety of topics. There will be panels on Scots’ interaction with other parts of the world: North America, Europe, Empire, and race and slavery; panels on Jacobites, revolution, Catholicism, Presbyterians; and panels on three ongoing projects: Books and Borrowing; the Scottish Privy Council at the turn of the eighteenth century; and the multivolume edition of the James Wodrow–Samuel Kenrick correspondence. Keynote addresses will be delivered by Jon Mee of University of York on “Scottish Networks in the Transpennine Enlightenment” and by former Daiches-Manning Fellow Désha Osborne of Hunter College on “Alexander Leith and His Network of North East Scottish Settlers in Eighteenth-Century Saint Vincent.” At a wine reception at the Liverpool Athenaeum (built in 1797), the society’s Lifetime Achievement Award will be presented to Ned Landsman of Stonybrook University, distinguished scholar of Scotland and America in the eighteenth century and Past President and active member of the Executive Board of ECSSS. The society’s annual membership meeting will also be held at the Athenaeum. For further information about the program, registration, and accommodations, visit the conference website at <https://www.liverpool.ac.uk/eighteenth-century-worlds/events/scots-abroad/>.

OTTAWA IN OCTOBER

Three months after the Liverpool conference, from 26 to 29 October 2022, ECSSS will be participating, with the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies and Northeast American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, in a conference at the University of Ottawa on “Experiencing Modernity/Modernity of Experience.” In addition to individual papers and a panel on the ongoing project on David Hume’s *History of England* that was noted in the Spring 2021 issue of this newsletter, ECSSS will sponsor a plenary lecture by Leith Davis of Simon Fraser University titled “Mediating Memory and Modernity in the 1745–46

Rising: Networking Jacobites.” Other plenary lectures will be delivered by Nicholas Cronk of Oxford University and Lynn Festa of Rutgers University. The ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award will be presented to Ruth Perry of MIT for her distinguished scholarship and service to the society.

Thanks are due to Frans de Bruyn and Mitia Rioux-Beaulne for putting together this major conference under difficult circumstances. Further information is available on the conference website at <https://www2.uottawa.ca/faculty-arts/CSECS-ECSSS-2022>. Note: paper proposals will be accepted until the program is finalized in mid-summer.

RACE AND ENLIGHTENMENT ONLINE

ECSSS held a well-attended online symposium on Race and Enlightenment on 20 July 2021. Co-sponsored by the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy (ISSP) and the University of Liverpool’s Eighteenth-Century Worlds Research Centre, the event featured a round table discussion of a prerecorded lecture by Gordon Graham of Princeton Theological Seminary (Emeritus), featuring Stephen Mullen (Glasgow U.), Silvia Sebastiani (EHSS), Felix Waldmann (Cambridge U.), and Gordon Graham, moderated by John Cairns (Edinburgh U.). After the session, the Director of ISSP, James Foster, presented the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Gordon Graham. Then ECSSS held its AGM, convened by President Craig Smith (Glasgow U.). The main business at the meeting was the approval of the Board’s plan to revitalize the ECSSS book series *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* with Bucknell U. Press. The event concluded with a program of new research on eighteenth-century Scotland by six postgraduates and early career researchers: Florence Petroff on “Scotland and the American Revolution;” Joshua Smith on “Political Readers and the Associational Reading Space;” Hannah Kelly on “The Writing, and Reading, of Alexander Walker;” Maxine Branagh-Miscampbell on “The Royal High School of Edinburgh, 1750–1850;” Wendy McGlashan on “Gendered Print Culture in Late Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh;” and Ellen Beard on “Burns and Gaelic Song.” Thanks to Mark Towsey of the University of Liverpool for coordinating this event and organizing the PGR and ECR presentations.

ST ANDREWS IN 2023!

Great things are planned for 18–21 July 2023, when the Institute of Intellectual History at St Andrews University hosts a joint conference of ECSSS, the International Adam Smith Society, and the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy. Celebrating the three hundredth anniversaries of the births of Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and John Witherspoon, and Boswell and Johnson's 1773 Scottish tour, the conference will feature plenary lectures by Jeng-Guo Chen (Academia Sinica), Lisa Hill (U. of Adelaide), Nigel Leask (Glasgow U.), and Gideon Mailer (U. of Minnesota). A Call for Papers will be issued on the IIH's website (<https://intellectualhistory.net/>) in autumn 2022.

18TH-CENTURY CONGRESS IN ROME

The 16th Congress of the International Society for 18th-Century Studies will take place in Rome, Italy, on 3–7 July 2023, with the theme of "Antiquity and the Shaping of the Future in the Age of Enlightenment." Proposals for panels and round tables may be submitted until 15 Sept. 2022, and proposals for individual papers will be accepted from 15 Oct. 2022 to 31 Jan. 2023. <https://isecs-roma2023.net/>.

ECSSS AT ASECS

At the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Baltimore on 31 March, Rivka Swenson (Virginia Commonwealth U.) chaired an ECSSS panel on "Race, Empire and Eighteenth-Century Scotland," featuring talks by Shelby Dowdle (VCU) on "Butcher's Broom and Scotland's Ecocritical Enlightenment" and Phineas Dowling (Auburn U.) on "Scotophobia as a Model for Racialization of The Other in the Eighteenth Century." The panel was organized by Leith Davis.

Next year's ASECS meeting will occur on 9–11 March 2023 in St. Louis, Missouri. Watch the seminar list on the ASECS website for an ECSSS panel to which you can submit a paper proposal.

DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWS

Thanks to the generosity of the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at Edinburgh University, there will be two 2022 recipients of the Daiches-Manning Memorial Fellowship that is funded jointly by ECSSS and ASECS. Elad Carmel will be studying the thought of Rev. Robert Wallace on liberty, equality, and slavery, while Valerie Wallace will be researching William Macao, the first immigrant to settle in Scotland from China. Both will be in residence at IASH during the spring and early summer of 2023. Congratulations Valerie and Elad!

The 2021 Daiches-Manning Fellow, Rachael Scally, had an extremely productive residency at IASH in late 2021 and early 2022, researching the connections between the Edinburgh Medical School and the Edinburgh Royal Infirmary with slavery and the slave trade. We look forward to seeing the results of her research in print in the near future.

WORLD CONGRESS OF SCOTTISH LITS

After two postponements, the third World Congress of Scottish Literatures will meet in Prague from 22 to 26 June 2022. The program will include panels on two major projects based at Glasgow University: the correspondence of Robert Burns and the collected works of Allan Ramsay. Among the many ECSSS members scheduled to take part are Gioia Angeletti, Gerry Caruthers, Leith Davis, Moira Hansen, Nigel Leask, Pam Perkins, Murray Pittock, Juliet Shields, and Ronnie Young. We hope the third time will be the charm for this star-studded event!

INTERESTING LIVES

Former Daiches-Manning Fellows Vivien Williams and Elizabeth Ford have started a new publication series called "Interesting Lives" at their Blackwater Press (<https://www.blackwaterpress.com/>), based in Charleston, West Virginia. They are seeking proposals for editions of autobiographies, memoirs, letters, and life writings from the long eighteenth century. They are especially interested in lives (including eighteenth-century Scots) that have not previously been readily available to a wider audience or presented in informed, scholarly editions. Proposals should include a statement of editorial practice, sources consulted, explanation of why the subject is a good fit for the series, and a brief CV of the editor. For previously published material, please explain the need for an updated edition. For more details or to discuss your idea for a book in this series, contact Elizabeth and Vivien at submissions@blackwaterpress.com with the subject "Interesting Lives."

SCOTTISH PRIVY COUNCIL PROJECT

The Scottish Privy Council Project (SPCP), a Leverhulme Trust funded collaboration between the universities of Stirling and Dundee, commenced in 2020 and, in spite of some delays due to Covid, will conclude in 2024. PI Alastair Mann (Stirling), and Co-I Alan MacDonald (Dundee) and project manager Allan Kennedy (also Dundee), have assembled a seven-strong project team, including two research fellows, Clare Loughlin (Stirling) and Laura Doak (Dundee), and two PhD students, Robbie Tree (Stirling) and Susanne Weston (Dundee). All are engaged in intensive research into the history of the Scottish Council, as well as delivering the digital humanities aspects of the SPCP. The key purpose of this project is to research the Scottish Privy Council during the reigns of William and Mary and Queen Anne, that is, from the Revolution of 1689 to the abolition of the council in 1708. This body, the most important branch of government in premodern Scotland, was involved day-to-day through many competencies, and its records are the nearest equivalent we have to modern day cabinet papers. Research will be facilitated and much enhanced by creating a scholarly, digital, free-to-access online edition of the last seventeen years of Scottish Privy Council record (1692–1708), using as a template

the successful online resource *The Records of the Scottish Parliament to 1707*, which Mann and MacDonald were key figures in creating. The Council registers have been published in print to 1691, but only manuscripts are available thereafter; therefore, the project will involve their transcription, detailed study, and delivery in 2024 of an invaluable gateway to future research into a complex historical period.

Most of all, however, SPCP will foster research into a dynamic period in Scottish and British history, an age imperfectly understood without improved access to the Council record. Themes of revolution, Jacobitism, Anglo-Scottish disharmony, “new” party politics, international warfare, economic dislocation, demographic crisis and parliamentary union co-exist. Particularly, in stark twenty-first-century context, these are watershed years in the creation of the United Kingdom. Yet, as signified by the record, we also find the lives of ordinary people; for example, poor widows of soldiers pleading for financial support. This diversity leaves a myriad of possibilities in terms of research topics. Thus far the historiography of the Privy Council is limited in scope, and there is no modern study of the institution. Our aim is to ensure that SPCP outputs and a series of workshop conferences in the coming few years significantly enhance our understanding of government and policy from the Revolution to the Union of the Parliaments. After a successful workshop in Stirling last October, our second workshop will take place in Dundee in early November 2022, and a call for papers will be sent out in the summer. For news of SPCP, see the website and blog at <https://privycouncil.stir.ac.uk/>.

Alastair Mann, University of Stirling

LYON IN MOURNING/JACOBITE SYMPOSIA

Two symposia focused on the Jacobites are taking place this summer, organized around [“The Lyon in Mourning” Digital Humanities Partnership Engage project](#) spearheaded by Leith Davis, Director of the [Research Centre for Scottish Studies at Simon Fraser University](#) in collaboration with the National Library of Scotland and SFU’s [Digital Humanities Innovation Lab](#).

“New Perspectives on ‘The Lyon in Mourning’ Manuscript of Robert Forbes” (30 June 2022, Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities, Edinburgh): Compiled by the Jacobite clergyman Robert Forbes after the suppression of the final Jacobite Rising in 1746, and consisting of ten octavo volumes totaling 2148 pages of transcribed conversations, narrative accounts, poems, songs, letters, and even material relics such as scraps of fabric and pieces of a boat, “The Lyon in Mourning” documents the Jacobite perspective on the Rising. This symposium is designed to develop connections between scholars and students of different disciplines in order to foster new research on the “Lyon in Mourning” manuscript. It will combine presentations on the current work on the

“Lyon in Mourning” project in the morning with discussions in the afternoon. Some of the presentations will be available for remote viewing for those unable to attend. There will also be an opportunity for interested symposium members to learn more about Jacobite holdings in the National Library of Scotland and National Museums of Scotland the day before the symposium at focused workshops at both those institutions.

“Networking Jacobites, 1688 to the Present” (27–28 August 2022, University of Guelph, Ontario): The purpose of this invited symposium is to build a network of scholars and students to explore the Jacobites and their cultural memory from perspectives that are multinational, multilingual, and multidisciplinary. Papers will be circulated beforehand in order to encourage as much discussion as possible during the symposium itself. A joint event organized by Simon Fraser University’s Research Centre for Scottish Studies (RCSS) and the University of Guelph’s Centre for Scottish Studies (CSS), “Networking Jacobites” will also highlight the internationally important Jacobite resources in the Special Collections held at Guelph. This event also involves two public-facing roundtables intended to reach out to the local academic and general communities.

For more information, contact Leith Davis at leith@sfu.ca or see the [events website](#).

SANDY STEWART REMEMBERED

“Remembering M. A. Stewart” (see p. 45 below), a colloquium organized by James Harris and chaired by Marina Frasca-Spada, was held at the annual conference of the British Society of the History of Philosophy at the Royal Society of Edinburgh on 22 April 2022. Ruth Barlow presented a brief sketch of Sandy Stewart’s career and his scholarship. Christian Mauer discussed his experience working on manuscripts with Sandy, the importance of such slow meticulous work for the history of philosophy, and the way it can change what we think we know about an important figure in the Scottish Enlightenment. Referring to Francis Hutcheson, *Correspondence and Occasional Writings* (2022), edited by Sandy and James Moore, Knud Haakonssen took his starting point in Sandy’s intensive engagement with the Presbyterian non-subscription debate in Ireland to suggest that this episode promoted the idea of conscience and of rights as entirely subjective. John P. Wright’s paper, “M. A. Stewart on Hume’s First *Enquiry* in Historical Perspective,” explained how, in a forthcoming posthumously published collection of papers titled *Hume’s Philosophy in Historical Perspective* (edited by Harris, Barlow, and Wright), Sandy Stewart argues that Hume’s discussions of skepticism and Stoicism in the *Enquiry* were formed in reaction to the opposition of Hutcheson and his allies to Hume’s unsuccessful attempt to obtain the moral philosophy chair at the University of Edinburgh in 1744–45.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Nigel Aston is now Reader Emeritus in Early Modern History and Honorary Fellow at the U. of Leicester; his new affiliation is with the Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies at the U. of York...**Rachel Bani**, a PhD candidate in music at Florida State U., works on Jacobite women and song and on political Scottish Gaelic-language songs written in response to the Highland Clearances...2021 new member **Kit Baston** is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow at Glasgow U. working in the Books and Borrowing project...new member **Taylor Breckles** is an MA candidate at Simon Fraser U. working on the *Lyon in Mourning* project...**David Brown** has retired as Head of Archival Innovation and Development at National Records of Scotland but will continue his research on Henry Dundas...new member **Rory Butcher** is pursuing a PhD in history at U. of Leeds, with interests in the fencible regiments and home defense...in 2021 **Gerard Caruthers** was named the first Honorary Fellow of the Worldwide Burns Federation and Honorary Fellow of the ASL; in April of this year he stepped down as Co-Director of the Robert Burns Centre, which he founded at the U. of Glasgow in 2007...**Jeng-Guo Chen** is spending this spring as a Visiting Fulbright Scholar in the East Asian Studies Dept. at Princeton U... Bucknell U. Press—headed for many years by **Greg Clingham**—has announced the publication of *A Clubbable Man: Essays on Eighteenth-Century Literature and Culture in Honor of Greg Clingham*, edited by Anthony W. Lee...new member **Kevin DeYoung**, senior pastor at Christ Covenant Church in Matthews, NC, is reprinting editions of Witherspoon's treatises on justification and regeneration...new member **Maximilian Diemer** is pursuing an MA in history at Ludwig Maximilians U. in Munich and the Sorbonne in Paris...new member **Glen Doris** has published several articles on abolitionism and slavery in eighteenth-century Scotland...while serving as Interim Chair of the English Department at U. of California Berkeley in 2021–22, **Ian Duncan** gave the Wolfgang Iser Lecture at the U. of Konstanz and Alison Winter Memorial Lecture in British Studies at the U. of Chicago...in 2020 **Matthew Dziennik** was promoted to Associate Professor of History with tenure at the US Naval Academy...new member **Noelle Dückmann Gallagher**, Senior Lecturer in British literature at the U. of Manchester, has interests in literature and the history of medicine...**Clarisse Godard Desmarest** organized a conference on “Scotland and Nationalism” in Amiens in October and gave a paper there on Ossian in Napoleonic France...new member **Eloise Grey** completed her PhD at Aberdeen U. in 2020 with a thesis on the Ogilvie-Forbes of Boyndlie Papers in Aberdeen U. Library...**James Harris's** *Hume: A Very Short Introduction* is now out from Oxford U. Press...**Catherine Jones** received a Derek Brewer Visiting Fellowship to do research at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, this spring on Scottish-Russian connections and exchanges in the age of Peter the Great...

Jamie Kelly now works with the commercial and tourism team at Historic Environment Scotland...**Tom Kennedy** stepped down as Dean of the Evans School of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences at Berry College last June and is easing into retirement in the coming academic year...**Tony Lewis** delivered virtual talks at the Sorbonne in Dec. 2021 and May 2022 on the impact of the plague crisis of 1720 in Edinburgh and Glasgow...after three years as a Research Fellow at St. Andrews U., **Felicity Loughlin** continues her research on the history of “unbelief” in Scotland as a Leverhulme Early Career Research Fellow in the Divinity School at Edinburgh U...in April **Emma Macleod** spoke at the Institute of Intellectual History at St Andrews on John Bruce and Scottish state trials in 1793–94...Burns scholar **Carol McQuirk** retired from Florida Atlantic U. at the end of 2021...new member **Kristin McMillan-Stefanovic** is pursuing an online MA in history at Edinburgh U...**Ruth Perry** retired in 2021 and is now the Ann Fetter Friedlaender Professor of Humanities Emeritus at MIT, completing her much-anticipated book on the Scots balladeer Anna Gordon...**Spartaco Pupo** gave virtual talks in 2021 on Hume and the Case of “Sister Peg” and on Smollett, Hume and national history...Patrick Scott gave a virtual lecture to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society in Sept. 2021 on Burns's library...**Lisa Rosner** is now Distinguished Professor of History Emerita at Stockton U.; her 2010 book about Burke and Hare, *The Anatomy Murders*, is now available as an audiobook from Audible...**Silvia Sebastiani** has been promoted to professor at the Ecole des hautes études en sciences sociales in Paris; her co-authored book *Race et histoire dans les sociétés occidentales* appeared in 2021...after speaking on “Adam Smith and the Limits of Philosophy” at the Institute of Intellectual History in St. Andrews in March, **Craig Smith** visited several North American libraries in search of marginalia in books owned by Adam Smith...**David Spadafora** retired as President of the Newberry Library in Chicago and moved to North Carolina, where he is writing books on the relationship of the sciences and the humanities since the Renaissance and on British religion and secularization...**Mark Spencer** has been awarded an Insight Grant by the Canadian SSHRC; the American Philosophical Society recently published his book *John Beale Bordley's “Necessaries,”* and in July he will present on “Hume as Historian” for an NEH workshop on Hume at Portland State U...new member **Michael Ray Taylor** is a PhD candidate in history at Aberdeen U. with interests in Jacobitism, liberalism, and religion...in 2020 **Mikko Tolonen** was promoted to Associate Professor in Digital Humanities at the U. of Helsinki...**Mark Towsey** has taken on a full term as Head of the History Dept. at U. of Liverpool...**Constantine Vassilou** is now Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science at the U. of Houston...historian **Valerie Wallace** has accepted a position at St. Andrews U. as Lecturer in Scotland and the Wider World.

The SSPCK and Education in Lochaber after the Union:

Toward a New Interpretation

By Jamie Kelly, University of Glasgow

This article examines the early activities of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (SSPCK) in the district of Lochaber in Inverness-shire. The founding mission of the SSPCK (est. 1709) was to set up and maintain schools in the Gàidhealtachd in order to secure the political and ecclesiastical settlement brought about by the Williamite revolution of 1689–90. The Society believed that schooling in English literacy and Presbyterian doctrine would win hearts and minds for the established Kirk, the Revolution settlement and, latterly, the British imperial project, transforming Gaels from “barbarous” rebels into useful and obedient subjects of the Hanoverian state. By the turn of the century, Lochaber’s reputation as an epicenter of Highland lawlessness was well-established. Banditry, blackmail, Roman Catholicism, inter-clan conflict, and overlapping and uncertain jurisdictions were among the reasons touted to explain localized disorder throughout the Restoration (Allan Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660–1688*, 2014, pp. 71–77). Following the Revolution, to these factors was added the threat of a Jacobite insurrection drawing military strength from the district, just as it had during the Highland War of 1689–92. Indeed, this was one reason why Lochaber and the surrounding area became a focus for the SSPCK in its early years; other factors will be discussed in this article.

Scholars investigating eighteenth-century Scotland from multiple perspectives acknowledge the significance of the SSPCK. However, the Society’s bombastic anti-Jacobite, anti-Catholic, anti-Gaelic rhetoric—deployed regularly throughout the eighteenth century in pamphlets and memorials to the government—has led many to paint the SSPCK as something of a Highland bogeyman: a sinister and intrusive agency which attracted suspicion and hostility in equal parts among Highland communities. For John Lorne Campbell, the SSPCK was precisely what Gaels were “rebelling against in 1715 and again 1745” (*Canna: The Story of a Hebridean Island*, 1984). Allan MacInnes describes the SSPCK as “the KGB of the early modern Gàidhealtachd,” and its schoolmasters as intrusive “shocktroops of Presbyterianism” (*Clanship, Commerce and the House of Stuart*, 1996, p. 178).

This article interrogates these perspectives, taking Lochaber as a case study. Using teachers’ reports and correspondence between the SSPCK and local agents, this article investigates how schools were received in their localities, how they operated “on the ground,” the individuals who taught them, and the challenges they encountered. We shall see that the established view of the SSPCK—as an unwelcome agent of cultural intrusion—overlooks the complex relationships that developed between the organization and the communities it sought to improve, many of which were eager to solicit the SSPCK’s assistance and wished to exert influence over their children’s education.

Before assessing the operation and impact of the SSPCK in Lochaber, we must first establish a baseline for education provision in the district when the Society entered the field. It was once customary to write off the Highlands as all but unschooled in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries until the SSPCK entered the scene. Vast parishes, scattered settlement, and difficult terrain are all cited as factors obstructing the support of schools in the region. More controversially, however, some have argued that local hostility played a substantial, if not the most significant, role in obstructing the introduction of schools, particularly those teaching English (e.g., M. G. Jones, *The Charity School Movement*, 1938, p. 193; John Lorne Campbell, *Gaelic in Scottish Education and Life*, 1945, p. 50; Victor Durkacz, *Decline of the Celtic Languages*, 1983, pp. 4–5, 50; Charles Withers, *Gaelic in Scotland*, 1984, p. 30; R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and Scottish Identity*, 1985, pp. 74, 82). The Education Acts of 1616, 1633, 1646, and 1696 all required the establishment of one school per parish; as three of these acts express a desire to remove Gaelic, scholars have presumed that there must have been widespread hostility to schools among Gaels. According to Durkacz, the failure of the legal parochial school system in the Highlands and “the educational vacuum which followed in its wake” allowed the SSPCK, for ideological reasons, to exclude Gaelic literacy without opposition, thereby causing “incalculable harm” to Gaelic and “destroying” Gaels’ “confidence in themselves and in their culture” (pp. 23, 46).

By presenting formal English literary education as a harmful force imposed on unwilling Highland communities by an outside agency, scholars have not only perpetuated a negative view of the SSPCK; they have also overlooked a rich and complex legacy of schooling in the region, one that predated the SSPCK by generations and set the scene for its entry. Various educational initiatives were already underway in Lochaber before 1709. The *Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae* identifies two schoolmasters: Thomas MacPherson, “schoolmaster in Lochaber” in 1660, and James Gettie, schoolmaster at the kirk of Kilmallie from around 1698 until his ordination as minister of Inveraray in 1711 (vol. 6, 1928, p. 355; vol. 4, 1928, p. 11). In 1696, shortly after the foundation of Fort William, the Williamite government stepped in to support a grammar school in the neighboring settlement of Maryburgh, with a generous salary of £30 sterling. In 1690 Colonel John Hill wrote to the Duke of Queensbury that “the people are

very glad of the chartour for Marybarrow, and of the expectation of a school for their children” (quoted in William Fraser, *Earls of Cromartie, Their Kindred and Correspondence*, vol. 1, 1876, p. 73). Until 1709 the school was kept by Alexander MacBean, renowned for the quality of his Greek and Latin teaching, and latterly the minister of Inverness at the time of the Forty-Five (*Fasti* vi, 457). The Argyll Papers identify Duncan Boyd as schoolmaster of Kilmonivaig in 1697 (Inveraray Castle Archive, Bundle 566). In addition to fixed schools, in 1698 Donald MacMarcus, a descendant of the Kintyre learned kindred, was serving as an itinerant catechist-schoolmaster for Lochaber under the auspices of the Synod of Argyll (National Records of Scotland [NRS], CH2/557/3, 227). It is noteworthy that these schools were dedicated primarily to teaching English and Latin and, as far as the records indicate, did not teach any Gaelic. It is important to note that schools in this period, whether Highland or Lowland, rarely gathered together records for posterity; references to schools are scattered unevenly throughout the records of those agencies, with education included among their remit: church courts, burgh councils, and landowners. It is therefore likely that there were several more schools and teachers operating in Lochaber across this period that have gone unrecorded.

As Kennedy notes, during the Restoration Lochaber’s notoriety rested largely on “the unsavoury reputations of a small core of families” who proved especially troublesome for the government of the day: the Camerons, MacDonalds of Keppoch, and the landless Clan Gregor. Lochaber was the theatre of the “last clan battle” at Mulroy in 1688, when the Keppoch MacDonalds, with Cameron assistance, defeated the government-backed Clan Mackintosh, which claimed jurisdiction over Keppoch’s lands (*Governing Gaeldom*, pp. 72–76). Despite this reputation, it is notable that in 1699 clan chiefs Ewen Cameron of Lochiel and Coll MacDonald of Keppoch—both suspected Jacobites, and the latter a Catholic—appear among the Synod of Argyll’s correspondents for assisting with planting and supporting schools (NRS, CH2/557/3, 248). Not quite the educational vacuum claimed by Durkacz, by 1700 Lochaber met, and probably exceeded, the legal requirement of one school per parish. Significantly, it boasted a grammar school, albeit recently established, with a reputable schoolmaster who delivered a comprehensive classical curriculum. Communities could also rely on a local elite that was supportive of schooling, while schools themselves tended to focus on imparting English and Latin literacy—not by central diktat but in response to local expectations resulting from generations of local experience with formal schooling.

When considering the SSPCK’s impact, it is important to be mindful of the limits of its reach, resources, and purpose. From its foundation, the Society struggled against a chronic shortage of funds. SSPCK schools were often closed for financial reasons, or alternatively moved from one location to another deemed more deserving of charitable assistance. Growth proceeded slowly and steadily at first, facilitated on occasion by the odd large donation, as in 1719 when the Kirk donated £600 and in 1724 when King George I donated £1200 (NRS, GD95/8/3, 1a–2). Considering that the Gàidhealtachd could boast of at least ninety-five schools by 1713, the SSPCK’s first eleven schools could have had only a limited impact. Nor was it the Society’s intention to compete with the existing school framework or cut costs for those legally liable to support schools; rather, the aim was to supplement the system and provide assistance where it was needed.

Lochaber first appears in the SSPCK minutes in 1714, when the Commission of the General Assembly, on behalf of the Synod of Argyll, petitioned for schools in Lochaber, Moidart, and Mull—areas allegedly “overgrown with popery...for want of knowledge” (NRS, GD95/1/1, 216). It was not to be, however: the Society could not afford it, having already promised schools to Gairloch, Assynt, and Kildonan. Furthermore, the Society queried whether its support was entirely necessary, “the Synod of Argyle having the Bishops rents in their hands, and also all the vacant stipends in their bounds at their disposal for [establishing schools]” (220). The final sentence of the minute is particularly revealing: “seing there are no contributions come from the bounds of that whole synod for furthering the Societies designe, Except from the Garison of fort william, nor any subscriptions except some in the bounds of the Presbytery of Skye,” a letter was written to the synod “putting them in remembrance of her Majesties recommendation” to support the SSPCK (221). While not always the case, there was a degree of quid pro quo involved in the Society’s early distribution of schools; by donating, a parish was guaranteed to be considered for the Society’s assistance, while a lack of donations was often cited when schools were denied. Moreover, despite the Society’s lofty rhetoric, which pitted its schools against an obstructive, domineering Highland elite that opposed “the propagation of true Christian Knowledge, and of the English Tongue,” schools would not have been able to operate without the support of prominent local individuals (*Account of the Rise of the SSPCK*, 1714, p. 6). Indeed, it was the intercession of the Lochiel family that would eventually secure Lochaber’s first SSPCK school, and that family would continue to exert a profound influence over schools in the region.

The SSPCK’s first foray into Lochaber came in the aftermath of the Fifteen. The Lochiel estate was not forfeited following the Fifteen because the elderly clan chief, Ewen Cameron, had not taken part. His son John, on the other hand, who had assumed the title of Lochiel, fled to France due to his involvement. Consequently, the title passed to John’s eldest son, Donald Cameron of Lochiel, or the “Gentle Lochiel,” who would come out for Charles Edward Stuart in 1745. The Commission of the General Assembly had been pushing for a school at the kirk of

Kilmallie ever since the ordination of Rev. Robert Stewart, a Presbyterian and chaplain to Lochiel. The appeal originated with Stewart and Anne Campbell, the wife of Donald Cameron and, after 1716, Lady Lochiel (NRS, GD95/1/1, 216). Due to ongoing famine conditions—a long hangover of the ill years of the 1690s—the parochial school at Kilmallie had recently foundered. Struggling to feed themselves, parishioners were understandably unwilling to part with scarce resources to maintain a teacher; support from the SSPCK, however, would secure a steady salary for a schoolmaster, independent of local conditions (Jamie Kelly, “The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge,” PhD diss., Glasgow U., 2020, p. 165).

Toward the end of 1716 the Society resolved to establish a school at Kilmallie. Rev. Stewart’s cousin and namesake, Robert Stewart, a recent graduate of Edinburgh University, was appointed schoolmaster with the generous salary of three hundred merks, one hundred merks more than the legal maximum prescribed by law (NRS, GD95/2/2, 141). The first report came in February 1717: Stewart had twenty scholars at his school “and would get more, if there were any accommodation for boarding.” Parishioners had begun constructing a separate schoolhouse and lodgings under the direction of Lady Lochiel and the Presbytery of Lorne. In the same letter, Stewart asked whether he was permitted to teach Latin at the request of parishioners—a request the Society immediately denied (NRS, GD95/2/2, 162). This foreshadowed future tensions between the SSPCK and the residents of Kilmallie, among other communities, concerning the exclusion of Latin, which had come to be expected as a key element of a school’s curriculum.

Despite Rev. Stewart and Lady Lochiel’s earnest support and optimism, ongoing dearth seriously hindered the school. By June 1717 Mr. Stewart reported that most had stopped attending. He enlisted the support of Lady Lochiel “to provoke them to put their children to school.” Yet, when “she threatened to put all those out of her land who would not send their children to school,” poignantly “all the answer they gave her was that if she gave them meal, they would do so, they As well as Learning, otherwayes the Compliment is Litle worth” (NRS, GD95/2/2, 162, 187). The following month, “by reason of the present dearth in the Highlands and Islands particularly in Lochaber and the Isle of Skye,” the SSPCK relocated Mr. Stewart to Creich in Sutherland. This was intended as a temporary measure until the west recovered from the famine, but a school was not resettled in Lochaber until 1720 (NRS, GD95/1/1, 339–40).

The school of Kilmallie was restored in 1720, answering a petition from “the Heretors, Gentlemen, ministers and other parishioners of Kilmalie” (NRS, GD95/2/2, 323). At their recommendation, the Invernesian John MacBean was appointed schoolmaster with a salary of three hundred merks. MacBean would become one of the Society’s longest serving employees, teaching in Lochaber until his death in 1747; however, he was also one of the Society’s more troublesome employees. Before his appointment, the Society gathered that MacBean “expects benefite beside his sallary by teaching the gentlemens sons Latine,” a violation of SSPCK regulations (345). Indeed, the quality of his Latin instruction was a key factor in his selection by the petitioners. MacBean was censured on numerous occasions following reports that he was teaching Latin; however, it is very possible he never ceased. Shortly after entering his post, MacBean “represented his fears that a numerous school will not be got at Kilmalie if Latin be not taught” (NRS, GD95/1/2, 172). Despite the SSPCK threatening to remove the school if this was the case, MacBean continued in his post and the school flourished. The Society informed MacBean in 1724 that it had “good information...a great part” of his fifty scholars “are gentlemens children learning Latine” (NRS, GD95/2/3, 274). By 1728 the SSPCK was asserting that “the schoolmaster...leave off teaching Latine so long as he continues” (NRS, GD95/2/4, 61). Many other teachers were not afforded such lenience; the most significant factor was that MacBean enjoyed the support and protection of the local elite he served—perhaps over and above the SSPCK. Elites went to lengths to secure the continued employment of MacBean, a man they respected and trusted with their children’s education, and their intercessions appear to have worked on every occasion (NRS, GD95/2/3, 274; /4, 355, 384). When the SSPCK attempted to reduce MacBean’s salary to one hundred merks in 1729, promising instead to establish two additional schools in Kilmallie, Donald Cameron of Lochiel and Alexander Macdonald of Keppoch—both SSPCK correspondents, and Keppoch, like his father, a Catholic—interceded to secure MacBean’s original position and salary (220).

The 1720 petition from the parishioners of Kilmallie also requested a salary for the above-mentioned grammar school at Maryburgh. While the salary was originally paid for by the crown, this arrangement had since lapsed, leaving incumbent Maryburgh schoolmaster James Stewart wholly dependent on tuition fees from his scholars. The SSPCK championed the cause of Maryburgh, lobbying church, government, and prominent individuals—namely Sir Robert Pollock, governor of Fort William, and Major-General George Wade—to restore the government salary to the school (NRS, GD95/2/3, 160, 194, 291; CH1/5/52, 346–50). The plan was to obtain the salary and secure the appointment of John MacBean to Maryburgh in place of the less popular James Stewart, thereby releasing the stubborn, yet well-liked, MacBean from the Society’s service without angering the local elite, on whom the Society relied to support and oversee its schools (NRS, GD95/2/3, 291). This did not materialize: MacBean did indeed take Stewart’s place at Maryburgh in 1729; however, the Society soon found itself footing the bill

for the newly inaugurated grammar schoolmaster—and his assistant teacher—up until MacBean’s death in 1747 (A. S. Cowper, *SSPCK Schoolmasters*, 1997, p. 46).

This article has already mentioned the SSPCK’s attempt in the 1720s to reduce John MacBean’s salary, promising three schools in Kilmallie instead. This was part of a wider operative overhaul, one that caused tension between the SSPCK and localities. A report of 1719 observed that “for the most part tenants children who are not poor, have as much benefite from the Charitie schools as the poorest,” and this was the result of SSPCK policy: “at the beginning, for a tryal and ye encouragement of people to send to the societies schools, there was necessity for the Society to take the methods they took. Otherwayes few or none would have come to their schools.” Judging that poorer Highlanders were now “greedily desireing knowledge,” and seeking to spread its resources wider, the Society changed its approach (NRS, GD95/10/66–7). More schools with lesser salaries were to be established. These would require “Schoolmasters of no great Learning or Character...if they be men of piety and vertue,” who, according to the SSPCK, had proved more effective than individuals like MacBean, who “have greater degrees of Learning and aim at furder advancements in the world” (NRS, GD95/2/3, 6). This policy was not enacted immediately; rather, it was a long-term plan, betting on the success of the SSPCK’s newly introduced bursary scheme—intended to train teachers of the desired caliber—which drew the majority of its candidates from Highland Aberdeenshire (Kelly, “Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge,” p. 194).

In 1726, shortly after the appointment of a minister in Kilmonivaig, three schools were established in the parish. Each schoolmaster was recruited through the SSPCK’s bursary scheme and paid a salary of one hundred merks: Charles MacArthur and James Thomson from the school of Braemar and Alexander Cameron from John MacBean’s school in Kilmallie (NRS, GD95/2/3, 382a). Significantly, both teachers from Aberdeenshire were rejected by their communities: MacArthur was moved to Kilmallie within a year of his appointment, while Thomson abandoned his first post “as the people did not support him” (NRS, GD95/2/3, 415, 430). The motivations are uncertain, but these are among the few examples we have of local resistance to SSPCK schools. Reports from ministers indicate that the majority of attendees were Protestants, so religion was not necessarily a factor. Furthermore, it was Keppoch, a Catholic, who oversaw these schools (415, 430). It is interesting, however, that Alexander Cameron, a local boy educated at the school of Kilmallie, never suffered a similar fate. Might it be that these protests represented a rejection of this new, lesser breed of teacher, many of them outsiders, who were now being appointed solely at the Society’s behest, without local consultation? We may never find an answer, but it is tempting to consider if there were any sense of cultural intrusion by the SSPCK, whether Gaelic-speaking teachers from Aberdeenshire were among its primary agents, particularly those who could not satisfy local educational aspirations.

The SSPCK did not enter an educational vacuum when the first Lochaber school was established at Kilmallie in 1716. The region had a rich and complex legacy of schooling stretching back to at least 1660, with long-established standards regarding the content and quality of schooling. While the first school ultimately failed, this was due not to local resistance or a disregard for education but to ongoing famine conditions, which understandably led many families, temporarily, to prioritize the pursuit of sustenance over book learning. Conditions improved by the 1720s, and the second school of Kilmallie, kept by the well-liked and learned John MacBean, became a resounding success. MacBean drew scholars from across the district and perhaps further, even competing with (and ultimately superseding) the neighboring grammar school at Maryburgh. MacBean also enjoyed the unwavering support of local elites, such as Lochiel and Keppoch, who went to lengths to retain him, frustrating the SSPCK’s numerous attempts to remove him for teaching Latin.

MacBean’s example demonstrates that the most important determinant of a school’s success was the relationship between a teacher and the community he served. When schoolmasters were appointed with the consent of the local elite, or had connections to the locality they served, they were generally well-received. For Lochaber, and many other regions, the late-1720s witnessed a departure from this model; in attempting to spread its resources wider, the SSPCK pursued a basic, cut-price strategy that not only set a lower bar for schoolmasters but also removed the layer of local consent which had arguably made the earliest schools functional. It may be that, rather than rebelling against the very idea of the SSPCK, as John Lorne Campbell suggested, many Gaels simply sought to exert more influence, or indeed restore the influence they had previously enjoyed, over education in their communities.

This article is based on Jamie Kelly’s doctoral thesis, “The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge: Education, Language and Governance in the British State and Empire, c.1690–c.1735,” for which he was awarded a PhD in History from the University of Glasgow in 2020. Jamie now works in the Commercial and Tourism team for Historic Environment Scotland, encouraging wider engagement with Scotland’s historical monuments and carrying out many of the clerical duties, like detailed minute-taking, which made his PhD possible. Jamie has also continued to engage with the research community and teaches Access-level Scottish History and an online course on Highland Clanship at the University of Glasgow.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Review Essays

India and Decolonizing Scottish History

By Eloise Grey, University of Aberdeen

Onni Gust, *Unhomely Empire: Whiteness and Belonging, c.1760–1830*. London: Bloomsbury, 2021. Pp. xi + 234.

Roger Jeffery, ed., *India in Edinburgh: 1750s to the Present*. New Delhi: Social Science Press, 2019. Pp. xvi + 260.

Alan Tritton, *Scotland and the Indian Empire: Politics, Scholarship and the Military in Making British India*. London: Bloomsbury, 2020. Pp. xiii + 215.

As universities in the Global North scramble to decolonize, Scotland's imperial relationship with Asia looms as a subject of reflection within institutions, scholarship, publishing, and public opinion. In her recent essay, "On Decolonisation and the University" (*Textural Practice*, 2021), Priyamvada Gopal suggests a number of approaches that might frame our reading: first, looking at how institutions were structured by imperatives of the European imperial enterprise; second, examining how lines of influence go both ways: from a place of subjugation to the metropole; and third, acknowledging loss and mutilation of bodies and knowledge. The three publications under review all show these processes at work, some critically and others less so. Onni Gust's *Unhomely Empire* situates itself in critically examining intellectual, cultural, and familial praxis and shows how white supremacist thinking was a response to the subjugation and enslavement of non-Europeans. Roger Jeffery's *India in Edinburgh*, on the other hand, looks at how Edinburgh has been shaped by the movement of Scottish men (and some women) to India, thus providing a sourcebook for what Gopal contends is an "intellectual audit of what is European and what is non-European" (p. 23). However, I would argue that Indian knowledge and agency is obscured and needs to be resurfaced in future studies. Finally, Alan Tritton's *Scotland and the Indian Empire* provides an unfortunate example of work lacking in rigor and a sense of critical inquiry, perpetuating a romanticized view of the Scottish Man of Empire.

Unhomely Empire uses a framework of "belonging" and "home" to present White Supremacy as a process of creating separate conceptual and physical spaces in response to empire and large-scale mobility in the long eighteenth century. It maps these changes over decades and uses methodologies from intellectual history, literary studies, and cultural history. While the work makes an argument specific to homeliness, it does much more by examining how Whiteness was constituted as part of a conversation between the imperial elite and intellectuals in Britain. Scotland plays a major role in this process through the nexus of philosophical teaching of elite Scotsmen and the shared social networks of philosophers, writers, and colonial sojourners.

Chapters 1 and 2 lay the intellectual groundwork by showing how Adam Smith and Dugald Stewart contributed to White Supremacy under the guise of notions of civilization and progress. Chapter 1 describes how Smith's anti-imperialism was compromised by his thinking about the "savage." Gust highlights Smith's stadial theory and a racialized analysis of sympathy and virtue as features of European civility. In chapter 2 the lecture notes of Dugald Stewart are used to give depth to his racialized natural philosophy, beyond his published works. It argues for the significance of Stewart's influence at Edinburgh University on several generations of young Scottish men of empire, particularly those who went on to play commanding roles in the East India Company. The chapter tracks how Stewart moved away from Smith's emphasis on sympathy, instead shaping a discourse of belonging as a signifier of moral virtue. Associating virtue with property ownership and attachment to native land brings into view an ideal of a morally correct agent of progress who is quite clearly European and male.

Chapters 3–6 explore how racialized discourse in relation to homeliness and belonging became embedded throughout British territories over time. The focus is on elite cultural, political, and administrative sources, showing a dialogic relationship to an imperial elite in colonized or, in the case of the Scottish Highlands, marginalized spaces, and on how these ideas were disseminated and became embedded in imperial administrative logic and practice. Chapter 3 discusses Maria Edgeworth's short story "The Grateful Negro" (1804) and Maria Graham's *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There* (1824) in relation to enslaved Africans and enslavers. Although both works were ostensibly critiques of slavery, Gust shows how Stewart's racialized thinking in relation to homeliness became popularized (p. 61). Both writers presented an idealized form of enslaved Africans who were considered exiled from their homeland and showed pride in property and cultivation. Despite humanitarian signaling, however, Graham and Edgeworth reinforced a perception of the superiority of the European world. Graham, for example frequently used terms such as "savage" and "primitive," despite presenting an ideal of black homeliness. This was quite clearly a romantic ideal highly contingent on industry and heterosexual monogamy, which contin-

ued to sustain the superiority and natural centrality of the white European. By critiquing white enslavers as lacking a sense of belonging to home and thus immoral, both writers were shaping the ideals of what the white imperialist should be.

Chapter 4 presents a convincing argument that homeliness served to place Highlanders both within and outside Britishness. In examining Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk (1771–1820), who advocated relocating Highland communities to lands of the Epekwik (or Prince Edward Island in Canada), this chapter argues that racialized colonial thinking was not exclusive to overseas territories. Gust shows that Douglas presented Highlanders as connected to home but not fit for a commercial life, and thus not useful for modern Britain. Instead, their particular version of homeliness and community-building was configured as “backwards.” However, and somewhat contradictorily, Douglas argued that if communities were moved *en masse* these qualities could serve imperial expansion. Without consideration of the existence and rights of the indigenous people of the island, Selkirk’s settler-colonial project reconfigured these men (women and children were not considered) as white and European. The process showed that the only way of belonging open to the Highlander was through exile, by emigrating.

Chapter 5 and 6 travel to the East India Company in the early nineteenth century with another Highlander, Sir James Mackintosh, and his family. In chapter 5, using Mackintosh’s journals, letters, and office reports from Bombay, Gust describes a change in imperial culture that started to re-shape what it meant to be British. The following chapter focuses on the women of the Mackintosh family and the challenges of Whiteness, with its associations with home, in contrast to a picture of Bombay as a place of corruption and unhomeliness. It illustrates the heterosexual patriarchal nuclear family as becoming associated with morality, humanity, and advanced civilization, thus drawing lines of influence from stadial theory, which Mackintosh would have acquired from his Scottish education. The sources reveal a framing of India as a place of immorality and inferiority. Mackintosh’s anxieties were about the Britishness of white men and women in India whose proximity to Indians and adaptation to tropical climates put them at risk of moral corruption. Mixed-heritage Anglo-Indians were considered a degenerate form of European for the same reason. Gust contends that this desire to shape an ideal of Whiteness in empire was in part a response to the American War of Independence and fallout from the trial of Warren Hastings because of its depiction of what could happen to white men outside the boundaries of Europe (pp. 104–16).

Bruce Buchan and Linda Andersson Burnett’s article “Knowing Savagery: Australia and the Anatomy of Race” (*History of the Human Sciences*, 2019), as well as Buchan and Annemarie McLaren’s, “Edinburgh’s Enlightenment Abroad: Navigating Humanity as a Physician, Merchant, Natural Historian and Settler-Colonist” (*Intellectual History Review*, 2021) might be considered companion works to Gust’s book because of the way they position the close proximity of moral philosophy at the University of Edinburgh to the medical school, and the way they view the interplay of moral philosophy and medicine, along with imperial settler-colonialism, as a self-reinforcing knowledge system of racialized thinking and medical practice. It could be argued that *Unhomely Empire*, with its emphasis on elite literati, is centered around an imperial elite. However, denial of selfhood of the colonized is shot through the analysis, and their presence and agency provide a specter that haunts white men and women. This critical perspective reveals the intellectual underpinning of the imperial enterprise and shows how Scottish moral philosophy became embedded in cultural and familial practice.

Sociologist Roger Jeffery’s edited volume of essays, *India in Edinburgh*, highlights Edinburgh’s manifold connections to India. Largely focusing on the movement of white men and women to India and the return movement of goods, knowledge, and specimens, this collection offers a multidisciplinary perspective from historians, curators, independent scholars, social anthropologists, and poets. It concentrates primarily on the nineteenth century and argues that the influence of India on the city has been understudied and unacknowledged. Ellen Filor’s article “Death of a Pension: Scottish Fortunes at the End of the East India Company, c.1800–57” (in T. M. Devine and Angela McCarthy, eds., *The Scottish Experience in Asia*, 2017) and more recently *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690–c.1820* (2021) by Andrew Mackillop (my PhD supervisor) contribute to this question, and New Imperial History has long made the case for the metropole being regarded as an imperial space. Nevertheless, this collection provides original, solid, and varied research into the deeply embedded nature of Indian imperial influence on the city. Popular understanding of the imperial connections to Scotland and Edinburgh has been the subject of public debate, in part due to the educational work and activism of Sir Geoff Palmer and Lisa Williams, though this has been weighted toward the Caribbean. Indian sources of wealth and knowledge are much less prevalent in public consciousness.

The collection starts with an essay by George McGilvary on East India Company connections and subsequent wealth. He argues for the central role of the city as a place of both patronage and significant investment in EIC ownership, as well as in agency houses and shipping. Astonishing wealth repatriated through Edinburgh financial institutions led to major property acquisition and improvement in the city and beyond. The next two chapters examine art collections and connections to India. Friederike Voigt’s chapter on sculpture collecting reveals the intense exchange between both India and Edinburgh collecting practices and public debate; its mentions of the influence of Maria Graham’s writing, inspired by Dugald Stewart, provide resonances with Onni Gust’s work. Anne Bundle’s article surveys more than three thousand Indian associations to Scotland’s national galleries. This range covers portraiture of Indian rulers and Scottish missionaries and governors, followed by paintings of landscapes, animals, and early photography. Most of these works are from the nineteenth century, and very few are by

Indian artists.

The next five chapters provide much source material to show how deeply Edinburgh's places of learning were embedded in the colonial project and in India, helping to explain the outsized role that Edinburgh University has played in imperial knowledge production. Chapters 5 and 6 demonstrate the extent of material, fauna, knowledge and, most uncomfortably, skulls, in their collections. Henry J. Noltie's article on the collections at the Royal Botanical Gardens shows the unacknowledged but intense use of Indian artists and expertise and demonstrates that such knowledge was fundamental to the training of medical students, many of whom went to the EIC as assistant surgeons. Roger Jeffery and Ian Harper's article on the Skull Room reveals that Edinburgh's historic connections to racial phrenology, with about 250 skulls in the 1400-strong collection from India, shows how Scottish sojourners participated in this process. Hauke Weibe and Jeffery's article on the role of Edinburgh secondary schools demonstrates that as many as 25 percent of the pupils had a connection to India. Avril A. Powell examines the fluctuating fortunes of the university in getting its students into the prestigious Indian Civil Service and how it adapted to support these future career options, pointing to another way in which Edinburgh University was shaped by imperial employment. Finally, Jeffery writes about the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century relationship between Edinburgh medical education for women and India. The book ends with an afterword, "An Indian in Edinburgh," by poet, academic, and children's author Bashabi Fraser.

Looking through a more decolonial lens, future studies might consider the impact of Scottish extraction of cultural, scientific, and economic goods on India. Indian voices, expertise, and agency may be visible in these archival and material sources, or methodologies such as reading against the grain might restore their rightful place in these intense interplays between India and Edinburgh. A recent example of this type of work is Margot Finn's essay "Material Turns in British History: iii: Collecting: Colonial Bombay, Basra, Baghdad and the Enlightenment Museum" (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 2020), which explores how women and non-Europeans played instrumental roles in knowledge production and imperial collecting of antiquities. In this case the son-in-law of Sir James Mackintosh, Claudius Rich, was identified by the British Museum as the originator of the collection; however, his wife, Ann (née Mackintosh) arranged the deposit to the museum and was extensively involved in writing notes and building the collection.

Alan Tritton's *Scotland and the Indian Empire* charts the sojourning lives of two Highland Scots, John Baillie (1772–1833) from Inverness and Neil Edmonstone of Duntreath (1765–1841), who went to India in 1791 and 1783, respectively. These men followed the well-trodden path of the Scottish gentry to the East India Company. This is a work of popular history, with twenty-eight short chapters. The book fails to engage with historiography and, while it draws on a considerable amount of archival research, its lack of footnotes is at times confounding. Chapter 2 describes Neil Edmonstone's family and his arrival in India but meanders into descriptions of Calcutta from a hundred years before. These digressions distract from the narrative, and an argument is hard to find.

Although much of this book recounts masculine exploits, Baillie and Edmonstone revealed their conformity to type by forming relationships with Indian women. It is unfortunate that the author needed to resort to misogynistic caricatures of English women in India. The treatment of Indian and English women is a far cry from important and nuanced work of the last two decades by Durba Ghosh (2006), Margot Finn (2010), and Ellen Filor (2016) on Indian/British relationships, and chapter 6 of Gust's *Unhomely Empire* on white womanhood in India. However, the source material can add to the broader history of mixed-heritage children in India and Scotland. Four Baillie sons and daughters were sent to be brought up by John's sister, Margaret, at Leys Castle. Baillie later sent back to Margaret three children he had with a white woman between 1809 and 1811. Likewise, Edmonstone had four children with his Indian partner (pp. 135–36), and his sons were sent there (p. 29). Margaret's heavy load of eleven children is an extreme example of the common reliance of Scottish sojourners on family at home. Unusually for mixed-heritage children, many of them returned to India. Both daughters married EIC army officers, and another son became a surgeon in London (p. 28). Despite Edmonstone's description of mixed-heritage children as despised and forming "insulated, degraded" groups, (p. 32), two of his daughters married European officers, and three of the boys returned to the Indian service.

In the middle of their military careers, both men played important roles in the early years of Fort William College. This was a project to instruct white sons of empire arriving in Calcutta in a combination of Indian languages, law, and culture, as well as British principles of government, and "moral duty," all within the religious practice of the Church of England. Baillie, at only twenty-nine, was appointed Professor of Arabic and Persian Languages, and later Professor of Mohammedan Law, and Edmonstone headed the Persian department. Tritton argues that this institution produced a "galaxy of talented scholars" (p. 62), though he mentions that Baillie's success was due to his "Munshi," Ali Naqi Khan, who taught him languages and was appointed his "head assistant."

Despite many diversions and human stories, the thrust of Tritton's book is the military and administrative careers of the two men. In his final role as Vice President of the Supreme Council of India until 1818 (pp. 153–54), Edmonstone is presented as a cautious member of council the against Lord Moira (p. 157). The author argues that Edmonstone was a "power behind the throne" in this period, whereas Baillie acted as Political Agent in Bundelkhand, and subsequently at the British Residency and Lucknow. In nabob style, though a diminishing type by the early nineteenth century, both men returned home wealthy, with Edmonstone able to restore Duntreath Castle. Baillie, having left Calcutta in 1815, bought the Leys Castle Estate from his impoverished brother for £60,000,

became an MP, and in 1823 joined the board of the EIC. Edmonstone, on his return in 1818, was also appointed a Director of the Company and alongside Baillie was a founding member of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The author argues that these figures were part of a class and generation of Scots who played fundamental roles in a period of militarization of the East India Company from the 1780s to 1820s. Although some concern for Indian mothers and the impact of British rule is expressed, this book conforms to the popular canon which focuses on the intrepid and improving Scots of empire. Given the well-known obstacles that scholars from marginalized communities in the West and those of the Global South endure in order to secure publication, it is disappointing that the publisher selected this unscholarly book, despite its use of rich archival sources, for inclusion in its academic category.

It may be unfair to judge *Scotland and the Indian Empire* and *India in Edinburgh* by the standards of decolonial scholars such as Gopal. Gust's *Unhomely Empire* does this decolonial work by showing how cultural comparison and colonial rule served to create, as Gopal argues, the West as distinct and superior. By taking a critical and interrogative approach to *Scotland and the Indian Empire* and *India in Edinburgh*, a reckoning with empire, as Gopal argues, can be "reparative of the European itself" (p. 2). *India in Edinburgh*, in particular, makes strides in the direction of highlighting the knowledge that came from India through Scottish sojourning. Another step would be to re-link the disavowed learning from colonized and subjugated peoples in order to show a wider perspective on knowledge production in the long eighteenth century.

Burns and Song: Four New Publications By Karen E. McAulay, Royal Conservatoire of Scotland

Ian Brown and Gerard Carruthers, ed., *Performing Robert Burns: Enactments and Representations of the "National Bard"*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. Pp. vi + 210.

Katherine Campbell and Emily Lyle, *Robert Burns and the Discovery and Re-Creation of Scottish Song*. Musica Scotica Historical Studies of Scottish Music Volume 4. Glasgow: Musica Scotica Trust, 2020. Pp. xi + 233.

Morag J. Grant, *Auld Lang Syne: A Song and Its Culture*. Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2021. Pp. xvii + 335. E-book: <https://books.openbookpublishers.com/10.11647/obp.0231.pdf>

The Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns, Volume 4: Robert Burns's Songs for George Thomson. Edited by Kirsteen McCue. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021. Pp. xcvi + 692.

For four significant scholarly works about one Scottish poet's relationship to song to be published in the space of two years is, perhaps, unprecedented. However, it is less surprising when one considers that the subject is Scotland's national poet, Robert Burns, and that there have recently been large British AHRC-funded research initiatives into his work. Despite the obvious overlap in subject matter, each of these four volumes offers a completely different angle on Burns's songs. The book with the broadest scope is Ian Brown and Gerard Carruthers's edited essay collection, *Performing Robert Burns*. Fifteen contributors, including the editors, provide thirteen essays. The topics are wide-ranging, discussing performance and print (Ian Brown and Gerard Carruthers; John Burnett and Gerard Carruthers); Burns in the theatre and music hall (Jim Davis with Tracy Cattell; Paul Maloney); Burns's songs in the context of Burns Suppers (Ronnie Young); "Tam o' Shanter" on stage (Paul Maloney and Adrienne Scullion); Burns in public ceremonial (Christopher A. Whatley); Burns's works on stage in the twentieth century (Rhona Brown); Burns represented in film (Alistair Braidwood); Burns on concert platforms from the late nineteenth to the mid-twentieth century (Kirsteen McCue); Burns as national bard in the folk context (Katherine Campbell); Burns's songs in Jean Redpath's archive (Moira Hansen); and finally "Performing the Work of Robert Burns" (Sheena Wellington). While scholarly readers are likely to be drawn initially to particular chapters addressing their own interests, the collection as a whole offers many useful insights into other aspects of Burns's impact on subsequent Scottish culture. The volume therefore represents a convenient way to become acquainted with recent scholarship on topics that might be peripheral to one's own main focus but nonetheless provide helpful additional background.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, Morag Grant's book looks at the impact of just one song. Yet it treats that song, "Auld Lang Syne," in the widest possible context, discussing social practice, the customs around the performance of the song, and song research from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century—in other words, both its origins and its subsequent history. Grant also addresses the song's reception in Germany and elsewhere and considers its significance in terms of personal or group identity, such as its importance to emigrants or in Freemasonry. The introduction informs us that the monograph is "not directed only, perhaps not even primarily, at musicologists" (p. xiii). Grant's five appendices are followed by an impressive bibliography, a list of illustrations, and audio examples. Through the miracle that is open access, all 360 pages of text are available online at no cost.

Katherine Campbell and Emily Lyle's *Robert Burns and the Discovery and Re-Creation of Scottish Song* falls somewhere between the Brown/Carruthers and Grant books in its range of coverage. Since the authors have backgrounds and expertise in Scottish ethnography and ethnomusicology, their statement in the preface about concentrating "on the songs alone" makes sense, following the approach used by James Dick and Donald A. Low in their respective editions of *The Songs of Robert Burns* (1903 and 1993) and Caterina Ericson-Roos's *The Songs of Robert Burns: A Study of the Unity of Poetry and Music* (1977). Murray Pittock's new edition of the *Scots Musical Museum* appeared after the present book had been submitted for publication, and Campbell and Lyle have consequently made a few additions and revisions, as acknowledged in their notes. The writings of Kirsteen McCue are also referenced, and they note her edition of Thomson's Burns songs as forthcoming. Such overlaps or hiccups in timing are inevitable when several books on the same topic are published within a couple of years of each other.

Campbell and Lyle set out to place the songs of Burns in the context of the cultural environment both before and after his work, and also in the context of oral tradition. In ten chapters, including an introduction, the authors examine a small number of songs in detail, considering words or tunes that existed beforehand, or beyond Burns's immediate orbit, with or without the same lyrics. In other instances, Burns might have developed his song on, for example, just the opening line, or perhaps by taking some lines of an earlier song as a repeating chorus rather than as part of a continuous series of verses. These are detailed essays paying close attention to particular topics, such as a letter written by Burns to William Tytler; the inspiration derived from Burns's journey with a friend to northern Scotland (as far as Loch Ness) in August and September 1787; Burns's experiences of, and references to, psalm singing, and his psalm paraphrases; and Burns's bawdy songs and the alterations that were necessary to make them acceptable for either James Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum* or George Thomson's more up-market Scottish song anthologies. Burns's informants are investigated, with particularly close attention to the childhood influence of his mother and the recollections of his youngest sister, Isabella Begg, but also noting their wide variety. Mention is also made of Burns's highly retentive memory and his musicality. It is commonly known that Isabella alluded to his violin playing as being adequate to amuse himself, but we note also that Burns himself wrote in an entry dated September 1785 that he had devised a tune in "the old Scotch style" for "O raging Fortune's Withering Blast" but was "not Musical Scholar enough to prick down my tune properly, so it can never see the light" (p. 40). From this one infers that although he could read music well enough to play a tune, Burns wasn't completely conversant with the theory and musical "grammar" behind writing it down.

Chapter 7 reappraises the work on the *Scots Musical Museum* of the English music arranger Stephen Clarke and examines evidence in surviving records about his life and work in Edinburgh. One forms the impression that Clarke was capable but considered lazy. Nonetheless, a whole chapter about his work with Burns's songs is very welcome, as he often flits in and out of writings about Burns but is seldom the main focus. The final chapter is not a conclusion as such, but it does finish with a reiteration of Burns's creativity and working practices, alluding to his close collaborative relationships with Johnson and Thomson. The authors' aims are summarized in the final sentence: "The present book has aimed to give detailed coverage to a limited cross-section of Burns's songs and their contexts in a way that it is hoped helps to bring us close to Burns's work of creation" (p. 212). After so much detailed detective work and examination of songs, airs, and sources, the closing words are absolutely accurate, but it does seem a rather abrupt close to such a scholarly book.

The book has all the usual apparatus of preface, acknowledgments, lists of figures, examples and abbreviations at the beginning, and a bibliography, along with indices of people, songs, poems, and tunes at the end. It is also very generously provided with musical examples (words and melodies, but not basslines or accompaniments, which are not needed in the present context). The examples were produced using a common music-writing software program, Finale. If there is a minor criticism—with apologies to non-music readers—there are a few missing dots and quaver rests, and the "pick-up" (anacrusis) function at the start of pieces has not always been deployed properly, with spacing looking a little irregular in places. These are, however, very minor defects. There is much detailed scholarship in the volume, which certainly adds favorably to recent writings on Burns's song writing.

Of the four books reviewed here, *Robert Burns's Songs for George Thomson*, edited by Kirsteen McCue, is the largest and most important. It is the fourth volume in the *Oxford Edition of the Works of Robert Burns*, following volume 1, *Commonplace Books, Tour Journals, and Miscellaneous Prose*, edited by Nigel Leask (2014), and volumes 2–3, Murray Pittock's edition of the *Scots Musical Museum* (2018). In this volume McCue reproduces in facsimile more than 170 published songs for which the lyrics were written by Robert Burns for George Thomson's Scottish, Irish, and Welsh music collections, with exhaustive notes on their correspondence about each song. The facsimiles themselves occupy 352 pages and the notes another 300, followed by two appendices: a "Glossary of Scottish Words" (Thomson's own, from *A Select Collection of Original Scottish Airs* of 1805) and the "Alphabetical List of Song Texts within the Morgan Dalhousie MS (Correspondence from Robert Burns to George Thomson) Not Printed in Thomson's Collections."

McCue's extensive introduction falls into several distinct sections. First comes a "Note on the Text," which is crucial reading if one is to understand precisely what the volume contains, and its significance. Thanks to the correspondence between poet and publisher, Burns's role in Thomson's editions is far clearer than his role in Johnson's *Scots Musical Museum*. The reader does, however, need to remember that the present volume contains all the songs that Burns wrote for Thomson but does not contain all the songs published by Thomson that Burns

was *not* responsible for. There is no point, for example, in looking for Beethoven's "Sir Johnie Cope," since it was not one of Burns's songs. Note also that all the songs are newly numbered, and that diplomatic (i.e., literal) transcriptions have been made of manuscripts and early printed sources. Next comes an introduction to Burns's songs for Thomson, which provides the context for Thomson's publications. A biography of Thomson is followed by an outline of the scope of his ambitions for these collections: what he wanted to achieve and the continental arrangers with whom he chose to work.

The next section of the introduction is a detailed exposition of "Burns and Thomson: The Correspondence." Thomson was Burns's most regular correspondent in Burns's later life, and McCue remarks that this is particularly significant given that Burns is known to have experienced episodes of hypomania when he was especially active in his creative endeavors. Although Burns's letters survive, the manuscripts of Thomson's letters to Burns have not been seen since Dr. James Currie published his four-volume *Works of Robert Burns* in 1800, and we are reminded that Currie's edition had some changes to the letters from Burns to Thomson. Thomson prepared the texts for publication, perhaps trying to put himself in a better light, particularly with respect to the question of remuneration. Burns had initially said that he did not wish to be paid and would be offended by further mention of the matter. However, in the years after his death, friends and editors made much of a letter that Burns wrote during his final illness, which revealed to Thomson the dire straits in which he found himself—things were so desperate that he was not too proud to ask for assistance. Thomson was subsequently criticized for not having helped Burns more. The letters also reveal how Burns viewed the song culture of the time: his views on the simplicity or complexity of particular songs, on the propriety of the words, the quality of the texts, his own musical preferences, and his musical understanding of the songs he was setting. Additionally, as has been highlighted in McCue's earlier work, Burns had quite strong views about using English texts with more standardized English rather than Scots, although Thomson was clearly looking to his market south of the border in trying to make some of the songs more accessible.

A section of the introduction on "Thomson and the Currie Circle: Preparing the First Edition of the Poet's Life and Work (1796–1802)" examines Currie's edition as well as the reception of the Thomson volumes by scholars from the nineteenth century up to and including the recent activities by the Romantic National Song Network. The final section of the introduction addresses "The 'Intricate Bibliographical Enigma': Tracking Burns through Thomson's Select Collections." Readers unfamiliar with Thomson's collections may be unaware of the exceedingly complex interconnections and indeed variants between different copies of what, on the outside, appear to be identical titles. Reprints, new editions, and sections from different printers could all be intermingled in any particular copy. To the casual reader picking up such a copy and setting it on the piano stand, such details might appear of little significance. However, scholars of this particular genre find the bibliographical detail both intriguing and infuriating. McCue is to be congratulated for teasing out the intricacies and explaining them in a straightforward, comprehensible way.

Following the facsimiles of each song, the commentary section highlights contemporary aesthetic considerations such as the inclusion of English-language words, literary bigotry, or the wish to preserve pastoral simplicity. By being provided with this much detail, scholars have to hand a vast amount of information with which to examine this collection in comparison with other contemporary anthologies; or to consider the significance of Thomson's collection on later collections. It is immeasurably useful to be able to consider observations by earlier scholars, in the context both of Burns and Thomson's own correspondence, and of subsequent scholarship. Take, for example, Thomson's observations about literary bigotry, *vis à vis* "Behind yon hills." Thomson writes to Burns that although it would be "unpardonable to sacrifice one good song in the Scottish dialect to make room for English verses," it would "be the very bigotry of literary patriotism" to omit "a few excellent ones suited to the unprovided or ill-provided airs...merely because the authors were born south of the Tweed" (p. 354). With the same song, our attention is drawn to Burns raising the important issue of pastoral simplicity, so often mentioned in contemporary commentary. Thomson's reply to Burns praises him for sending the revised verses of song in "rustic" guise, personifying the song thus: "On meeting with your *Nanie*, I had fallen violently in love with her. I thank you, therefore, for sending the charming rustic to me, in the dress in which you wish her to appear before the public" (p. 354). Reading these words brings to mind a passage in Joseph Ritson's *Scottish Song* (1794), where Ritson favorably compares Scottish with English songs, likening the former to "the beautiful peasant, in her homespun russet" and the latter to "the fine town lady...in all the frippery of fashion" (1:lxxix).

Similarly, McCue's volume sheds new light on issues which might have been differently interpreted in the years since Thomson's initial publications. For example, Dick's 1903 edition of *The Songs of Robert Burns* states that Thomson set "From thee, Eliza, I must go" (ST4 [T15]), to "a wrong tune" (p. 357). However, the present edition notes that Thomson chose not to use Burns's preferred tune (Thomson certainly used a different tune, but it is not here classified as "wrong"!), and suggests a possible source for the tune that Thomson did use—"Donald," in John Gunn's *Forty Favourite Scottish Airs* (published in 1789, only three years earlier than Burns and Thomson's initial correspondence about the song). We further learn that it appeared subsequent to Thomson's publication as "An Irish tune" in the *A Selection of Irish and Scots Tunes*, published by John Macpherson Mulhollan in 1804, apparently copied from Thomson. Moving from text and tunes to musical accompaniments, a similar level of detail allows us to read Thomson's discussions and editorial decisions about accompaniments, obbligato instruments,

or—a persistent preoccupation—the complexity of the accompaniment. Thus, we can follow his instruction and subsequent discussion with Henry Bishop, that Thomson wanted the closing “symphony” of each verse of “The Widow’s Song” (from *The Jolly Beggars*) to be “adjusted to make it lighter for the violinist and pianist,” citing British Library letters for each piece of correspondence (p. 583).

The work concludes with a bibliography that is divided into manuscripts, primary and secondary published sources up to about 2019, and online resources. In the last of these categories, I would be remiss not to mention the website emanating from McCue and her team’s AHRC-funded research, <https://burnsc21.glasgow.ac.uk/>, since it provides a wealth of material, audiovisual media, and more. Finally, there are indices of titles, first lines, and airs. These finding aids are essential in a book of this magnitude, all the more so, as McCue reminds us in the introduction, because there are inconsistencies between Burns’s and Thomson’s titles.

Scholarship on Burns and song has taken a giant step forward with these four volumes. This review has merely scratched the surface, and scholars are certain to benefit from the huge amount of collective work that these books contain.

Concluding the Reid Edition By Aaron Garrett, Boston University

Paul Wood, ed., *Thomas Reid and the University. With a New Transcription and English Translation of Thomas Reid’s Philosophical Orations by Alexander Broadie*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and University Park, PA: Penn State University Press, 2021. The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid, Volume 10. Pp. cxvi + 475.

The main body of *Thomas Reid and the University* concludes with two biographical accounts: Robert Cleghorn’s brief “Sketch of the Character of the Late Thomas Reid,” which appeared in 1796 as “Letter to the Editor” in the *Glasgow Courier*, and Dugald Stewart’s far longer *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid* (1802). As Paul Wood—who has edited or co-edited four previous volumes in the *Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid*—notes in his extensive introduction to this book, Cleghorn and Stewart each knew Reid well, albeit in different capacities. Both admiringly describe a man who, in Cleghorn’s words, “spoke of every thing like a superior being” (p. 181). Cleghorn’s sketch does not avoid mention of Reid’s political filiation with the French Revolution. Cleghorn notes that Reid “observed the great political events which have happened” (p. 181) and mentions Reid’s potentially controversial moderate religious commitments and his belief that the 1688 Revolution was an act of divine providence. Stewart’s *Account*, in contrast, cleanses Reid of controversy and presents a life of pure intellect: a philosopher’s philosopher focused on the mind. Stewart’s view dominated as the answer to the question “Who was Reid?” through the late twentieth century, and it still dominates what interest there is in his work among philosophers.

Having its substantial beginning with Knud Haakonssen’s collection of Reid’s lectures on natural jurisprudence and connected papers as *Practical Ethics* (initially published by Princeton University Press in 1990 but incorporated and modified in 2007 as volume 6 in the *Reid Edition: Thomas Reid on Practical Ethics*), the individual volumes that make up the *Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid* have expanded readers’ knowledge of who Reid was beyond the familiar tropes of David Hume’s nemesis, or the philosopher’s philosopher of mind, perception, and psychology, or the pillar of Common Sense. Haakonssen’s *Practical Ethics* included Reid’s “Some Thoughts on the Utopian System” (moved to *Thomas Reid on Society and Politics* in the *Reid Edition*), the complete manuscript of the measured but approving lecture on utopianism given to the Glasgow Literary Society in 1794 against the background of the French Revolution and the Reign of Terror. Sections of the lecture were published in the *Glasgow Courier* with Cleghorn’s *Sketch*. High among the many virtues of the *Reid Edition* is the access it gives us to the Reid who mostly disappeared after Stewart’s *Account*, impartially and approvingly considering some of the principles of the French Revolution. This Reid was still very much present in Cleghorn’s *Sketch*.

The *Reid Edition* includes excellent critical editions of *An Inquiry into the Human Mind* (edited by Derek Brookes, 1997), *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (edited by Derek Brookes and Knud Haakonssen, 2002), and *Essays on the Active Powers of Man* (edited by Knud Haakonssen and James Harris, 2010). But the greatest contribution of the edition to the intellectual history of the Scottish Enlightenment is in the less well-known materials, and in particular the manuscript materials—the import of which extends even beyond understanding Reid. This point holds true from the first volume in the edition, *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation* (1995), which was also edited by Paul Wood. *Animate Creation* collects manuscript materials demonstrating Reid’s serious first-hand engagement with the theories of matter and life sciences of his day. It is widely known that Reid was a gifted mathematician and had deep knowledge of Newton’s mathematics and physics. It was less known prior to the appearance of *Animate Creation* that Reid’s interests extended to life science—to Buffon, Roger Joseph Boscovich, and Charles Bonnet—and to the intersection of Newtonianism and biology in matter theory. These currents converge in Reid’s notes on Joseph Priestley (and David Hartley) and in the unpublished essay “Some Observations on the Modern System of Materialism” (*Animate Creation*, pp. 173–241). Priestley sent Reid a copy of his attack *An Examination of Dr. Reid’s Inquiry into the Human Mind on the Principles of Common Sense*. Reid did not respond in print. His notes though, and Wood’s introduction, make clear Reid’s disagreements with Priestley on the latter’s

Newtonianism and on the natural scientific warrant in theories of matter for collapsing the distinction between animate and inanimate. This also further clarifies Reid's well-thought-out and careful understanding of Newton and of Newtonianism.

That this is now well known is a legacy of the *Reid Edition*. Wood notes in the introduction to his edition of *The Correspondence of Thomas Reid* (vol. 4, 2002) that although there are fewer letters collected than in the correspondences of Hume, Adam Ferguson, and Adam Smith, Reid's "is perhaps more revealing than those of his contemporaries, for it is only in his letters and manuscripts that we can discover the full range of his interests and develop a clearer sense of the man and his place in the Enlightenment" (*Correspondence*, p. ix). The full range of manuscripts and letters gives us a grasp of Reid's diverse and serious scientific, mathematical, philosophical, aesthetic, social, and moral interests—of an intellectual who was involved in practical projects for human betterment, particularly, like his teacher George Turnbull, those connected to the university. To quote Cleghorn again, Reid not only "purified his perceptions without impairing his humanity" (p. 181) but also spent considerable time furthering the goals of his humanity.

More than twenty-five years later, we read with bemusement Wood's apology that *Thomas Reid on the Animate Creation* took so long to appear. But we also read Reid very differently as a consequence of revelations from other volumes in the *Reid Edition*. For example, while I used to view the Reid/Priestley debate in terms of issues in the methodology of the philosophy of mind, I now find myself asking whether there is a connection between Priestley's millenarian enthusiasm for the French Revolution and his enthusiasm for materialism and Reid's moderated attitude toward the Utopian system and attitude toward enthusiasm? Was Reid fundamentally committed to a Baconian worldview—a point stressed by Wood in the introduction to this volume—which underwrote his understanding of Newtonianism and its connection to natural history in a way that Priestley was not, and did this have political consequences? And most consequentially, was Reid as exemplary, or more exemplary, of Enlightenment than on the one side enthusiasts like Priestley and on the other Hume?

The volume under review is as transformative as those that initiated the series. Reid's humanity is particularly evident in the first part of the volume, which includes materials relating to curricular reform, and in the "Statistical Account of the University of Glasgow" in the third part. The first section includes "Scheme of a Course of Philosophy," which sets out a model that, as Wood notes, "reads like a template for the curricular reforms at King's in 1753" (p. xxii). In particular, Reid's scheme displaced metaphysics and logic as the gateway subjects—which in Reid's view had the non-moral Scholastic goal of making men "subtle Disputants"—and replaced them with geography and natural history.

The "Scheme" reflects Reid's commitment to Baconian natural history and culture of the mind. Reid's lectures on the culture of the mind appeared in volume 5, *On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts* (edited by Alexander Broadie, 2004)—although they might well have appeared in this volume, insofar as Wood shows in the introduction that the tradition of culture of the mind from Cicero through Bacon and Turnbull strongly informed Reid's understanding of the goals of liberal education. Insofar as education is a cultivation, it is crucial that it begins with subjects that allow for the development of the capacity for self-cultivation and the "gradual openings of the Human Mind" (quoted in *Thomas Reid and the University*, p. xxiv). Reid's views are given pithy formulation in his response to the question (which he himself had proposed) "How far it is allowable to principle Children with Opinions before they are capable of a Rational Enquiry into them" (p. 40), given in 1760 to the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, where he makes clear that education is like the cultivating of a garden, as opposed to the wilds of nature. This process involves the initial staking of principles so that children's social development can flourish. The preservation of the regenting system in the reforms also speaks both to the desire to provide a holistic education and to the need for careful stewarding of the students.

That the foundational role which Reid gives to the philosophy of mind can be thought of as having the perfectionist aims of the development of human capacities and culture of the mind—"to pass through Life with honour to yourselves and to your Relations and with advantage to your Country and to Mankind" (*On Logic, Rhetoric and the Fine Arts*, p. 5)—and as part of human flourishing is an important check on viewing Reid as engaging in philosophy independent of the goals of humanity. For Reid, as for Turnbull, the two were connected through the process of education. It is unsurprising that Reid likely had a large part in the "Statutes and Orders of King's College" and that the perfectionist goal of cultivating the mind involved widening the curriculum to include "those Parts of Education which are not commonly reckoned Academical, such as Dancing, Writing, Bookkeeping, French, &c." (p. 13). And it is similarly unsurprising that Reid was involved in the failed attempt to unite King's and Marischal as Aberdeen University, in his capacity as a member of a committee made up almost wholly of his friends and kin. It is also unsurprising that, once Reid moved to Glasgow in 1764, he "became deeply embroiled in the internal politics of the College" (*Thomas Reid and the University*, p. lxxxviii) and gained extensive knowledge of Glasgow, which allowed him to compose the Statistical Account that appeared in 1799 in Sir John Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*.

The centerpiece of *Thomas Reid and the University* is Part Two, consisting of Reid's philosophical orations: the four lectures given at King's graduation ceremonies in 1753, 1756, 1759, and 1762 (all prior to the publication of the *Inquiry* in 1764). Unlike most of the other texts in the volume, which have never been published since the eighteenth or early nineteenth century, if at all, an edition of the orations by D. D. Todd and Shirley Darcus

Sullivan, titled *The Philosophical Orations of Thomas Reid*, has been in print since 1989. The version of the orations in *Thomas Reid and the University*, newly translated by Alexander Broadie, differs by including the Latin text facing the translation and by containing extensive and far superior notes. For example, Todd fails to locate the source of Reid's reference to Dionysus in "Oration II," whereas Broadie and Wood correctly note its source in Diogenes Laertius. I do not want to denigrate the earlier volume. The apparatus of the Todd and Sullivan edition was useful for its purpose and made for an inexpensive and widely read volume. The Broadie and Wood version has a different goal—and is far more expensive—but is far superior for scholarly purposes. The Sullivan translation is extremely literal and reads like a classicist's translation of early modern Latin. Broadie's translation is elegant and reads like the work of the expert medievalist and early modernist that Broadie is. For example, Sullivan translates "In hac tamen Josephus Butlerus Episcopus Dunelmensis palmam praeripere visus est" as "in this respect, moreover, Joseph Butler, the Bishop of Durham, is seen to take the palm". The literal translation leads Todd in a note to remark that "The sentence is unclear. It seems to damn Butler, but Reid always had a very high opinions of Butler. The respect in which Butler takes the palm, therefore, that he is among those who makes the best statements about morals" (p. 35). Broadie's rendition—"Nevertheless, in this field Joseph Butler, Bishop of Durham, seems to have carried off the honours"—avoids ambiguity. It is clear that Reid is saying that for an account of virtue, Butler is superior to the ancients. Broadie also translates the "visus est" as "seems," which is the proper rendering.

Broadie's presentation of the *Orations* is also given context in *Thomas Reid and the University*. The orations are normally viewed as four stages in the evolution of a philosopher's philosopher on his way to the critique of Locke's "way of ideas" and Hume's scepticism and the development of his own positive natural history of the mind. They are those things, as well as the central evidence for the evolution of Reid's philosophical views prior to the publication of the *Inquiry*. But in the context of Reid's involvement with educational reform in King's College, they are also addresses to students graduating in the scheme of education that Reid helped to create. In 1753 the reforms were just being put in place, although Wood notes that the audience included twelve of his students (p. 297), who were presumably well taught. In later years the graduating classes would have the Baconian breadth of knowledge that is apparent in the *Scheme* and that was the background for Reid's own philosophical views.

In addition to the two biographical accounts, this volume contains Reid's genealogical work on the Anderson and Gregory families, prompted by his kinsman and friend James Gregory. In this brief work Reid notably discusses his famous mathematician great uncle, also named James Gregory, and defends him from unfair comparisons with Newton. A note added by James Millar points out that the "mathematical genius in the family of Gregory or Anderson" extended to Reid. The appendix adds to the edition fourteen letters, including a particularly interesting discussion of what Reid sees as the failure of Hume and Thomas Hobbes to square the doctrine of necessity with the ordinary sense of virtue (pp. 269–70), and a paper on the "Measures of Heat" that Reid probably wrote.

The most valuable aspect of this exemplary volume, however, is Wood's 94-page introduction and the notes. The textual notes are 22 pages long. They include an interesting first draft of the first few paragraphs of "Oration Three," information about the manuscripts and sources, and manuscript variations and additions. They show great care in the preparation of the volume. There are also 110 pages of editorial notes. In conjunction with the introduction, they provide a masterful presentation of many aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment that even the most learned readers are unlikely to know. The introduction and editorial notes are extremely precise and provide both relevant information and the necessary background in a way that greatly deepens the reader's knowledge. As one of the most eminent intellectual historians of the Scottish Enlightenment, its educational institutions, and Reid himself, Wood is the ideal regent for cultivating the reader's understanding of something putatively well known.

As mentioned at the beginning of this review, this volume brings the *Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid* to completion. The edition, now whole, has more than met its goal of making accessible the great range of Reid's published and manuscript material in a form useful to scholars. One fruit of its expansion and completion is Knud Haakonssen's "Preface: The General Editor's Retrospect on the Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid" (pp. vii–xii), which recounts key developments. The reader is also struck by the many references to other volumes of the *Reid Edition* that Wood knits together in making his case for Reid's profound and wide-ranging Baconianism in service of the moral and perfectionist goals of the culture of the mind, in the breadth of Reid's interests and learning, and in the centrality of education and carefully constructed educational institutions in promoting these goals. One assumes that the fruits of the edition will be even more evident in Wood's forthcoming intellectual biography of Reid.

The Enlightenment was the result of a wide-ranging cultivation of the mind in many different arenas. In this volume, and in the *Reid Edition* as a whole, one views an extraordinarily wide-ranging polymath who had a deep involvement with scientific, moral, political, artistic, and practical interests. In this Reid was much like Condorcet. But unlike Condorcet, who was unable to see through his educational schemes for tragic reasons, Reid had a long life of engagement with how to make these pursuits take hold on young minds, as documented in this volume. This book is also a reminder that a failure to see the breadth of Reid, and to restrict it—either by focusing on Hume to the exclusion of others or by accepting Stewart's account of Reid's life and interests—limits the understanding of the Enlightenment as a complex phenomenon, extending beyond individuals and nations. The *Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid*, and this concluding volume, brilliantly remedy that failure by making available these fascinating writings, and the man who wrote them, for the edification of readers.

Political Conservatism, Anachronism, and the Scottish Enlightenment

By John P. Wright, Central Michigan University

Antti Lepistö, *The Rise of Common-Sense Conservatism: The American Right and the Reinvention of the Scottish Enlightenment*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2021. Pp. 261.

Spartaco Pupo, *David Hume: The Sceptical Conservative*. N.p.: Mimesis International, 2020. Pp. 221.

Both books under review deal with the claim that the writings of the Scottish Enlightenment support political conservatism—basically the view that radical change is self-defeating, that human nature is fixed, and that serious social harm can result from far-reaching political change. Antti Lepistö's book is about American neo-conservative writers in the second half of the twentieth century who appealed to the writings of Adam Smith, and to a lesser extent David Hume, to argue against reforms proposed by their politically liberal contemporaries. Spartaco Pupo's book is directed against those who have seen Hume as a forerunner of nineteenth-century British liberalism; he argues that Hume anticipates subsequent British conservative thought from Edmund Burke to Michael Oakeshott, and beyond. While Lepistö distances himself from some of the claims of the neoconservative writers who are the subject of his book, periodically pointing out the difference between the concerns of twentieth-century American conservatives and the Scottish Enlightenment theorists whom they admired, Pupo does not hesitate to see Hume's philosophy as directly relevant to later political thought. Both books raise questions about the contemporary relevance of the social, moral, and political thought of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Despite the qualifying word "reinvention" in the subtitle of *The Rise of Common-Sense Conservatism*, Lepistö's thesis is that the American writers who are its focus were engaged with the Scottish Enlightenment in their "embrace of a populist epistemology" (p. 3). They "dived deep into Scottish moral philosophy and refashioned it into...the appropriately Americanized figure of the common man whose moral sense was the best available guide to key culture wars issues such as abortion, crime, and welfare dependency." The twentieth-century writers whom Lepistö discusses argued that Scottish sentimental morality is the morality of the unsophisticated ordinary man. Thus, however implausibly, Scottish moral philosophy was used to justify an attack on the "liberal elites" of America in the latter half of the twentieth century.

In chapter 1, "The Coming of the Neoconservative Common Man," Lepistö focuses on the writing of Irving Kristol, who in the late 1970s claimed to draw his conclusions regarding morality of the common man from the sentimental theories of Hume and Smith. In criticism, Lepistö points out that "far from celebrating the unrefined moral sentiments of the common man," as Kristol claimed, the Scottish writers argued that moral sentiments "were *not* reliable in the absence of a proper education" (p. 38): Smith's impartial spectator and Hume's "steady and general points of view" require refinement. Lepistö also critiques Kristol's naïve contrast between the supposedly self-interested view of commercial society in the *Wealth of Nations* and the "cheerful and benign" side of human nature of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* (p. 41). The *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and the *Wealth of Nations* present one unified social, moral, and political philosophy. Lepistö also points out that Kristol failed to recognize that for Smith our sympathy with the rich and powerful serves to "maintain the distinction of ranks and the order of society" and causes "the corruption of our moral sentiments" (*TMS*, quoted on p. 43).

Chapter 2 focuses on the writings of James Q. Wilson, an academic political scientist at Harvard and UCLA who provided social science credentials to the late twentieth-century neoconservative movement. Lepistö writes that over the years Wilson "became more and more critical of the 'moral silence' of contemporary social science and political philosophy" (p. 58). Like Kristol, he appealed to Smith and Hume who, he argued, "had understood that [social] science and morality were not opposites" (p. 61). Wilson also criticized twentieth-century philosophers like A. J. Ayer who, in developing the emotivist theory of morality, regarded the Enlightenment Scots as forerunners. According to Wilson, the Scots, unlike twentieth-century positivists, "had given a very convincing explanation of the tendency of the ordinary person to make meaningful moral judgments that are ultimately based on emotions" (p. 65).

In chapter 3, "Family Values as Moral Institutions: Neoconservatives and the War over the Family," Lepistö shows how the neoconservatives attempted to use Smith to defend the conventional two-parent family. They argued that Smith held that moral education ideally takes place in the traditional family. However, Lepistö points out that Smith had argued in *TMS* that parents "were not ideal teachers of self-command" because of their partiality to their children (p. 91). Indeed, Lepistö suggests in this chapter that the American writers were merely using Smith's language to defend their support for the traditional family, without taking into account his actual views.

It is disappointing to learn in chapter 4, titled "Moral Sentiments of the Black Underclass: Race in the Neoconservative Moral Imagination," that the neoconservatives never discussed the actual attitudes to race (and slavery) of the Scottish Enlightenment writers whom they claim as forerunners of their conservatism. The chapter is merely concerned with the American writers' claim that an understanding of "moral sense" would reveal the need to reduce social programs in order to promote self-reliance in black urban ghettos (p. 107). The neoconservatives, particularly historian Gertrude Himmelfarb, are reported by Lepistö to have "consistently invoked the

Scottish moral ideas to rationalize welfare contraction” by arguing “that the proponents of a generous welfare state did *not* appreciate the moral sense of the disadvantaged” (p. 107). She held that “the moral sense” teaches the value of self-improvement, which was undermined by twentieth-century social welfare programs.

In chapter 5, “Retributive Sentiments and Critical Justice: James Q. Wilson on Crime and Punishment,” Lepistö argues that Wilson used Smith’s theory of moral sentiments to justify the “tough-on-crime views” of most Americans, which were embodied in legislation of the 1990s. The connection with moral sense is supposed to be made when Wilson wrote that “penal populism usually takes the form of ‘feelings and intuitions’” (p. 137). Against most criminologists who thought that Americans were being incarcerated at too great a rate, Wilson sided with the view of “‘the public’ who, in his telling, wanted ‘more people sent away for longer sentences’” (p. 139). He appealed to Smith’s notion of an impartial spectator to argue that the law ought to “rein in our natural tendencies toward sympathy or vindictiveness” in order to strike a balance between them (p. 148).

In the final chapter, “Elite Multiculturalism and the Spontaneous Morality of Everyday People: Francis Fukayama’s Culture Wars,” Lepistö contrasts the elite conservative thought of Leo Strauss and his followers with the neoconservative writers he has been discussing throughout the book: unlike the latter, the former had no truck with the common man and justified their views by appealing to Plato’s notion of a “noble lie.” Lepistö focuses on the writings of Francis Fukayama, who in the first decade of the twenty-first century followed his predecessors in using Smith’s philosophy “to articulate a moral vision of capitalism that placed virtuous ordinary citizens at its center” (p. 157). This appeal to Smith’s philosophy was also shared by other neoconservative writers, including Friedrich Hayek and Milton Friedman.

Given that the central mark of the neoconservative writers discussed in *The Rise of Common-Sense Conservatism* is their appeal to uncultivated popular moral sentiments, it comes as no surprise that in the epilogue Lepistö turns to a discussion of the rise of Donald Trump and to twenty-first century American politics (pp. 182–85). Lepistö stresses that since the neoconservatives’ appeal to Scottish moral philosophy was basically part of the post-1960s culture wars, and therefore a divisive force in American politics, its continued use is unlikely to heal the deep rifts in current American politics.

Although Lepistö is sometimes critical of the twentieth-century neo-conservative writers’ use of Scottish Enlightenment moral terminology, I think he could have been more careful in sorting out the terms “common-sense” as used in his title and “moral sense” throughout the book. While it is true that “common sense” was used by Scottish philosophers generally, it came to have a specific meaning in relation to the Aberdeen philosophers, particularly Reid and Beattie, relating fundamentally to their theories of knowledge rather than morality. Lepistö could also have made it clearer that the term “moral sense” applies specifically to the instinctive moral theory of Francis Hutcheson, which was criticized by both Smith and Hume. Both stressed the essential role of moral development. Still, as Lepistö recognizes, the most serious problem with the project of his twentieth-century subjects lies in the fact that their appeal to the moral feelings of the common man, with its populist connotations, had no place in Scottish Enlightenment philosophy.

The discussion of Hume’s political philosophy in Spartaco Pupo’s *David Hume: The Sceptical Conservative* is obscured by words and expressions that have no place in idiomatic English. The book was clearly never proofread by a native English speaker. Pupo sometimes states the opposite of what he intends as, for example, when he writes that “Hume’s conception of human nature has a fatal weakness, for which any change introduced in society could only be imperfect” (p. 168), apparently meaning to claim that because Hume *believed* there is a fatal weakness in human nature, he opposed any radical political changes.

Pupo’s stated aim is “to fill what is a gap in critical literature concerning Hume’s political thought, namely the lack of an organic monography on his conservatism” (p. 11). In fifteen chapters with titles such as “Hume’s Conservatism: The Historical Certainties,” “A Sceptical Conservatism,” and “A Conservative among the Conservatives,” Pupo claims to systematically make the case that Hume is the paradigm exemplar of a universal philosophical conservative. This is somewhat ironic since one of the main features of Hume’s conservatism on Pupo’s view is “scepticism toward abstractions” (p. 9); Pupo’s Hume is an ideal conservative type whose tenets transcend time and place.

In fact, the question of Hume’s conservatism has been dealt with in the many monographs that treat Hume’s political thought. It was extensively debated in the 1990s by Donald Livingston and John B. Stewart in books which Pupo discusses. Pupo likes to give his readers lists: the introduction identifies the “main features” of political conservatism as “counter-revolutionary: political realism; mistrust of sudden and violent innovations; scepticism toward abstractions; opposition to rationalist arrogance; respect for custom and institutional continuity; need for the preservation of stability; rejection of ideological rhetoric, sectarianism, and dogmatism; constant denial of intellectual subsidies; and defence of national interest” (p. 9). Most chapters interpret Hume’s political essays in *Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, though Pupo also discusses of passages from Hume’s *Treatise of Human Nature*, *Enquiries*, and *History of England* in order to make his case. His final chapter cites the writings of twentieth-century conservative writers who have regarded Hume as a forerunner of their conservative views including Robert Nisbet, Russell Kirk, Michael Oakeshott (incorrectly identified on page 196 as an “English conservative philosopher in the nineteenth-century”), George Kennan, and others.

In chapter 12, “The Impossible Liberalism,” Pupo begins by criticizing John Gray for arguing that

“Hume’s politics contains undoubtably liberal elements, even though Hume wrote before the term *liberal* came into widespread usage” (p. 141). It does not seem to have occurred to Pupo to check on the first usage of the term *conservative* in the sense he uses it throughout the book—which the *OED* records as 1831, fifty-five years after Hume’s death. He goes on to complain about the theses of Gray and others who have claimed to identify liberal features in Hume’s political thought, including his support for “representative government in a state of law, and free-market,” and “the constitution resulting from the Glorious Revolution” (pp. 142–43). Their theses, according to Pupo, “appear rather weakly because not properly very well supported by direct references to the texts of Hume.” Pupo himself claims that Hume denied “any hypothesis of resistance towards government”—an oversimplification of Hume’s discussions of the Whig theory of an original contract and the Tory theory of passive obedience. While Hume affirmed in his essay “Of the Origin of Government” that “authority must be acknowledged [as] essential” to the “very existence” of civil society, he also stressed that “liberty is the perfection of civil society” and must be jealously protected. What is missing from Pupo’s discussions is a recognition of the constant balancing of opposing views that characterizes Hume’s political writings.

For Pupo’s Hume, “custom” always means a constant, unchanging set of human characteristics based on tradition (see chap. 4: “A Guide for Humankind: Custom”). But this is a questionable reading when one considers the close connection between the concepts of custom, experience, and observation in Hume’s epistemological writings. Custom is “a principle of human nature” which causes us to expect for the future what we have repeatedly experienced in the past (first *Enquiry* 5.5; cf. *Treatise* 1.3.8.10,102–103). But it is only through careful observation that philosophers discover “the secret operation of contrary causes” when they observe irregularities in experience (*Enquiry* 8.13; cf. *Treatise* 1.3.12.5, 132). It is from such discoveries that one is able to make improvements, not only in technology, but also in our social and political arrangements. Hume was certainly wary of the chaos caused by sudden violent political changes. But once they were established, he acknowledged the improvements in human relations that such changes had wrought. He stressed the unintended consequences of human actions. Pupo himself is forced to admit the importance for Hume of “the changes made to the modern economy and the *innovations* introduced by the culture based on civil liberty inaugurated by commerce” (p. 73, my emphasis).

There is good reason to challenge the interpretation of the political writings of Hume advanced by Pupo, as well as the political implications of the moral writings of Hume and Smith put forward by the twentieth-century conservatives discussed by Lepistö. In his essay “Of Civil Liberty,” Hume wisely reflected that, given the limited historical experience of his own day, it was not possible “to fix many general truths in politics.” He wrote that one could not determine what may be expected of mankind in the future from “any great revolution in their education, customs, or principles.” The political history of the last two hundred and fifty years should make us hesitant to draw conclusions about present-day policies from the cautious political reflections of the Scottish Enlightenment writers.

OTHER REVIEWS

Laura A. M. Stewart and Janay Nugent, *Union and Revolution: Scotland and Beyond, 1625–1745*. New History of Scotland. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. Pp. xiv + 295.

This book is the latest addition to the New History of Scotland series, originally published in eight volumes by Edward Arnold from 1981 to 1983. Laura Stewart and Janay Nugent’s volume replaces the one published by Rosalind Mitchison in 1983 as *Lordship to Patronage: Scotland, 1603–1745*. Mitchison stated that “it is more fruitful to look at [Scotland] in the company of the less developed parts of northern and western Europe than to draw comparisons between her and England” (p. 2). Stewart and Nugent, however, begin their volume by identifying three central themes: “the richness and variety of Scotland’s political cultures over a century-and-a-half of socio-economic and political change;” “‘transnational’ movements of people, goods and ideas;” and “how the intimacy of the Anglo-Scottish relationship has generated a creative volatility of enduring fascination” that has continued to the present.

These themes are presented in a book of two parts: first, “overview of political developments in Scottish history between the accession of King Charles I in 1625 and the destruction of the Jacobite cause in 1745,” and second, an investigation of “the social structures, beliefs, customs and forms of self-representation that shaped how people understood and engaged with politics.” Stewart won the 2017 American Historical Association’s Morris D. Forkosch Prize for her book *Rethinking the Scottish Revolution: Covenanted Scotland, 1637–1653*. Nugent has summarized her research as an exploration of “the social history of the Reformation, gender, and family life, particularly on children, youth and parenting in early modern Scotland.” Although their book is not entirely focused on eighteenth-century Scotland, it has a lot to say about Scottish history from 1700 to the twenty or so years after the Jacobite rebellion of 1745. The aftermath of that event marked the increasing influence of European Enlightenment cultures in Scotland, where, in Stewart and Nugent’s words, “we find the Enlightenment effervescently, disputatiously, thrillingly at work” (p. 236).

The authors comment at the beginning of their chapter on “Hanoverian Scotland” that “the first half of the eighteenth century is one of the most under-researched periods in Scottish History,” neglected in comparison with the existing literature on the “making of the Treaty of Union” (p. 98) and the growing influence of Enlightenment culture in Scotland. The Union of 1707 is presented as a paradox (as indeed it was): “it purported to create a uni-

tary British state while simultaneously guaranteeing the autonomy of Scottish civil society” (p. 76). The verdict given on the success of the parliamentary union by 1745 is that “it would seem to be ‘no’” (p. 103), due to “what appear to have been almost total lack of foresight and planning about how to run a country with different laws and governing structure from England” (p. 103). The authors are correct in noting that there has been a similar lack of consideration of constitutional issues in the UK since 1998.

In Part Two, “Cultures, Communities and Institutions in Early Modern Scotland,” chapters are thematic and consider the period 1625 to 1745 as a whole: “Politics and Participation,” “Religious Cultures,” “Community, Household, Gender and Age,” and “Art and Architecture.” The first of these chapters notes that although the Scottish Parliament ceased to exist in 1707, this did not mean that Scots did not send petitions to the Westminster Parliament, as they have done for centuries since. There is an interesting discussion of the influence of print culture on early modern Scotland that draws on recent research by Adam Fox and others. Politics in Scotland became more relevant to a wider group of people through print culture, despite its distance from Westminster. Jacobitism is shown to be but one strand of popular discontent, alongside discontent about economic change affecting an ever greater proportion of the population. The result was an increase in popular protest, not all of which can be ascribed to Jacobite agitation, although that was the standard explanation adopted by the Hanoverian regime. Religious culture reflected this unrest, particularly at the grass roots level of the parish kirk session, whose authority increasingly was challenged. The British state was not interested in maintaining the authority of the Church of Scotland, which took the church in a different direction from its covenanting roots in the seventeenth century. Regarding the topic of “community,” the authors conclude that “by the middle of the eighteenth century, production for the market and the dismantling of the regulatory frameworks that had defined the special privileges of certain urban inhabitants were having a profound effect” (p. 200), with the caveat that “some of the essential rhythms of life had barely changed at all” (p. 202).

Before the Union, Scotland had been a small but sovereign kingdom, with good communications and engagement with all of Europe, including migration from Scotland to the Continent. In that sense its culture was “transnational,” demonstrated in particular by the European and transatlantic aspects of Jacobite culture. Nevertheless, the conclusion to *Union and Revolution*, entitled “North Britons,” points out that while “the writings of [Frances] Hutcheson and [David] Hume can make it seem as if we are entering into a different world” (p. 235), “the extent to which Enlightenment ideas and patterns of sociability filtered down the social scale is less well understood.” This observation reflects contemporary challenges to what some term “the Enlightenment project,” as much as its history. Scholars still debate how much influence Enlightenment culture continued to exert during the second half of the eighteenth century and the early nineteenth century. The success of Hume’s *History of Great Britain Containing the Reigns of James I and Charles I* and subsequent volumes on the history of “England” does demonstrate Stewart and Nugent’s contention that contemporary awareness of Scottish “improvement,” cultural and economic, “arguably made it hard for [Scots] to come to terms with their past” (p. 239). Much of this book demonstrates that, but its authors are also conscientious in acknowledging the broadening horizons of Scotland in the late eighteenth century, before it was transformed by the challenges of absorbing substantial increases in population in the early nineteenth century.

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Karin Bowie, *Public Opinion in Early Modern Scotland, c.1560–1707*. Cambridge Studies in Early Modern British History. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020. Pp. viii + 294.

Since the eighteenth century, public opinion has been recognized as a powerful political force. As the boundaries of the public expanded to include new voters and citizens, governments sought out and developed procedures for measuring their opinions. Further study of early modern news and public opinion occurred in the 1990s after the translation of Jurgen Habermas’s *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Public opinion for Habermas was the logical product of the public sphere. Since the 1989 English translation, scholars have assessed the application of the Habermasian model across different countries and time periods, often concluding that the model fits in each place and time—with the caveat that Habermas’s public sphere appeared too late and was too exclusionary. Karin Bowie presents a new study with a historicized understanding of early modern Scottish public opinion by focusing on modes of persuasive communication, including protestations, petitions, oaths, and public communications.

Controversy in early modern Scotland created by religious and institutional tensions after the Protestant Reformation and Union of the Crowns stimulated governmental response to opinion politics. The 1560s to the 1710s were some of the most turbulent periods of Scottish history: the Reformation, the regal union, the Covenanting Rebellion, the Protectorate, the Restoration, the advent of William of Orange, the Anglo-Scottish union, the War of the Spanish Succession, and intermittent Jacobite risings. Public opinion played an important role in these convulsive events, testing the limits of Scottish parliamentarians against an increasingly absentee monarch. Historians of Scotland—as Bowie has pointed out—struggled to apply the Habermasian model to pre-Union history because of the relatively small size of the book trade in Scotland, as pointed out by Alastair Mann’s *The Scottish Book Trade, 1500–1720* (2001). Bowie’s previous book, *Scottish Public Opinion in the Anglo-Scottish Union, 1699–1707* (2011), extended Habermas’s model to include crowd protest and petitions. In this volume Bowie out-

lines a new approach, sidestepping a deterministic model and advocating instead for an analysis of language and cultural norms to show that public opinion became more prominent within Scottish political culture. Ultimately, oral, manuscript, and print culture contributed to the authority of the public in modern British political culture without being anchored in coffeehouses.

This beautifully produced short volume provides a starting point for scholars of the period to refine their definitions and create a new model for studying Scottish opinion politics. Bowie's excellent and extensively referenced research reveals that traditional tools of public resistance, including petitioning, protestations, and oaths, allowed contemporary individuals to identify a collective opinion outside of institutional walls. Moreover, contemporaries encouraged state efforts to control what were perceived as "dangerous" opinions. The long timeframe of *Public Opinion in Early Modern Scotland* allows Bowie to trace the episodic tensions from the sixteenth through to the eighteenth century. Chapters 1–4 analyze traditional tools of resistance—protestations, petitions, oaths, and public communications—while chapters 5 and 6 discuss the application of these tools, both in terms of arguments and pervasiveness into the "long eighteenth century."

In her discussion of public opinion, Bowie argues that public communications—whether print or otherwise—combined with protestations, petitions, and oaths to create the necessary conditions for concepts such as "the sense of the nation" and the "inclinations of the people" to take hold of political discourse following 1688. Using the "inclination clause" from the Claim of Right (1689), she maintains in chapter 5 that extra-institutional opinion had a deeper context and foundation in earlier periods of controversy. By the time of the Revolution, public opinion had thus become an authority in politics. The inclination clause allowed leaders of the Revolution to rely on publicly expressed zeal for Presbyterianism, and its placement within the Claim of Right gave public opinion a degree of constitutional backing. William of Orange's letter to the Convention of Estates in 1689 eschewed a government contrary to the people's preferences. By the eve of Union and its ensuing debates, the "inclinations of the people" had become a common lexicographical trope. William's absenteeism and lack of support for the Company of Scotland only fueled extra-parliamentary opinion politics. In 1699 Lord Advocate Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees commented that "the nation is bent one way, and the King is of another persuasion" and warned the King's advisors that without concessions events would take a turn for the worse (p. 225). National ill-will stoked by the Glencoe massacre and intensified by the Darien debacle created conditions in which the government would have to court public opinion in order to enact the incorporating union in 1706.

Despite stopping at the Union of 1707, Bowie argues that this ignition point in the early eighteenth century established a precedent which ensured the survival of Scottish national identity from the Union to Home Rule, the debates on Devolution to the present day. Further study is required to trace the development and changing shape of the political nation into the long eighteenth century. While Bowie acknowledges the role of women in her wider study of public opinion, plenty of space is left for further research. *Public Opinion in Early Modern Scotland* is an answer to Joad Raymond's call—in a chapter on the public sphere and communication in seventeenth-century England in the edited volume *Spheres of Influence* (2007)—for a new model of the public sphere based on its participants. More than that, it is a call to arms for all scholars of early modern Scottish history, inviting further research to experiment and develop the approach taken toward the study of public opinion. This monograph is an important addition to the study of the Union period in early modern Scotland and should be part of reading lists for anyone studying the public sphere in early modern Europe.

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Andrew T. N. Muirhead, *Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established: The Case of Stirling and Dunblane, 1687–1710*. Scottish Religious Cultures. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. Pp. ix + 261.

Andrew T. N. Muirhead's in-depth study of the presbyteries of Stirling and Dunblane between 1687 and 1710 addresses two central questions: 1. How engaged were the locals of these presbyteries in national issues? 2. How stable was Presbyterianism within the bounds of these presbyteries? His stated purpose in raising these queries is to examine the reestablishment of Presbyterianism from a local perspective. This book carries on the spirit of Bill Inglis's work, *The Impact of Episcopacy and Presbyterianism, before and after 1690, on One Parish: A Case Study of Dunblane Kirk Session Minutes* (2003). Muirhead seeks to localize the broader national studies of related works such as Jeffrey Stephen's *Scottish Presbyterians and the Act of Union 1707* (2007) and Alistair Mutch's *Religion and National Identity: Governing Scottish Presbyterianism in the Eighteenth Century* (2015). Muirhead does not contribute grand arguments to the historiographic debate or seek to change the current understanding of the reestablishment. Instead, he supports the modern narrative of the period in question with painstaking research. *Scottish Presbyterianism Re-established* is most useful as a reference book to be consulted for continuing research.

In the introduction and first chapter, Muirhead lays down his reasons for committing himself to the study and then provides historical background for the years in question. He then briefly sketches the story of Christianity in the bounds of Stirling and Dunblane from the Reformation to 1688. Attention is drawn to the impact of the Toleration of 1687, which had the collateral effect of reinvigorating Presbyterianism in Scotland and preparing it for reestablishment. The second and third chapters cover that reestablishment in minute detail. They offer a systematic examination of the recruitment process for Presbyterian ministers in the area, while highlighting the diversity of

camps within the denomination. The community's reception of the ministers in question is then divulged. They could expect hardships from heritors, entrenched Episcopalian ministers, and the general populace. These points are all supported by numerical evidence neatly presented, though Muirhead does draw some conjectural conclusions from the collection patterns on a given Sabbath, such as the popularity of the minister preaching on the day of collection.

Chapter 4 describes the evolution of the church courts from 1687 to 1710. These had much in common with the Episcopalian courts they sprang from. Muirhead's ample charts and primary source material show kirk sessions, presbyteries, synods, and such, that were generally felt as a burden by the men who comprised them. They were sparsely attended by laymen, with the presence of ministers fluctuating due to several variables such as distance to the meeting or pressing business in the parish. The next chapter plucks up the roles of elders and heritors and describes their workings in both presbyteries. Elders are shown to have been undervalued, while heritors retained a much larger sway over church proceedings than intended by the revolutionary settlement. Chapters 6 and 7 focus on the local ministry of Stirling and Dunblane. The sixth chapter treats the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper in minute detail. Attendance numbers, tithe records, and personal testimonies are marshaled and placed neatly in charts, telling the story of a church that used the sacraments both as a genuine spiritual experience of grace and a "public ritual performance" (p. 109). The next chapter, after providing helpful context concerning Presbyterian preaching habits of the time, devotes perhaps too much attention to the sermons and doings of a single minister, George Turnbull.

Muirhead then turns to pen a persuasive eighth chapter on the survival of Episcopacy in the region. With scant evidence he is not only able to demonstrate that this rival faction survived in Dunblane and Stirling but even "permeated all classes, albeit unquantifiably" (p. 155). This is noted as a challenge for Presbyterian survival and development. Chapter 9 records the erosion of church control on public life in the face of religious plurality and weakened coordination with the government. The tenth chapter discusses the treatment of Highlanders in the two presbyteries. Muirhead demonstrates that Gaelic culture and language were largely ignored by the presbyteries. The eleventh chapter explores the Scottish response to the Union of 1707. Most Presbyterians were against it, and for good reason, as "many of the Presbyterians' fears for the Church of Scotland were justified" (p. 209). The book's conclusion is a clear and concise summary of the body of evidence garnered and the points duly extrapolated therefrom.

In writing on the delimited role of Stirling and Dunblane in the reestablishment of Presbyterianism, as contextualized in national events, Muirhead succeeds in answering his initial questions. In so doing he provides copious evidence meticulously gleaned from church records, sermon notes, personal correspondence, and other sources. Although the book does not intend to redraw the lines of Scottish history, it does contextualize and codify key truths regarding the reestablishment of Presbyterianism and provides a body of evidence that can be used to reveal yet more in the future.

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Charles Fletcher, *Justice and Society in the Highlands of Scotland: Strathspey and the Regality of Grant (c. 1690–1748)*. Legal History Library Volume 53. Leiden: Brill Nijhoff, 2021. Pp. xviii + 252.

Regalities and baronies became prominent in Scotland in the fourteenth century as the main standardized forms of jurisdiction conferred by the King with grants of land (so-called "franchise jurisdictions"). Regality jurisdiction was all but equal in scope to royal jurisdiction and represented the fullest delegation of royal authority possible in the system of feudal tenure in Scotland. Separate regality chancelleries, briefs, justice ayres, and regality courts operated over considerable areas of late medieval Scotland instead of royal courts under sheriffs and justiciars. Regality jurisdiction was thus widespread and reflected the decentralized approach to governance in late medieval Scotland, with its exclusion of the ordinary mechanisms of royal justice from the extensive areas of the country under regality lordships (which could also be held by burghs or religious foundations). It was an important feature of state formation in Scotland that inevitably continued to shape early modern governance, though already by the sixteenth century developments tending toward centralization of authority meant that it became subject to the new central civil jurisdiction of the College of Justice (pp. 4–5). Nevertheless, regality jurisdiction remained a structural feature of the legal order in Scotland until the eighteenth century and, following the Jacobite uprising of 1745, its abolition by the Heritable Jurisdictions Act 1747.

Charles Fletcher's fascinating new study is the first to explore the central role of a regality court within a Highland territorial community and to show that, far from being a medieval anachronism, it was a form of landholding and jurisdiction that still possessed legal and governmental significance when the Regality of Grant was created at the end of the seventeenth century. Fletcher observes that "the *provision of justice* was at the heart of the relationship between lord and vassal, chieftain, and clansman" (p. 29, my emphasis), though ironically by the eighteenth century the lairds of Grant themselves were spending little more than two months a year in their Highland lands, as opposed to Edinburgh or London (p. 30). Looking beyond the person of the clan chief, however, Fletcher is able to offer a reconstruction of the wider role of the regality jurisdiction from its court books, providing a rich analysis not only of dispute resolution and law and order, but also of the regality court as a key institution of governance and political authority more generally. It is also the first modern book-length treatment of any

such regional jurisdiction in Scotland, and it adopts an impressively comprehensive multijurisdictional approach by examining the interplay of subordinate and extraneous jurisdictions within the bounds of the regality jurisdiction proper. The only significant omission is resort from within the regality to central civil justice, including any detailed account of the civil jurisdiction of the College of Justice/Court of Session, based in Edinburgh but exercising nation-wide jurisdiction, including the right to intervene within regalities.

Standard accounts have tended to characterize franchise jurisdictions as archaic by the time of the Union of 1707, sometimes arguing (with a faint echo of the now discredited medieval historiography on “overmighty” subjects) that they threatened good governance, and even directly promoted feuds and debased the administration of justice. In their 1980 *History Today* article, Geoffrey Parker and Bruce Lenman stated that “for half a century before 1747 the feudal courts had been losing their grip. Their records show a steadily decreasing amount of business, and more and more interference by the central courts” (quoted on p. 231). Such accounts present the abolition of regalities and curtailment of baronies as long overdue reforms. Against this background, it might therefore be surprising to discover that, far from being purely medieval survivals in decline though still capable of undermining early modern governance, new grants of regality were still being made and given purpose in the late seventeenth century. The Regality of Grant in Strathspey was created in 1690 out of a patchwork of existing feudal jurisdictions belonging to the Chief of Grant, Ludovick Grant of Freuchie, and was “one of the last regalities erected in Scotland” (p. 17). Crucially, the superior nature of regality jurisdiction meant that the new regality blocked interference in Grant lands from rival jurisdictions in the hands of families such as the Dukes of Gordon and Dunbars of Westfield, especially the regality of Spynie, the regality of Huntly, and the Sheriffdom of Moray (pp. 20–22). Contrary to the views of Parker and Lenman, Fletcher shows that its business was also far from being in decline up to 1747.

After an introduction, which includes a valuable comparative discussion of seigneurial jurisdiction in a European context, and a general chapter on the Clan Grant in Strathspey, including the regality and its bailies, more detailed discussion follows in chapters on the court and its procedures, including officials such as the clerks, procurators fiscal, and birlawmen; on actions for debt; on criminal jurisdiction; on economic and social control; on land management, including farming and improvement; and on land tenure. The discussion of the structuring of tenorial interests (chap. 2) and their relationship with debt and provision of security is of particular interest. It provides a striking and insightful key to contextualizing the way legal, social, political, and economic relations played out in the regality court in a way that the basic structure of feudal grants would not otherwise reveal. A significant conclusion is that “the laird of Grant did not necessarily exert effective control over all his territories thanks to the practice of wadsetting” (p. 40)—a security arrangement in which tenure and possession of land was transferred legally to the creditor as “wadsetter” until the debt was redeemed. Apart from the main body of analysis and detailed exploration of the working of the regality court in various contexts, the book also embodies an important methodological element by its use of court records to describe and interpret legal practice and test the normative sources against practice. Indeed, a further particularly informative aspect of the book is the way it offers a significant level of detail about how courts actually worked, in a way which illuminates wider themes—for example, testing the enforcement of laws and regulations in practice (p. 142) and detailed local awareness of parliamentary statutes (pp. 146–47, 154).

Fletcher intermittently advances a number of important arguments about the balance between local and central state power, such as that “the central courts were reactive when seeking to take business away from the local courts with the impetus for greater intervention sometimes coming from people in the localities themselves” (p. 132) or that “by the 1720s it appears that attitudes towards jurisdiction were changing” and “in cases where the crime took place in a different jurisdiction to where the parties were resident, it had become appropriate for a court with a nationwide jurisdiction to hear the case” (p. 134). Particular topics also engage this theme in quite a complex way. Examples include the role of judicial commissions (p. 124), which the book argues characterize “central government’s reliance on local power and kin networks to uphold law and order in the localities;” the discussion of lawburrows and Grant of Achnack (pp. 112–13), evaluated as “rare evidence of the links between the Regality of Grant and the central courts;” and—with reference to risks of partiality in the “franchise courts”—the identification of circumstances in which “the people of Strathspey were forced to search for legality in the [central] justice court” (p. 102).

In providing the first systematic challenge to the myths that surround the operation of heritable jurisdictions by the eighteenth century, Fletcher presents a comprehensive and much more plausible account based on extensive archival research focused on the surviving court books of the Regality of Grant. The detailed concentration on the local exercise of authority is revealing, though it also creates blind spots regarding where the balance with central authority lay and how it may have been changing. For example, an underlying theme for critical evaluation in the book is stated to be “the expansion of central state power at the expense of regional power in the localities and a diminution of the political role of local magnate families” (p. 5), and instances of Fletcher’s insightful analysis in this regard have been noted above on particular matters. However, the theme is generally approached by establishing the ongoing effectiveness of local regality jurisdiction on the ground in Strathspey, rather than more systematically assessing the possible competing role of central forms of authority. The scale of any possible litigation in the Court of Session arising from disputes within the Regality of Grant (whether large, small, or even non-

existent) is not discussed or explored, for example, though central criminal jurisdiction receives more attention. This is a limitation which can be justified by the disciplined focus of the book, but it does reduce the scope of analysis, inhibiting fuller engagement with the avowed theme of “the expansion of central state power at the expense of regional power in the localities,” as well as important related themes developed in recent historiography, such as dispute settlement and the consequences of the decline of the blood feud in early modern Scotland. There are only passing references to Allan Kennedy’s recent book, *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660–1688* (2014), which has made a significant contribution to debates on central–local relations in governance. Similarly, Jenny Wormald’s seminal contributions on the justice of the feud and the implications of its decline in the seventeenth century, and more recent work on the connection with developments in central civil justice, are not explored.

Fletcher’s legal knowledge and expertise add a rare and significant degree of historical sensitivity and understanding to the interpretation of the source materials used in this work. *Justice and Society in the Highlands of Scotland* is an important contribution to scholarship and a well-conceived, carefully written, and highly original work. It offers a wealth of fascinating discussion and insights into the operation and place of local jurisdiction in early modern Scotland, governance in a Highland community, and the relationship between law and society. It succeeds in demonstrating that in Strathspey the regality court continued to play an integral role in governance of the Highlands and that, more generally, such regality courts should be seen as “cultural, fiscal and social institutions alongside being bodies for administering law and order” (p. 229). It also provides significant new evidence regarding the reach of central state power in early modern Scotland.

Mark Godfrey, University of Glasgow

Louisa Humm, John Lowrey, and Aonghus MacKechnie, eds., *The Architecture of Scotland, 1660–1750*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. Pp. xxviii + 642.

Ambitious in both size and scope, and priced accordingly at £150/\$200, this volume seeks to review the European context of Scotland’s early classical architecture and the impact of the dramatic political events of the period on its development. It is organized into six substantive thematic sections that loosely adhere to the format of the 2015 Edinburgh University conference where it originated. The book comprises twenty-five chapters, contributed by twenty-three academics and heritage professionals, including both established and emerging scholars. Rather than a linear historical narrative, it collects lively and creative original essays that will interest a broad range of readers—not only historians of architecture but also historians of art, landscape, gardens, the Enlightenment, and Scottish culture more broadly. The thematic format has the advantage of permitting readers to dip into those sections that may be particularly relevant to their interests.

In Section One, “Setting the Scene,” an introduction by Aonghus MacKechnie and an essay by Allan I. MacInnes provide useful historical context for those new to Scottish history, laying out the key political and economic developments of the period. MacKechnie articulates the simple premise that “This book is a story of Scotland’s early Classical architecture” (p. 3), but this narrative is complicated by the book’s thematic format, which necessitates a zigzagging back-and-forth between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Given its non-chronological format, the book might have benefited from a more clearly signposted introduction, linking the historical context with the essays that follow. A basic glossary of terms would also have been useful.

Section Two, “Classicism and the Castle,” examines the negotiation between Scottish tradition and modern classicism. Ian Campbell and John Lowrey explore architectural activity excited by the restoration in 1660 of the Stuart monarchy, which stimulated the rebuilding of Holyroodhouse, overseen by the royal architect Sir William Bruce. Campbell focuses on the main entrance to Holyroodhouse, with its paired Doric columns, arguing that these, while inspired in part by a modern classical source in their form, expressed the ideals of the restored Stuart monarchy through the continuity of their Solomonic symbolism. Considering Holyroodhouse and restoration buildings such as Glamis Castle, Leslie House, and Panmure House, Lowrey identifies a tension between modernity and tradition, with combined elements of classicism and Scottish castellation. MacKechnie investigates the impact of the political events of 1689 and 1707 on the Royal Works, while Iain Gordon Brown further identifies a “respect for continuity between past and future” (p. 102) in the architectural taste of the gentleman-amateur Sir John Clerk of Penicuik.

Section Three, “The Business of Building, Trades, Materials and Pattern Books,” demonstrates the impact of architectural interactions with England. Ali Davey and MacKechnie return to the 1660s and to Panmure House, Glamis Castle, and Holyrood to investigate stylistic developments in decorative Scottish ironwork, considering the impact of “the gradual cultural aligning with England” (p. 140). Focusing on the work of Thomas Albourn, William Bruce’s plasterer, William Napier explores the stylistic shift in post-Restoration Scotland to high-relief plasterwork ceilings—a fashion imported from England and influenced by Inigo Jones’s Banqueting Hall ceiling at Whitehall Palace—while Anna Serafini and Cristina González-Longo analyze technical developments in roof construction techniques, investigating the structures underlying decorated Scottish ceilings. Focusing on the genesis of Colen Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715–25) and James Gibbs’s *Book of Architecture* (1728), James Legard argues that it is time to reevaluate the importance of these Scottish émigré architects and their printed plate books for the development of English architecture.

In Section Four, “The Country House,” González-Longo reinvestigates drawings in the RIBA collection by James Smith, challenging extant interpretations to argue that Smith’s creative architectural approach and employment of unorthodox illustrative sources defy a Palladian classification. Focusing on the Duchess of Buccleuch’s return from England and refitting of Dalkeith Palace, Sally Jeffery presents new archival research that highlights the complex networks of people, influences, and resources involved in this process. By means of an examination of the letters of Ladies Panmure and Nairne, Clarisse Godard Desmarest demonstrates not only the “political acumen” (p. 234) of these Scottish noblewomen but also their active contribution to architecture, gardening, and land management. Rory Lamb reconsiders the plans for a house by amateur architect Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun, creatively overcoming their “apparent inconsistencies” (p. 267) by using a three-dimensional model to show Fletcher’s cosmopolitan architectural influences, both British and European. Dimitris Theodossopoulos reviews the work of John Douglas (c.1709–78), identifying in examples such as Archerfield House a creative and eclectic response to Gibbs’s *Book of Architecture* and an interest in the “aesthetic potential” of local stone (p. 267).

Section Five, “Gardens,” opens with Christopher Dingwall’s examination of Scottish country house policies between 1660 and 1750, including consideration of the influence of European fashions on Scottish landscaping in this period. Marilyn Brown explores the seventeenth-century terraced garden, showing that this feature responded not only to Scotland’s natural topography but also to contemporary political events and European fashions. Providing new analysis of a single vellum-bound notebook, Lowrey reevaluates the significance of Alexander Edward’s European tour (1701–2), detailing the vast and influential array of visual materials—prints and drawings of both gardens and buildings—that Edward brought back to Scotland for the use of his clients. Louisa Humm reassesses the place of William Adam in British garden history, aligning him with William Bruce and the “Scottish historical landscape” as well as early eighteenth-century works by Dezallier d’Argenville, Stephen Switzer, and Batty Langley, which “advocated a degree of informality and embracing of nature” (p. 377). Nick Haynes, too, examines the work of Adam, focusing on the linking “Roman” features he employed when remodeling Arniston House and its surrounding landscape.

Section Six, “Urban Architecture,” moves from country to town. Focusing on the work of Alexander McGill, James Gibbs, and Allan Dreghorn, Anthony Lewis examines developments in town housing and urban planning in early Georgian Glasgow, identifying in its public architecture a celebration of the city’s commercial success and an assertion of its flourishing status as a “modern British city” (p. 428). Deborah Mays considers three eighteenth-century university libraries—Thomas Burgh’s Trinity College Library in Dublin, William Adam’s Old College Library in Glasgow, and John Gardner’s King James I Library in St Andrews—discussing in broad terms their responses to European Classicism and “the various treatises then available” (p. 431). Giovanna Guidicini compares developments in communal living in Edinburgh Old Town and Venice, arguing that commercial concerns and spatial limitations demanded creative vertical architectural responses in both places. Godard Desmarest identifies a long-established tradition in eighteenth-century Edinburgh and Paris of purpose-built flats, which did not exist in England. David W. Walker examines William Adam’s public buildings, returning to Glasgow Old College Library and considering other examples in Aberdeen, Dundee, Sanquhar, Haddington, Hamilton, and Edinburgh and their sources in Gibbs’s *Book of Architecture* and Campbell’s *Vitruvius Britannicus*.

Well-illustrated with three-hundred images, many in color, this book contains an invaluable treasure-trove of archival and visual resources: maps, plans, paintings, drawings, engravings, letters, notebooks, and photographs. Its greatest strength, however, lies in the innovative approach to these sources, which the authors confidently mobilize to challenge accepted orthodoxies. In a stand-alone closing chapter, Ranald MacInnes emphasizes the importance of this revisionist approach. But rather than drawing together the multiple threads of fruitful inquiry advanced in the preceding chapters, MacInnes reconsiders the contribution of Robert Adam, leaving readers to draw their own conclusions. All in all, this substantial volume provides a spirited new resource that will surely stimulate vigorous conversation and excite further research in the field.

Wendy McGlashan, Independent Scholar

Vicky Coltman, *Art and Identity in Scotland: A Cultural History from the Jacobite Rising of 1745 to Walter Scott*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. xvi + 302.

This book is the product of more than fifteen years of meticulous research into eighty-seven years of Scottish history. It is not a history of art, antiquities, or artifacts; rather, it frames Scotland through forms of visual and material culture through which the author explores the nation’s identity. Vicky Coltman’s tools are mainly paintings, interiors, engravings, ceramics, furniture, sculpture, and jewelry. Here lies a study described as a “crucial period witnessed on the one hand, the latency of the Scottish nation state, while on the other, the growth of Britain’s empire with concurrent ideas about nationhood” (p. 3). Less a narrative of a period of Scottish history, Coltman’s research is presented as a series of vignettes, six within six chapters that focus on Scots abroad (Part I: “Beyond Scotland,” encompassing Scots in Europe, London, and the empire) and at home (Part II: “Within Scotland,” representing the geographies of the Highlands, Lowlands, and Borders). Organized in this way, the volume unfolds more as a collection of papers, albeit by a single author, than as a monograph.

In the first chapter, Coltman offers a bold way of beginning, investigating commissioned portraits of the Scottish elite on the Grand Tour, by way of Pompeo Batoni’s theatrical rendering of Colonel William Gordon,

complete with tartan as toga, military gear and emblems, and other overt symbols of heritage and empire. She reveals how this well-known painting does much more than portray the subject, and shows that this and other portraits are as important to the painters of aristocrats as to the aristocratic sitters. Some portraits include both the elite subject and his tutor, the latter of whom may be the center of interest. Perhaps here the book would have benefited from some consideration of George Turnbull's commentary on youth abroad from *A Treatise on Ancient Painting*.

Chapter 2, "Scots in London," delves into the career aspirations of Robert Adam and his firm, while uncovering rivalries with the Highlander George Steuart and the social networks of their times. This chapter in particular assumes the guise of a case study. Coltman investigates London Scots and other Lowlanders venturing into the Highlands and Islands, deemed exotic and "other" realms, and realized in engravings published by Thomas Penant and in Wedgwood pottery. These examples of visual culture are intended to capture the same enthusiasm documented in familiar travel literature and in James Macpherson's Ossianic poetry.

Chapter 3 highlights how travels to the East Indies represented a way for Scots to make their fortunes. Here the focus is on letter writing as yet another form of material culture, from which we see, among reports of everyday events, diet and foodstuff as part of the social politics of inclusion and exclusion. These letters uncover the identity of the Scot, more so than the Brit or European (p. 135).

Chapter 4 treads into the familiar territory of visuals associated with Charles Edward Stuart. Building on extensive research into memorabilia of the Prince and the Forty-Five, particularly glassware, Coltman investigates the iconography, symbols, metaphors, and tropes of enforced exile. She explicates ideas of relics becoming fetishes, as objects of memory rather than utility. Although her volume needs no further examples, as it is rich with them, songs and printed music might serve as useful tools for identifying and illustrating Scottishness, especially as a complement to the imagery of Jacobitism.

Chapter 5 is a splendid vignette of King George IV's visit to Edinburgh in August 1822. Coltman spotlights the importance of seeing and being seen from numerous vantage points, and her material culture of choice is dress and textiles, notably kilts and tartans. This chapter, as one would imagine, is loaded with engraved satire, particularly by the biting George Cruickshank.

The importance of Walter Scott as a moving force behind the King's one-of-a-kind sojourn to the North is continued in chapter 6. Coltman positions Scott as key in the reading of visual and material culture and makes him the lynchpin for literature, life, and arts within Scottish culture. A number of examples are taken from the rich imagery of Scott's novels, and analyses of literary text and visual interpretations are especially enlightening. The volume's conclusion delves into the controversy over public monuments and the country labeled as "Scott-land."

I have two criticisms of this splendid volume. First, since Coltman writes mainly for cultural theorists of material culture, her approach sometimes takes the reader into more byways than non-specialists may be able to appreciate. The introduction goes deeply into previous scholarship of social theory, and generalists, who may not be familiar with terms such as "thing theory" (p. 6), would benefit from more definitions and explanations. Second, since Coltman has employed a case study approach, with numerous excursions, a more substantial conclusion would be welcome. The existing finale is a brief extension of the state of affairs following Scott's death, with the conclusion that Scottish tourism owes a debt to the Borders Bard and that, as one would expect, there is little to conclude regarding a perceptible ahistorical Scottish style.

Art and Identity in Scotland is worthy of significant acclaim, especially for its revelation of fascinating primary sources: letters, speeches, periodical essays, journals, records and accounts of families, estates, and societies. This trove of documents and the many primary examples of visual and material culture are expertly interwoven into Coltman's thesis and are dissected in detail. The book features thirty-two color plates and sixty-six figures of all sorts, and the author's enthusiasm shines forth, especially in discussions of portraits. The careful reader with an abundance of time and curiosity will enjoy following Coltman's explorations with magnifying glass in hand.

Leslie Ellen Brown, Ripon College

John Bonehill, Anne Dulau Beveridge, and Nigel Leask, eds., *Old Ways New Roads: Travels in Scotland, 1720–1832*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2021. Pp. x + 230.

This exquisite book is a wonderful addition to scholarship on travel writing in Scotland in the long eighteenth century. Bringing together some of the most important scholarly voices writing on the subject today, the book documents how dramatic changes in the Scottish landscape were documented, evaluated, and perceived, primarily—but not exclusively—through travel writing. The coverage is impressive. Across eight chapters, the volume examines Scotland as a theatre of war, a source of natural history, an infrastructural project, a material world, and a picturesque landscape. John Bonehill, Anne Dulau Beveridge, and Nigel Leask have succeeded in marshaling together a wide range of cultural productions—including maps, sketches, and paintings—and applying an analytical lens to them in order to illuminate views of Scotland in the century before the Victorian era.

The result is an original and highly compelling exploration that updates many of our key notions of travel writing in the period. In a landmark exhibition held at the National Gallery of Scotland in 1978, curators James Holloway and Lindsay Errington explored the fascination of oil painters with the Scottish landscape. But with its

focus on the Victorian-era aesthetic and a relatively small artistic genre, that exhibition left the foundations of late nineteenth-century views largely unexplored. Scholarship by Kenneth McNeil, Juliet Shields, Anne Macleod, and others has subsequently filled in many gaps in our understanding, but *Old Ways New Roads* is a welcome addition to the field. Emerging from an exhibition at The Hunterian Museum in early 2021, the book is at pains to illustrate that cross-disciplinary expertise is required to make sense of the radical transformation of perceptions of Scotland and of Scotland's infrastructure across the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. What strikes the reader most is the astonishing depth and number of writers and artists who not only undertook the Highland Tour but wrote extensively on the subject. Putting them into conversation with each other, the chapters shift our understanding of the Highland Tour from a few familiar travelers to a much broader social and cultural phenomenon. The volume demonstrates that Scotland was not simply an arena for the application of Anglo-British and European objectivization; it was also a realm of historical, philosophical, and scientific inquiry.

After an introduction to the Highland Tour by Nigel Leask, the book is divided into four sections covering War, Antiquities, Custom and Improvement, and Picturesque Prospects and Literary Landscapes. Chapters by John Bonehill suggest that Scotland remained a theatre of war—and was viewed through a military and strategic lens—long after the immediate aftermath of the Forty-Five. Bonehill's contributions also explore the importance of amateur travel artists who have been neglected next to their professional contemporaries. Fredrik Albritton Jonsson analyzes the relationship between natural history and improvement, while chapters by Vicky Coltman and Christina Young explore the material culture of travel and aesthetic views of the Scottish landscape through panoramas and large-scale painted scenery. The final chapter—by Mary-Ann Constantine and Finola O'Kane—adds a critical comparative element with a chapter on travel in Wales and Ireland. Here the rest of the Atlantic Archipelago is offered as useful “points of triangulation” (p. 194) with which to explore the picturesque in Scotland.

These debates about identity contain some of the volume's most useful insights. Leask's introduction shows that the exposure of travelers to the Scottish landscape raised questions about “the place of the past in the modernising present, or indeed the place of Scotland and Scottishness in newly minted and contested ideas of British identity” (p. 3). Constantine and O'Kane's chapter likewise highlights the paradox that picturesque tours could both emphasize the visual, cultural, and linguistic differences between England and Scotland, Wales, and Ireland and simultaneously contribute to a wider “British” conceptualization of the four nations. The incongruities of this are particularly apparent in the caricatures of the Highland Fencible regiments sent to Ireland to suppress the 1798 Rebellion (pp. 206–207). Yet shadows of these wider arguments about “British” identity can be found throughout the volume and help to reveal the complexity of approaches to identity captured by an array of travelers and artists.

As effectively as the topic of identity is handled, however, the treatment of two other issues is less satisfactory. While some chapters are extraordinarily strong on the details of various tours and the processes by which their cultural productions reached wider audiences, others take a more academic and argumentative approach to their subjects. Both approaches have merit, but the inconsistency tends to inhibit the coherence of the volume and eviscerates some of its most engaging conclusions. A comprehensive concluding chapter might have helped to rectify this shortcoming and to have given the volume more intellectual punch.

The second issue is the lack of focus on the Scottish—particularly the Gaelic—population. Travel writers often either neglected the country's inhabitants or positioned them to indicate the contrast between southern progress and northern backwardness. The volume offers a robust challenge to these narratives and wisely castigates the picturesque approach of so many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century writers and artists. At the same time, it tends to ignore the potential agencies of Scotland's inhabitants in shifting the narrative gaze or providing a lens through which these tourists viewed Scotland's scenery. This neglect is combated fiercely by Hugh Cheape's exceptional chapter, which argues strongly for the commercial and infrastructural importance of the pre-military “Old Ways” in the Highlands and Islands and demands that historians pay better attention to the sources that do exist for Gaelic Scotland. As he writes, “Paucity of information or source material would customarily be pleaded for a neglect of...[past geographies] by earlier generations of historians, but such an excuse can no longer be proffered” (p. 53). Cheape's words are worthy of deep consideration as a salient reminder that it is possible to challenge and even overcome long established silences in the past. To an extent, modern scholarship on Scottish travel writing—and some of the chapters in this volume—run the risk of reifying the marginalization of certain voices even as they seek to explain why they were marginalized.

Yet this complaint is, perhaps, unfair. The authors and editors did not explicitly set out to recover marginal voices and, with the inclusion of Cheape's chapter, the volume is not ignorant of the problems of the visual and epistemological erasure of people from travel literature and art. And concerns about the volume's focus or force of argument are minor blemishes in an exceptional book. Taken as a whole, this volume is not only thoroughly researched but also spectacularly beautiful. The pages teem with beautiful illustrations, prints, maps, plans, and watercolors. Among the approximately three hundred images in the book—many of which are reproduced for the first time—are details from well-known maps such as David Watson and William Roy's Military Survey (1747–55) as well as lesser-known pen-and-pencil sketches by the Rev. John Sime (1806). The editors and authors have managed to achieve an impressive mixture of high-level scholarly insight in a coffee table book format. This is, in short, a landmark book—accessible, insightful, and aesthetically stunning.

Matthew Dziennik, United States Naval Academy

David Alston, *Slaves and Highlanders: Silenced Histories of Scotland and the Caribbean*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. Pp. xv + 365.

Scotland's historic connections with Atlantic slavery are becoming increasingly well known, amid a conspicuously imperial turn in the field of Scottish history. The historiography of the Scottish Highlands and Caribbean slavery is producing interesting and quite distinctive questions and so might already be described as a subfield. The major debate, following from T. M. Devine's question "Did Slavery Make Scotia Great?" (*Britain and the World*, 4.1, 2011), is economic in nature and concerns the extent to which slavery and its commerce shaped the development of the Scottish Highlands.

The Gàidhealtachd has been conceptualized (in a crude binary framework) as either colonized or colonizer. There is no doubt that some Gaels participated in the exploitation of enslaved people across the British West Indies, and some of this wealth returned to the Scottish Highlands. Exactly how much is a matter of debate. Over the last twenty years, the work of David Alston has transformed understandings of the role of Highland Scots in the Dutch and British colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo. Alston's new book is firmly in the "colonizers" side of the debate.

Slaves and Highlanders is part of Edinburgh University Press's new hybrid academic trade series. The book includes commentary on Alston's journey as one of the pioneering historians in the field of Scottish slavery studies since 2000, as well as the modern acknowledgment of this history. This work is narrative academic history alongside partisan political commentary, an unusual mix for a historical work produced by a university press. It has four sections. Part One focuses on the Highland role in the trafficking of African enslaved people and plantation slavery (with case studies of Jamaica, Grenada, and the Ceded Islands). Part Two covers Alston's more familiar ground of Scots in Guyana. Part Three deals with the legacy of slavery in northern Scotland. Part Four ends the book with a section titled "Reckonings." The book has two central arguments: (1) Highlanders were extensively culpable and complicit in Caribbean slavery, and (2) these activities helped develop the Scottish Highlands. The author's recent publicity for the book (as quoted in *The Press and Journal*, 30 Sept. 2021) argued that if Scotland becomes independent, the Scottish Government has a moral obligation to pay reparations to Caribbean countries and should be factoring legacy issues from the British Empire into current political debates. Alston claims that "the entanglement with slavery permeated society. Asking who benefited from slavery is like asking who benefited from North Sea oil."

The work is centered around Scottish sojourners, although—as the title suggests—ample attention is devoted to recovering the lives of the enslaved in Scotland and the Caribbean. The author refers to the "fortunate few" (p. 107): the unrepresentative Scots who survived in the West Indies to earn great wealth. In an earlier article in *Transactions of the Gaelic Society of Inverness* (63, 2002–4), Alston also posed the question of "very rapid and splendid fortunes," based on correspondence claiming that an individual was reputed to have made £40,000 in one trip to Demerara (though he was generally skeptical about the availability of such wealth). His new book contains several tables presenting data but no quantitative analysis of sojourning economics. Clarifying exactly how many Highland Scots actually acquired "splendid fortunes," rather than descriptive case studies of their activities, would have been a major historiographical contribution.

This book ostensibly provides a regional analysis supporting the main thesis advanced by Eric Williams in his classic *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944): that Atlantic commerce and slavery were central to the progress and timing of the British Industrial Revolution. But Alston gives little consideration to Williams's "decline thesis" (pp. 187, 213). Williams principally argued that the *slave trade* was abolished due to the decline of the West India economy after the American Revolution in 1776, which made the abolition of *plantation slavery* more convenient in 1834. Alston refers only to plantation slavery, and while technically accurate, misses the nuances of Williams's arguments. Moreover, it is almost universally accepted that Williams was wrong about the "decline thesis." Abolition passed in 1807 when plantation slavery was still profitable. And both Nick Draper and Trevor Burnard conclude that the West India economy remained vibrant into the 1820s. Given this book's focus on the third-phase colonies of Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo, there is a missed opportunity to intervene in the historiography of Atlantic slave economies in the era of supposed decline.

The argument that Atlantic commerce, and chattel slavery, substantially contributed to the development of the Scottish Highland economy remains contentious. The claim that the merchant firm Sandbach Tinne had "largely Highland origins" (p. 189) is true. But the firm was never based in the Highlands; instead, a predecessor firm (McInroy, Parker & Company) operated in Glasgow from 1801, and what became the main firm relocated to Liverpool. And only three or four of Sandbach Tinne's fourteen co-partners were Highlanders (www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/firm/view/1845837138). There is no evidence that the multiplier effects of mercantile commerce—via investments of merchant capital or large-scale ancillary manufacturing processes—substantially contributed to regional development. Some Highland industries, such as linen, "slave cloth" production, and fisheries, can be described as part of the Atlantic slave economy, and there are justifiable questions about the complicity of a proportion of the wider society. But the only employment statistics provided suggest that 1850 people worked in ancillary industries in Inverness and Cromarty in the early 1800s (p. 223). Since these figures constitute less than one percent of the Highland-Hebrides population in that period, the reader is left wondering if the Atlantic slave economy was a key

employer in northern Scotland and the Highlands at all. I am even less persuaded that slavery-derived wealth substantially contributed to the development of regional banking. Alston claims that John Ross of Berbice was a “key figure” in the development of the Caledonian Bank, which was “in part established on the profits of slavery” (pp. 227–28). Yet how much wealth Ross invested, if any, or what proportion compared to the bank’s capital, remains unclear. This shortcoming exemplifies the book’s descriptive approach, which rarely quantifies the scale and significance of slavery-related activities.

In my opinion, this work’s case studies do not provide convincing evidence that profits derived from slavery were *widespread* across the Scottish Highlands, or that there were significant trickle-down effects, or even that the Atlantic slave economy was a key factor in regional development. The descriptive approach invites the classic critique leveled against some historians who have endorsed the Williams thesis: that they overemphasize the importance of Atlantic commerce, and by extension chattel slavery, relative to the development of wider processes. Alston’s case-study methodology does not lend itself to a “big picture” regional analysis, which the book claims to present. In fact, the book’s lack of analytical context leaves the reader wondering how representative the individual examples really are, which was also the major criticism leveled at *Capitalism and Slavery*. This book will convince few of the many detractors of the Williams thesis, and perhaps even some adherents of the view that Atlantic slavery shaped the British economy, like me, will remain somewhat skeptical.

But this scholarly critique does not mean the book should not be read. Alston’s strength lies in-microhistories of Scots abroad and the sophisticated accounts of the enslaved in both Scotland and the West Indies. This is an important, well-written work that provides the first book-length analysis of Scots in Demerara, Essequibo, and Berbice (as well as Suriname). It is valuable not for the answers it provides but for the questions it poses about the role of Highlanders in Caribbean slavery, the complicity of residents in peripheral regions of the expansive Atlantic slave economy, the responsibility of devolved nations for the historical role of their people in the British Empire, and the legal and moral duties of independent nations (if Great Britain is ever broken up), as well as questions about the acknowledgment of slavery in Scotland’s heritage sector and civic society. *Slaves and Highlanders* will become a staple of undergraduate reading lists on Scotland and Atlantic slavery and will be widely read by the general public. It should also generate quantitatively based scholarly challenges for years to come.

Stephen Mullen, University of Glasgow

Kirsten Sandrock, *Scottish Colonial Literature: Writing the Atlantic, 1603–1707*. Edinburgh Critical Studies in Atlantic Literatures and Cultures. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. Pp. 229.

The twin background of a nation that was hitherto uninvolved with colonial projects and a trope of the ubiquitous Scot immersed in the enterprises of other nations forms the backdrop to efforts in the seventeenth century to articulate a specifically “Scottish” argument for colonizing schemes. In *Scottish Colonial Literature*, Kirsten Sandrock delves into the literary works that accompanied the promotion of Scottish colonial efforts in the seventeenth century and the “vision” of the Atlantic world that was cultivated and spread within domestic literary productions. Although the primary case studies will be familiar to scholars in this area, namely the settlements of Nova Scotia, East New Jersey, and New Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien, Sandrock presents a new and nuanced reading of the conceptual framework behind each project, contending that the argumentative structures and aesthetic representation they describe link the Atlantic with Scottish utopian thought.

The work situates Scottish Atlantic activities in a “framework of larger transnational power struggles” (p. 12). The emphasis is on the literary tropes of domestic dispossession, which justified the dispossession and subjugation of others through the idealization of colonial expansion. One of the most fascinating aspects of this work is the way it supplements the limited materials that directly bear on Scottish colonial projects with a close reading of wider literary traditions. In the second chapter, on Nova Scotia, Sandrock’s examination of William Alexander’s *Encouragement to Colonies* (1624) draws on Alexander’s poem *Doomes-day* (1614), which credits Providence with the design for Jacobean Britain to settle America. Alongside the discussion of other colonial texts, this view of Alexander as poet, courtier, and colonial projector allows Sandrock to draw the settlement of Nova Scotia into a wider dialogue on Scottish colonial thought about social reform, colonialism as a measure of cultural distance between cultures (p. 33), and Stuart empire building. Similarly, the third chapter, on the Scottish Quaker settlement of East New Jersey in the 1680s, is prefaced with an extended analysis of post-Reformation Scottish stage-plays and closet dramas. It is fair to question what significant conclusions may be drawn about a “Scottish vision” of the Atlantic through texts that exemplify the difficulty of determining what can be considered representative in this time period. Thomas Sydsenf, Jr.’s *Tarugo’s Wiles: Or, the Coffee House* (1667), for example, was written by a Scot but is an adaptation of a Spanish play and first premiered in London before the first coffee house was opened in Scotland. And yet, such works are of inestimable value in outlining a common understanding of colonial systems among the literate public and the role of literature in reflecting and cultivating an active appetite for the products of plantations.

Much has been made of William Paterson’s description of the Isthmus of Darien as the “door of the seas and the keys of the universe,” which might allow the possessors to “give laws to both oceans” without contracting the “guilt and blood...[of] Alexander and Caesar” (*A Proposal to Plant a Colony in Darien; To Protect the Indians*

against Spain; and to Open the Trade of South America to All Nations, 1701). The latter point interestingly mirrors the language of William Alexander's earlier *Encouragement to Colonies*. However, while the Scottish settlement on Darien was on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus, both the Company of Scotland and the colony of New Caledonia present a challenge to Sandrock's argument that they are a locus of Scottish Atlantic utopian thought because so many of the published arguments and poetic works in their favor can be seen as post-hoc rationalizations. India, rather than the Indies, looms large in the contemporary imagination. Walter Harris [Herries], a member of the first expedition to Darien who later wrote polemics against the enterprise, claims in his *Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien* (1700) that the initial proposal put forward by Paterson in London spoke only of trade with India, "taking no Notice of *Darien*." It was this initial focus on India that apparently inveigled Harris to join the undertaking, attracted investors eager to avoid English monopoly laws, and secured the enmity of the English East India Company against it. When news of the first settlement's collapse reached Scottish shores in late 1699, advocates for Scottish social and industrial reform, such as the author of *A Serious Advice to the African and Indian Company* (Edinburgh, 1700), recommended that the Company direct its efforts toward developing the Scottish fisheries, transforming the maritime Atlantic into "an *India* at our *Doors*." When the Company of Scotland dispatched ships in 1701 to try to salvage their fortunes following the collapse of the Darien venture, they met their unfortunate ends in the Indian Ocean rather than the Atlantic (Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650–1790*, 2002). There is a danger, then, that the methodological framing of Scottish colonial activities as a utopian vision of the Atlantic limits the global scope of what the Company of Scotland declared as its intentions: "Saint-Andrew's Flag then without delay / We'll over all the World display" (*Trade's Release: or, Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company*, ?1699).

Darien as focal point of a utopian dream only flourished in print in retrospect, after the colonists had already landed. No sooner had the scheme's supporters lauded the virtues of the enterprise than they had to contend with the news of the first settlement's collapse, which arrived in Scotland as the second wave of settlers departed. Perhaps for this reason, Sandrock's attention to the literary afterlife of the colony, which has endured even into the twenty-first century, is one of the most intriguing aspects of the book: it addresses the vast disconnect between the vaunted expectations that surrounded the Company's promoted goals and the lived reality of the Darien colonists. Artistic and ideological entanglements compromised the collection of accurate information just as the political machinations that followed the scheme's collapse have continued to influence subsequent readings of the scheme itself.

The absence of the Ulster and Munster plantations in Sandrock's argument is justified on the grounds that the literature on the Scottish settlements of North and Central America emphasizes their "Scottishness" (p. 17) and thus relates more closely to the work's argument. Yet, in both Robert Gordon's *Encouragement for New Galloway* (1625) and George Scot's *The Model of the Government of the Province of East-New-Jersey* (1685), Scotland's involvement in the "plantation of Ireland" seems an inescapable foundation to any argument about a vision of a Scottish colonial Atlantic as a precedent for Scottish westward travel and expansion.

Even as the bounds of the scholarship are defined by the materials available, another strength of this book is its awareness of the other peoples impacted by the enactment of the rhetoric surrounding Scottish Atlantic enterprises. This sensitivity is especially evident in the closing chapters, with the intentional blurring of colonial and national narratives from the Company of Scotland's supporters following the collapse of the Darien scheme and the later Acts of Union. Amid this merging of the colonial and national narratives, Sandrock challenges the framing of the Darien scheme's collapse as the "Darien Disaster" and other linguistic paradigms that unconsciously link "successful" colonial settlements in the history of European empire building with positive cultural and national advancement. The role of Darien as both a romantic and traumatic moment in the history of Scottish empire building, which preceded sizable political upheavals in early eighteenth-century Scotland, is such that it endures within subsequent revisionist renderings in the twenty-first century, as outlined in chapter 4. Thus, *Scottish Colonial Literature* offers a worthwhile introduction to the literature of Scottish colonial adventures in the seventeenth century as well as the potential to reorient discussion of Scots and empire in the eighteenth century and beyond.

C. Alasdair Macfarlane, Independent Scholar

Kenneth McNeil, *Scottish Romanticism and Collective Memory in the British Atlantic*. Edinburgh Critical Studies in Romanticism. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. Pp. viii + 375.

In this broad and detailed study, Kenneth McNeil offers new insights into some of the most pertinent themes in Scottish Romanticism. The traditional reading of key texts against the backdrop of an ever-changing Scotland is there, but so too is the British Empire in the Atlantic world, analyzed with contemporary issues in mind. The Scottish Enlightenment, transatlantic slavery, and the Highland Clearances are all connected across five case studies, themselves underpinned with theories of memory.

In the introduction, McNeil sets his stall clearly: identifying "memory" as a crucial aspect not only of the works he proposes to discuss but also of our understanding of their impact on audiences on both sides of the Atlantic. In the author's words, Scottish Romantic writers "were uniquely positioned to shape a historical consciousness imagined as memory in Great Britain" and "in the emergent nations and colonial settlements of North America" (p.

9). What follows is an ideal handling of the key scholars, terminologies, and research questions that drive memory studies as a field, and how memory can open new perspectives in Romanticism. Crucially, McNeil explains Maurice Halbwachs's foundational theories of "collective memory" before Jan Assmann split the term into "communicative" and "cultural," and how several terms have come to be used interchangeably (p. 28 n. 2).

The first chapter centers around Walter Scott and his most influential work, *Waverley* (1814). The importance of *Waverley* is well-sketched, but the emphasis is duly placed on the afterlife of the work, which, for McNeil, is situated perfectly in the transitional moment from communicative to cultural memory (p. 44). In other words, the Forty-Five is within living memory, but only just and, unlike some of Scott's other historical novels set in the distant past, the opportunity for melancholia, feeling, and belonging is heightened in *Waverley*. The first "aftermaths" of the work are Robert Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh* (1825) and Henry Cockburn's *Memorials of his Time* (1856), which "provided a new retrospective cast for the vogue in memoir and autobiographical writing in the period" (p. 48). Across the Atlantic, McNeil traces the influence of Scott and the mode he helped popularize in the works of Washington Irving, John Neal, and Philippe-Joseph Aubert de Gaspé, who enact a "surrogation of memory...of Culloden and its aftermath" (p. 78).

In chapter 2 the focus is on Anne Grant, whose reliance on personal memory and her shrewd observations of various types of people in Scotland and North America make for a convincing study of key Romantic regions. Her *Letters from the Mountains* (1807) and *Memoirs of an American Lady* (1808), as well as her *Essays* (1811), are examined in great detail, and McNeil picks out key moments of contact between indigenous people, settlers, and colonizers with a view to understanding Grant's emphasis on commonality. The conflicting mode in her work—between Highlanders being inseparable from their locale of suffering and being able to transplant memories in "new soil" (p. 117)—takes the reader into new realms of memory where displacement is concerned, while setting the scene for the next chapter.

In chapter 3 "Native Memory and Resettlement" is given further attention through Thomas Douglas, fifth Earl of Selkirk, and his *Observations on the Present State of the Highlands of Scotland* (1805). McNeil considers the proposed "National Settlements" described in *Observations*, and the opportunities for the distinctive Highland way of life—"no longer tenable in the Highlands itself"—to be rebooted in the New World (p. 146). Lord Selkirk's work contrasts with Alexander Campbell's *The Grampians Desolate* (1804), a combination of verse and explanatory prose, in which the trope of the wandering Gael is used to cast the Highlands as "a landscape of ghosts that will be forever haunted by the memory of the natives who were compelled into exile" (p. 157).

Chapter 4 embraces the popular and often contentious issue of slavery and its remembrance. It begins by challenging the notion that Scotland has forgotten its ties with slavery, locating commemorative efforts and studies since at least 2007. The point that there is an imbalance, favoring Scotland's anti-slavery stance over the swagger of Scots in the British Empire, is well made. McNeil then looks at the works of John Gabriel Stedman (1744–1797) and Thomas Pringle (1789–1834). The reading of Stedman's *Narrative of a Five Years Expedition against the Revolted Negroes of Surinam* (1796) via Smith and Hume on sympathy helps align colonial thinking with the direction of the Scottish Enlightenment. As Stedman is shown to control the direction of sympathy (p. 217), so too is Pringle in his *History of Mary Prince* (1831). In the second part of this chapter McNeil brings in Donald Macleod's bitter and embattled *Gloomy Memories of the Highlands of Scotland* (1857), in which Macleod competes with Harriet Beecher Stowe's travel memoir *Sunny Memories of Foreign Lands* over whose trauma was worse: enslaved Africans or Highland Scots through clearance, therefore carrying "a troubling residue of racist apology for enslavement" (p. 256).

In the final chapter McNeil looks at the Scottish author and colonist John Galt. The initial focus on Galt's chief work, *Annals of the Parish* (1821), helps to contextualize Galt's own brand of historical fiction—often seen in opposition to Walter Scott's—and illustrates yet more intriguing points about memory. Throughout a fifty-year period, the exploits of empire are shown to press in on the parish of Dalmailing. The narrating minister relies on the powers of his own memory, "with no recourse to archival material, diary or journal, or any written documents" (p. 280). Attention then turns to Galt's emigrant novels *Lawrie Todd* (1830) and *Bogle Corbet* (1831), which "stand as the capstone to Atlantic memorialist writing by Scots in the Romantic era, as they assume the mantle of cultural memory" (p. 326). This cross-examination, together with excerpts from Galt's autobiographical writings, is an ideal case study of collective memory informing literature and being preserved there, passed down later in the form of cultural memory.

Taken on their own, the case studies and texts are handled in a thoroughly convincing manner, gelling together to cover serious ground in the Romantic period. The real strength of the work, however, is the persistent—but never overbearing—reference to memory as a theoretical framework. McNeil expertly reads memory as a narrative device in the works he explores, before widening the critical lens to include the associated collective memory, on both sides of the Atlantic, revealing new aspects of these key themes and their interconnectedness.

Craig Lamont, University of Glasgow

Martin Clagett, *A Spark of Revolution (1734–1775): William Small, Thomas Jefferson, and James Watt: The Curious Connection between the American Revolution and the Industrial Revolution*. Bellevue, WA: Clyde Hill Publishing, 2022. Pp. xxxiv + 356.

This is an intriguing book. Opening a short introductory piece called “A Two-Continents Job,” the distinguished scholar of Scottish-American relations Garry Wills writes: “It is not surprising that William Small is little known today. He died young (age 41) and wrote nothing important.” However, he goes on to pay generous tribute to Martin Clagett, who “at last gives Small his due, which was long overdue. Historical accidents have long kept Small hidden from most of us, but not from Clagett.” On the face of it, Small is only remembered today—if at all—by the happy chance that he became a close friend of three men who achieved lasting fame: Thomas Jefferson, James Watt, and to a lesser extent Benjamin Franklin. It is the central achievement of this book to make Small memorable on his own account.

Most of us who have at least heard of Small owe that fact to Jefferson. Writing his autobiography in 1821 at the age of 77, Jefferson recounted his debt to Small, his tutor at the College of William and Mary in Williamsburg, Virginia, during the early 1760s. Small “probably fixed the destinies of my life,” he wrote. The passage is worth quoting in full:

It was my great good fortune, and what probably fixed the destinies of my life that Dr. Wm. Small of Scotland was then professor of mathematics, a man profound in the most useful branches of science, with a happy talent of communication, correct and gentlemanly manners, and an enlarged and liberal mind. He most happily for me, became soon attached to me and made me his daily companion when not engaged in school, and from his conversations I got my first views of the expansion of science and of the system of things in which we are placed. Fortunately the philosophical chair became vacant soon after my arrival at college, and he was appointed to fill it per interim; and he was the first whoever gave regular lectures in ethics, rhetoric and belles-lettres.

But how did Small, a Scotsman, come to have such a profound influence on Jefferson?

Born in 1734 in Carmylie a hamlet situated between Arbroath and Dundee, Small attended Dundee Grammar School and in 1751 matriculated at Marischal College, Aberdeen, as it was emerging as one of the most advanced educational institutions in Britain. While not abandoning the traditional study of Latin and Greek and the ancient philosophers, it was focusing more on the scientific and intellectual world pioneered by Francis Bacon and Sir Isaac Newton. So Small experienced a new curriculum allied to a new emphasis on professorial teaching of individual classes. The academic figures who were crucial in shaping his intellectual development included William Duncan (mathematics and natural philosophy), Alexander Gerard (logic, ethics, and metaphysics), and Dr. John Gregory (medicine, which he later taught at the University of Edinburgh). Clagett describes Gregory as Small’s most influential mentor in Aberdeen, and he may well have apprenticed under him in the medical profession at St. George’s Hospital in London.

In 1758 Small was appointed professor of mathematics at the College of William and Mary, which at that time was struggling to survive. Traditionally, the college had been run by English Anglican clergymen, but the local Board of Visitors was determined to push for radical change. Small was neither an Englishman nor a cleric and was the son of a Presbyterian minister. His colleagues at the college proved worthless, spending most of their time arguing with each other or drinking with students. In his years at William and Mary, Small made fundamental changes in the curriculum and in teaching methods. It was a one-man effort: in the two years of Jefferson’s residence, Small taught all the subjects and all the students. Small and Jefferson were close in terms of age, and it is clear that they soon shared a world of intellectual excitement on equal terms. It was through his friendship with Small that Jefferson was introduced to Williamsburg’s wider intellectual world, which had developed under the leadership of the Lt. Governor, Francis Fauquier. Benjamin Franklin was among those he met there, and he would certainly have participated in the various clubs and scientific societies that Small had set up to promote civic improvement and encourage the arts and manufactures. The friendship between Small and Franklin would last until Small’s death.

In 1764 Small’s life once again changed dramatically. In that year William and Mary’s Board of Visitors commissioned him to return to London to purchase scientific apparatus for the college. He settled in London in a street close to where Franklin lived and decided not to return to America. Through Franklin he was soon put in touch with Matthew Boulton, an industrial entrepreneur in Birmingham who was looking for someone with a scientific background to help him develop his Soho factory. That was the role Small played in this, the final period of his life. He became a regular presence and leading member of the prosperous city’s Lunar Society, where Birmingham’s industrialists, merchants, inventors, and intellectuals met to discuss and debate. Erasmus Darwin was a member, and James Watt would soon become one.

In 1767 Watt visited Boulton’s technologically advanced Soho factory in Birmingham. As Boulton happened to be out of town, Small showed Watt around. The two men hit it off immediately, and Small worked tirelessly to persuade Boulton to hire Watt and invest in the development of his hugely important steam engine. Small seems also to have suggested significant improvements to Watt’s original design. Boulton wanted Watt to leave Glasgow and settle in Birmingham. Watt’s wife, however, was unwilling to leave Scotland, and it was not until after her death in 1773 that Watt finally made the move. In these years Small also became the leading figure in a

campaign to obtain a government-sanctioned monopoly for Watt's steam engine. Only in 1775 was an Act of Parliament finally passed extending Watt's patent for twenty-five years. However, in that year Small died at the early age of forty-one.

Jefferson's generous words about how much he owed the Scotsman will always be William Small's principal memorial, but Martin Clagett's splendid book has at last done justice to his remarkable career.

Andrew Hook, University of Glasgow

Carolyn Eastman, *The Strange Genius of Mr. O.: The World of the United States' First Forgotten Celebrity*. Williamsburg, VA: Omohundro Institute of Early American Culture, and Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2021. Pp. x + 348.

The Strange Genius of Mr. O. is a well-crafted biography of a peculiar and obscure historical character. Mr. O, or James Ogilvie, was a Scot from Aberdeenshire and a graduate of the University of Aberdeen during the Scottish Enlightenment. Seeing more opportunities for wealth and fame in America than at home, Ogilvie emigrated to Virginia in 1793 at the age of twenty. He worked long hours as an enthusiastic teacher and tutor on many subjects for youngsters in several places before achieving the enviable assignment to educate the grandson of his friend President Thomas Jefferson. Ogilvie, to one degree or another, shared several values and characteristics with Jefferson. Both were strong advocates of a republican form of government supported by a well-educated populous. Both expressed admiration for the ideals if not the excesses of the French Revolution. Ogilvie, although the son and grandson of Presbyterian ministers, went from being a religious skeptic to an avowed atheist, which often got him into trouble. Jefferson was far more discreet in keeping his doubts to himself. Both men craved public adulation. To achieve success, Ogilvie emphasized elocution and public speaking to stir the masses, as opposed to Jefferson's talent for face-to-face persuasion. Ogilvie emerged as the national champion of oratory in the classical tradition. While Jefferson became a giant of American politics, Ogilvie tried a very different way to reach the public. He went onto the theatrical stage, not as an actor in plays, but rather as an orator in one-man performances.

Carolyn Eastman portrays James Ogilvie as arguably the earliest non-military, non-political, and non-religious celebrity in the United States. She might have further claimed that the Scot originated the American cultural style now called "edutainment": the presentation of factual material in a highly amusing, appealing, or attractive manner. He could preach powerfully and inspire greatly, but on secular not theological topics. Nor did Ogilvie deliver professorial lectures; he stood and delivered to paying audiences instead of captive students. A tall and thin man, he commanded attention dressed in a Roman toga as though he were the reincarnation of Cicero. His voice was resonant and resounding with only an engaging trace of a Scottish accent. He employed numerous hand and body gestures, like actors such as Edmund Kean and Edwin Booth somewhat later. Ogilvie gave serious orations on matters of public interest but stayed away from controversial topics like religion, partisan politics, and slavery.

With the growth of American cities and the expanding early West, Ogilvie packed assembly halls with attentive audiences who listened in rapture and enjoyed an evening of mental stimulation and emotional delight. Ogilvie's performances from Boston to Charleston and from Philadelphia to the Kentucky frontier were widely acclaimed and reported by newspapers. His coming to town was often heralded like the arrival of the circus. People paid up to a dollar, the daily wage of many working Americans, to hear him. He was the equivalent of a rock star in the America of the first two decades of the nineteenth century. Ogilvie deserves credit for igniting the mass market that later produced the lyceum movement and still later the Chautauqua circuit. He popularized a form of edutainment that brought fame and influence far beyond what he ever achieved himself for such great American public speakers as Ralph Waldo Emerson, Frederick Douglass, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and William Jennings Bryan.

The same exuberance and energy that contributed so much to Ogilvie's success likewise led to his demise, as has happened to so many pop stars. Although Ogilvie usually avoided religious comments, he occasionally let his atheistic opinions slip out, with disastrous results. Audiences that adored him when he told them what they already believed could anger turn on him when he offended them.

Ogilvie embraced the bellicose American patriotism of the War of 1812 and increasingly called himself an American. He hit a high point delivering an oration in the Capitol Rotunda not long before the British army burned it. Yet fashions change over time, and Ogilvie and his exaggerated oratorical style became outdated. He lost friends, valuable business connections, and favorable press coverage. As his business declined, so did he. Having traveled extensively in the age of stagecoaches and appearing on platforms night after night, he wore out and suffered extreme fatigue, both physical and emotional. He became a heavy user of laudanum, the favorite opioid of his time. Most debilitating was his chronic manic-depression. Having exhausted his American admirers as well as himself, Ogilvie returned to Great Britain in 1817. He thought he could revive his career, but he failed to live up to his own hype in London and Edinburgh. Feeling like an abject failure as a professional orator and public performer, he committed suicide near Perth on 12 September 1820.

Like most biographers, Eastman follows a chronological approach to her subject. Her most interesting chapters, however, are the thematic ones on laudanum, an elixir of alcohol and opium, and melancholy, the prevailing mental illness of pre-Freudian psychiatry. I would have further enjoyed more discussion of the nature of celebrity in the nineteenth century, especially compared with what we see today. Apparently great talent comes with

great self-doubts, and past success only breeds the fear of future failure. High expectations can kill. *The Strange Genius of Mr. O.* fills a long-neglected niche in our understanding of American culture in the Early Republic, and its author is to be congratulated for bringing to life the unusual career of her Scottish subject.

Stephen M. Millett, Independent Scholar

Kevin DeYoung, *The Religious Formation of John Witherspoon: Calvinism, Evangelicalism, and the Scottish Enlightenment*. Routledge Studies in Evangelicalism. New York: Routledge, 2020. Pp. 211.

In his introduction, Kevin DeYoung contends that the Scottish-American John Witherspoon should be known as a “Reformed apologist” (p. 5), a position he maintained throughout his life. He also critiques the vast number of secondary works on Witherspoon and discusses his primary works as historiographical background for the readers of his book. DeYoung then outlines Witherspoon’s Scottish ministry on five topics: late Reformed orthodoxy, evangelicalism, eighteenth-century disputes in the church, the Enlightenment, and Witherspoon’s career in America, including the question of whether or not he experienced an intellectual sea change by crossing the Atlantic Ocean in 1768.

Chapter 1 examines Witherspoon’s persistent adherence to the theology of evangelical Calvinism. DeYoung points out that John Calvin was not alone in creating the Reformed tradition but was assisted by a number of noted concurrent theologians, most notably the Geneva scholars Francis Turretin (1623–87) and his nephew Benedict Pictet (1665–1724). He also clarifies the use of the term “scholastic” to mean method, not content. In short, scholastic indicates “an academic style and method of discourse, not a particular theology or philosophy” (p. 32). Finally, he notes that although there were critical contrasts between early and later Reformed theologians, there was “a shared confessional and exegetical tradition or orthodoxy that can be traced throughout the development of Reformed dogmatics from the second half of the sixteenth century well into the eighteenth century” (p. 3).

Chapter 2 raises the question of whether or not Witherspoon was even an evangelical. He was rarely mentioned in works on the Great Awakening and stayed in the background. He sympathized with evangelicals such as the great Anglo-American revivalist George Whitefield and the Wesley brothers. He also sympathized with John Erskine, George Muir, and other fellow members of the Popular Party in opposing the anti-enthusiastic members of the Moderate Party whom Witherspoon satirized in his celebrated *Ecclesiastical Characteristics* (1753). He was also sympathetic to revivalist meetings, the Holy Fairs in Scotland and America, the most famous of which in Scotland was the Cambuslang Wark (1742). That Witherspoon was an evangelical can be as seen in his 1756 work, *Essay on the Connexion between the Doctrine of Justification by the Imputed Righteousness of Christ, and Holiness of Life*. (p. 67). When Witherspoon emigrated to America in 1768, it was natural that he would join the evangelical New Side Presbyterians in New Jersey.

Chapter 3 places Witherspoon in the environment of Scottish religious life with his ministries at Beth (1745–57)—where he also published *Essay on Justification* (1756) and *A Serious Enquiry into the Nature and Effects of the Stage* (1757)—and Paisley (1757–68), where he published *A Practical Treatise on Regeneration* (1764), *The History of the Corporation of Servants* (1765), and several sermons. All were successful, but he faced disappointments in church affairs. Although he was loved by his followers and published many works and achieved stature in the Kirk, he was involved in several controversies with the Moderates over church discipline (regarding adultery) and church politics (regarding patronage and the settlement of ministers). Sometimes Witherspoon himself caused such controversies, as in the Snodgrass affair in 1762. Although Popular Party ministers continued to insist on traditional church discipline through the local kirk sessions, society was prospering under Moderate leadership and increasingly rejecting existing church discipline. The same was true of preaching. Witherspoon’s preaching was “old style” evangelical, whereas the modern approach was the homiletics of Hugh Blair and other Moderate ministers who softened traditional doctrine. This led to Witherspoon’s pessimistic conclusion about the present and future of true religion in Scotland.

Chapter 4 examines Witherspoon’s relationship to the moral philosophy of his time. DeYoung asserts that Witherspoon engaged the Scottish Enlightenment mainly as an Orthodox Presbyterian cleric. While he did cite “common sense” in his philosophy lectures, DeYoung shows the ways in which Witherspoon’s beliefs in conscience or moral sense, reason, and true virtue and true religion were based more on the natural theology of traditional Calvinism than on Francis Hutcheson’s sentimental moral theory. As for conscience or moral sense, Witherspoon is quoted as follows from his *Lectures on Moral Philosophy*: “The moral sense is precisely the same thing with what, in scripture and common language, we call conscience. It is the law which our Maker has written upon our hearts, and both intimates and enforces duty, previous to all reasoning” (p.78). Witherspoon, the Reformed apologist, also thought that reason performed a significant role in our scrutiny of nature. He argued that reason and Scripture worked hand-in-hand to advance God’s truth upon the soul. On the contested relationship between true virtue and true religion, Witherspoon held to traditional Reformed principles that man could only be really good with God.

Chapter 5 discusses Witherspoon’s work in America as church leader, college president, college professor, minister, revolutionary politician, and theologian. This topic is already well known, as is the view that he did not experience a “sea change” in his ideas in America. The conclusion of the book analyzes Witherspoon’s power-

ful sermon of 17 May 1776, *The Dominion of Providence Over the Passions of Men*, which emphasizes the fundamental relationship between true religion and civil liberty.

DeYoung's book is the best volume I have read on Witherspoon's theology. Its arguments are strong, and the writing is excellent. It would have been helpful to know what roles John Knox and Samuel Rutherford played in the history of Reformed theology in Scotland, but this is a minor issue that does not detract from this fine work.

Roger Fechner, Adrian College

R. J. W. Mills and Craig Smith, eds., *The Scottish Enlightenment: Human Nature, Social Theory and Moral Philosophy: Essays in Honour of Christopher J. Berry*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. Pp. xiii + 250.

The editors of this volume have brought together a diverse and gifted set of contributors to craft a wide-ranging collection of often-fascinating essays dedicated to honoring Christopher J. Berry's contributions to the study of the Scottish Enlightenment. The volume will be of great interest to specialists in the field, both for the quality of the individual essays and for the glimpse they provide of the scope and magnitude of Berry's influence. For those newer to the study of the Scottish Enlightenment, the volume opens a gateway into its rich history and legacy.

In a generous and—given its aim of summarizing Christopher Berry's published contributions to the study of the Scottish Enlightenment—remarkably succinct introduction to the volume, R. J. W. Mills and Craig Smith set the stage for the essays that follow. Through discussion of Berry's major writings in chronological order, they identify key themes, arguments, and concepts that have shaped Berry's vision of the major Scottish thinkers as a family of philosophers who shared methodological commitments to social scientific research, interests in commercial society, and an understanding of the virtuous life as open to all its participating members.

In the first chapter, Roger L. Emerson casts his characteristically wide and historically detailed net to reveal some of the various contexts that contributed to development of the "Science of Man" in eighteenth-century Scotland. Emerson weaves a rich tapestry with his discussions of collectors, antiquaries, medical men, midwives, professors, historians, Scottish clubs and, notably, the contributions of both men and women, to enrich our understanding of the conditions in which the "Science of Man" flourished and declined, and to praise the work of Berry and others whose scholarship returns our attention to it.

Next, R. J. W. Mills offers a fascinating portrait of James Burnett, Lord Monboddo, a paradoxical figure who combined ancient philosophy with modern methodology. His credulity—epitomized by his belief in such fantasies as mermaids or men with tails—masked a genuinely inquisitive man whose anthropological research and attention to methodological questions such as the reliability of testimony entitle him to greater attention and recognition as a scientist of human nature. In chapter 3, Craig Smith argues for greater attention to another neglected figure: Tobias Smollett. Smith usefully sets out the major features of Berry's analysis of Scottish Enlightenment social theory—the "Berry line"—and then argues that, setting aside his conception of luxury, Smollett qualifies for consideration as a major social theorist of the Scottish Enlightenment on the basis of his methodological and political commitments. Smith also highlights Smollett's particular interest—spurred, he suggests, by Smollett's experience of life in Dumbarton—in areas where different stages of civilization butted up against one another.

In Spyridon Tegos's chapter, the volume shifts gears. Tegos extends Berry's notion of the "stickiness of institutions" through an engaging discussion of Hume, Smith, and Millar's accounts of the manners of the "middling rank." The chapter illustrates the explanatory value of viewing that middle segment of society from the perspective of manners rather than wealth: the history of manners serves as an example of the stickiness of institutions, offering insight into evolving social and political dynamics.

In the first of three chapters on Adam Smith, Ryan Patrick Hanley turns to Smith's claim that his time as a professor at the University of Glasgow—the same institution that has been home to Berry—was the most "useful," "happiest," and "most honourable" period of his life. By relating this claim to key passages from the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, Hanley sheds light on Smith's moral theory and on his understanding of the utility, both to an individual student and to society, of an education in ethics and in politics, economics, and jurisprudence. Eric Schliesser's chapter analyzes Smith's views on politicians and statesmen to reveal a liberal and quite ambitious theory of political leadership. Through discussion of Smith's critiques of bad leadership—notably, his critiques of decisionism, ideological, and factional leaders—Schliesser shows how, for Smith, a good leader promotes the happiness or flourishing of everyone through policies that enable non-zero-sum outcomes. In a notable passage, he also demonstrates Smith's concern with the capacity of statesmen to promote the development of an impartial bureaucracy that fosters economic growth. Framing her discussion with an anecdote about Berry that will have many readers laughing out loud, Maria Pia Paganelli explores Smith's account of how punctuality emerged as a virtue in commercial society. She shows how Smith often explained changes in morals with reference to changes in opportunity cost. As lost time took on new meaning as lost productivity, punctuality became a virtue. The case of punctuality is particularly interesting because it reflects a recognition of the equal dignity of all: practicing the virtue of punctuality involves respecting other people and their time.

Naohito Mori turns the reader's attention to David Hume in a fascinating and challenging discussion of

Hume's phrase "civility and slavery." The phrase appears in discussions of ancient European nations in the *History of England*, and Mori interprets it to mean a luxurious lifestyle under the absolute dominion of Rome. Mori raises important questions about the extent to which, according to Hume, the conquests of "barbarous" nations were necessary for their development into commercial societies with the rule of law, as well as whether a form of slavery might continue to linger, even in modern European societies. He argues that these questions are important for examining Hume's relationship to the Enlightenment and also for the study and reception of the Enlightenment outside Europe. Ana Marta Gonzalez asks why Hume began Book II of the *Treatise of Human Nature* with a study of pride and humility. She argues that this decision was in keeping with his project of developing a "science of man" by studying human beings in their social context, as they actually live in the real world, and defends the centrality of Book II to that project. On her account, Hume should be considered a forerunner to the sociology of emotions because he shared the insight, core to that field of study, that emotions reflect our social experience. Zhang Zheng-ping closes the volume with an illuminating discussion of three distinct phases in Hume's reception in China since 1930. He shows how different political contexts in China have influenced the study of Hume, from first attending to Hume almost exclusively as a philosopher who influenced Kant, to focusing on his empiricism and his philosophy of human nature, to later developing a deeper and wider appreciation of the variety of subjects upon which Hume wrote. Particularly noteworthy, he suggests, has been the rising scholarly interest, especially since 2001, in Hume's economic thought. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the continuing scholarly appeal of the Scottish Enlightenment, certainly a fitting last word in a volume dedicated to a scholar who has contributed so much to illuminating it and to inspiring others to do so also.

The editors' decision to devote six of the volume's ten chapters to either Smith or Hume is understandable. However, in so doing, they may have missed opportunities to inspire reflection on a fuller picture of the Scottish Enlightenment. Some thinkers who figure in Berry's work—for example Adam Ferguson, Lord Kames and, notably, James Dunbar—are absent from this volume. However, whether considered in its entirety or in terms of its individual parts, the volume will prove a welcome addition to the bookshelves of Scottish Enlightenment scholars new and old, especially of those who have read, engaged with, and been inspired by Christopher Berry's publications.

Marc Hanvelt, Carleton University

Millar and His Circle. Special issue of *History of European Ideas*, Volume 45, Issue 2 (January–March 2019).

As a leading thinker of the Scottish Enlightenment, John Millar (1735–1801) is probably best known for his *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (1771), which is often viewed as a pioneering work in the social and political sciences. This special issue of the *History of European Ideas* focuses on relatively underexplored aspects of Millar's career, particularly his political beliefs in the period following the French Revolution and aspects of his life as revealed through his letters. At the heart of this special edition are a number of key sources related to Millar, reframed here with highly informative critical introductions from Anna Plassart and John Cairns: the republication of the *Letters of Crito* and *Letters of Sidney*, Millar's own personal letters to various correspondents, and a translation of Millar's advocates thesis.

In her introduction to the Crito and Sidney letters, Plassart helpfully situates Millar's letters to the press within the context of modern scholarship on Millar and his reputation as an Enlightenment figure through the work of such scholars as Duncan Forbes, W. C. Lehmann, and more recently Knud Haakonssen. The various perceptions of Millar as forefather of sociology, inheritor of the tradition in jurisprudence from his mentor Adam Smith, and political thinker are here complemented by Plassart's views of Millar as political animal through his engagement with contemporary politics. The Letters of Crito and Letters of Sidney, as carefully edited here, show a hitherto underappreciated side of Millar as intervening in the political life of the 1790s in the wake of the French Revolution and during a period of agitation for reform at home. But Plassart does more than simply outline Millar's ideological outlook; she expertly reexamines the context for their publication and addresses the difficult question of Millar's authorship, given that both pamphlets were published anonymously, and attribution remains uncertain (particularly in the case of the Sidney letters). The letters were first published in 1796 in the *Scots Chronicle*, the reformist miscellany which ran until 1801 as an organ of Whig opposition in Henry Dundas's Scotland. Here, Plassart presents a fully annotated edition of the versions published as pamphlets in Edinburgh and sold at the office for the *Scots Chronicle: Letters of Crito, on the Causes, Objects and Consequences of the Present War*, published by J. Johnstone in 1796, a collection dedicated to leading Whig Charles Fox, and *Letters of Sidney, on Inequality of Property*, dedicated to James Maitland, 8th Earl of Lauderdale.

As for Millar's personal letters, these tend, as John Cairns notes, to reveal more about business transactions than about Millar's personal life. It's not just that Millar found it difficult to write; Cairns outlines the steps that Millar took to ensure his letters were not preserved, and it appears that major correspondences, such as those with Dr. John Moore, were destroyed. That said, Cairns has identified "more than seventy surviving letters"—a significant increase on earlier estimates. He presents semi-diplomatic transcriptions of this trove of material, accompanied by admirably clear, concise, and helpful annotations. While the letters focus on such aspects of Millar's life as business linked to his position as Regius Professor of Law at Glasgow University, they occasionally reveal

glimpses of his private life. Intimate correspondence with members of his large family may be lacking, but there are discussions regarding his son and daughter-in-law's lives in America in the letters to Benjamin Rush, the Edinburgh-trained physician and co-signatory of the Declaration of Independence. Other letters range from the relatively mundane—proof corrections sent to publisher John Murray, for example—to fascinating insights into university life and student politics. There is correspondence with Dr. Matthew Baillie on the foundation of the Hunterian Museum to house the collection of Baillie's uncle, the late anatomist William Hunter. There are five letters to Edmund Burke, written during Burke's tenure as Rector of the University of Glasgow in 1784–85, dealing with the troublesome colleague John Anderson, the litigious professor of natural history, who was threatening colleagues with a Royal Visitation to root out supposed corruption at the university. I recall a trip a few years ago to University of Glasgow special collections to consult copies of Millar's letters to Burke taken from the originals in Sheffield; it cannot be overstated how helpful it is to read the same letters online, fully annotated, particularly when there is so much uncertainty regarding travel and access to archives. Overall, the names on display here show an impressive network of correspondents, from statesmen such as Burke and the Earl of Lauderdale and American revolutionaries such as Rush to leading figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, including William Hunter, James Watt, Alexander Carlyle, David Hume, and Adam Smith.

The letters may be the real draw of this special issue, but it also includes Cairns's translation from the original Latin of Millar's thesis for the Faculty of Advocates, which he presented to become an advocate in 1760. Cairns notes that the form is "not to be seen as some significant contribution to learning in the modern sense," and given its link to examination in a highly specific legal context, Millar's thesis may not reveal a great deal about his early thinking. It is nevertheless helpful to have this source made clear and accessible for the first time.

As Knud Haakonssen notes in his preface, this new tranche of Millar documents "exhausts the currently known sources from his hand" and may even "stimulate the search for more." It is to be hoped that this special issue inspires publication of further sources. Haakonssen points, for example, to the volumes of unpublished student notes from Millar's lectures (multiple copies of which are held in collections at the Universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow) and voices the hope that some of these might find an editor and publisher. That would be another positive outcome of a collection that already does much to raise awareness of relatively unexplored aspects of Millar's career, and that takes us beyond the perception of Millar as protégé of Smith to reveal fascinating sides of life beyond jurisprudence.

Ronnie Young, University of Glasgow

George S. Christian, *Beside the Bard: Scottish Lowland Poetry in the Age of Burns*. Transits: Literature, Thought & Culture, 1650–1850. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2020. Pp. 250.

In *Beside the Bard: Scottish Lowland Poetry in the Age of Burns*, George S. Christian tackles and ruminates on a question that has long disturbed scholars of Robert Burns: how do we liberate late eighteenth-century Scottish poets from the enormously long shadow of Burns, and how do we dispense with the Burnsian critical and comparative lens when reading their works? As this study demonstrates, Burns's influence provided, on the one hand, an inspiring model for Scottish poets of all social classes in the 1780s and 1790s. On the other hand, Burns's commanding, mythical presence in accounts of Scottish literary history, particularly those of the nineteenth century, provides a stubbornly persistent benchmark by which to judge all subsequent Scottish poetry and song. In other words, Burns's literary contemporaries frequently remain firmly in their place "beside the Bard," measured and judged against his extraordinary poetic genius and uncommon success.

In the opening pages, Christian poses a core question: why did Burns achieve enduring, phenomenal literary and cultural success, while his contemporaries did not? This study addresses the question by reexamining a group of poets often obscured by what Christian calls Burns's literary-cultural "penumbra." In doing so, he draws on "the poetry of Burns's contemporaries who occupied divergent class, gender, occupational, social, and political positions" to show "the ways in which poetry framed the 'problem' of Scotland and self-identification as a 'Scot' in a world of loyalties in conflict" (p. 8). Building on the work of Corey E. Andrews, Valentina Bold, Gerard Carruthers, and Carol McGuirk among many others, Christian focuses on the poetry of John Lapraik, David Sillar, Janet Little, Isobel Pagan, Lady Nairne, Robert Tannahill, James Kennedy, and Alexander Geddes. He examines each poet's links with Burns and provides perceptive close readings of their works which are useful to any scholar of late eighteenth-century Lowland Scottish poetry.

In taking this approach, Christian shines new and welcome light on the poets in question but arguably retains the Burnsian critical lens. Every chapter begins by outlining each poet's relationship with Burns: Lapraik and Sillar are "Burns's Ayrshire 'Bardies,'" Nairne is "Burns's Jacobite Other," and Tannahill is "In the Shadow of Burns." This contextualization is illuminating and valuable in a historicist and literary-critical sense but could be seen as keeping all nine poets firmly under the Burnsian "penumbra." It would be absurd to suggest that Burns should be ignored in a study of his peers, but the structure of *Beside the Bard* means that the discussion of each poet's output reflects as much on aspects of Burns's own career—principally, Burns's contested place as a "laboring-class poet," his Ayrshire-Scottish identity, and readings of his political radicalism—as on the career of the poet in question. This approach does not, however, limit Christian's close readings and analyses of his chosen

poets' work, which are uniformly insightful and astute, and constitute the book's most welcome and valuable contribution.

The first chapter, on Burns's Ayrshire contemporaries Sillar and Lapraik, examines the poets' work through their direct, epistolary relationships with Burns and "the specific ways their poetry compares to Burns's linguistically and thematically" (p. 19). In this chapter, and throughout, Christian's readings are not only useful for anyone interested in the literature and culture of the period but also shed light on texts and themes ripe for further in-depth study and research. The chapter concludes that the careers of Sillar and Lapraik were hampered by their Ayrshire location which, "undergoing the processes of rapid urbanization and assimilation into a global imperial economy, did not reflect the same values as the professional literary culture in Edinburgh" (p. 41). This is a nuanced point that is sensitive to historical and socioeconomic contexts, but the always-exceptional example of Burns contradicts it: Burns's first publications were in Ayrshire and, although his fame skyrocketed after the appearance of the second edition of his *Poems*, published in Edinburgh in 1787, the Kilmarnock and Edinburgh editions' core impulses remained the same. In Burns's extraordinary case, the literary values of "provincial regions" and those of Edinburgh did in many ways match, allowing Burns access to cultural circles which, as Christian notes, would remain closed to his peers.

Beside the Bard is invaluable for its focus on the work of Little, Pagan and Nairne, three female contemporaries of Burns from various social classes. Building on the work of Bold, Christian offers insightful readings of these poets' sensitivity to the Burnsian example and their particular strategies in navigating the literary marketplace. Christian's analysis of the relative freedom of Little and Pagan to appear "in public," in sharp contrast to Nairne's status as an aristocratic woman, which "inhibited her from publishing under her own name" (p. 99), is an example of the sensitive analyses offered throughout the study. Nairne is represented here as having "avidly followed Burns's collection, revision and production of Scottish songs and began both writing original verse and adapting existing verses to traditional music in the 1790s" (p. 97). Burns undoubtedly influenced Nairne's collecting, editing, and song writing, but was he her only source of cultural inspiration? In this case, *Beside the Bard* would have been enhanced by further consideration of Burns's own influences. For example, the transformational literary-editorial project of Allan Ramsay and his early eighteenth-century edition of original and collected songs, *The Tea-Table Miscellany*, shows that Burns was not a bolt from the blue in terms of song collection and was, in his own song writing and editing, supplementing long-established practice as encapsulated in the work of Ramsay. Nairne's own enterprise can also be seen in this context.

The two remaining chapters examine Burns's radical contemporaries and successors, Robert Tannahill, James Kennedy, and Alexander Geddes. These chapters situate Scottish poetry of the 1790s onward in "European, British, Anglophone, and transnational culture" (p. 151), with Geddes's work seen as refusing "national inflections" in its "theocentrism" (p. 181). As Christian argues, these poets' "uncompromising political views effectively exiled them from Scottish society" (p. 153), a fate Burns avoided in part thanks to his equivocal political pronouncements in the wake of the French Revolution and his premature death in 1796. The extremely complex question of Burns's own political sympathies—which, as Christian acknowledges, is played out in the attribution to Burns of radical poems in Andrew Noble and Patrick Scott Hogg's *Canongate Burns* and in the critical work on Burns's politics by Gerard Carruthers, Nigel Leask, and Liam McIlvanney, among others—is understated in these chapters.

This study delivers on its aim to "trace the emergence of a literarily and historically significant body of Scottish Lowland poetry produced during and in the immediate aftermath of the life of Robert Burns" (p. 183), contributing to an understanding of a group of fascinating late eighteenth-century Scottish writers. Even if "these poets may have labored in vain to reproduce Burns's winning formula" (p. 183), Christian argues, "they each responded to the pressures and hardships of historical, economic, and social change in late eighteenth-century Scotland in their own ways and according to their own lights" (p. 183). This is undoubtedly true, but Burns's "winning formula," also the product of his own "lights," was the exception rather than the rule in the eighteenth-century Scottish literary marketplace. The study comes full circle by revisiting the idea of eighteenth-century literary Scottishness, concluding that no steadfast definition is possible. Indeed, if Burns is taken to represent Scotland, the poets discussed here necessarily represent what Christian calls an "alternative tradition" (p. 184). As Christian states, new scholarly editions of the works of Lapraik, Sillar, Little, Pagan, Nairne, Tannahill, Kennedy, and Geddes would allow further consideration of these questions.

The book ends with a series of suggestions for further research, which are pertinent to all scholars of eighteenth-century Scottish literature: how can critics talk of a "national" Scottish literature without considering the work of both Lowland and Highland authors? How do we read the work of eighteenth-century Scottish women poets in the context of "the masculine canon" (p. 184)? The posing of these urgent and valuable questions, as well as the insightful analyses of the work of Burns's contemporaries, are *Beside the Bard's* most valuable contributions.

Rhona Brown, University of Glasgow

Ossian: Warrior Poet. Adapted from *The Poems of Ossian* by James Macpherson. Edited by Eileen Budd. Illustrated by Eileen Budd and Maxwell Cant. Kelso: Wide Open Sea, 2021. Pp. ix + 315.

This is a beautifully produced volume that faithfully delivers all that it promises: together with an updated version of the Ossianic poems, it contains handsome color illustrations, hand-drawn maps, family trees for the main characters, new commentaries for each poem, and a comprehensive index. The text it reproduces is “adapted from the Poems of Ossian” published by James Macpherson in 1774 (dated 1773) as a “carefully corrected, and greatly improved” edition of the Ossianic poetry he first published in 1762/3 and revised in 1765. In the opinion of many, including a fair number of Macpherson’s contemporaries, it is neither; but as the last to appear with Macpherson’s imprimatur, it became the *textus receptus* upon which innumerable subsequent editions were based. A welcome effect of Eileen Budd’s attempts to make the poems reader-friendly is often to reverse some of the more egregious changes that Macpherson introduced in the *Poems*—I think particularly of the occasionally unbearable intensification of the paratactic prose, with its ruthless pruning of conjunctions and commas. However, Budd can also display a marked tendency to go too far in the opposite direction, providing connections where none are needed. Thus “Comala,” which became perhaps the most universally popular of all the Ossianic pieces and is specifically subtitled “A Dramatic Poem,” complete with its own dramatis personae, is here supplied with a redundant narrative frame. Budd does not attempt to conceal her interventionism: “I have made some changes to improve the clarity of these stories for a modern reader. These include updating eighteenth century spellings, phrases and references, while retaining the original tone and character” (p. 2). So out go all “thee’s and ‘thou’s; ‘shall’s are generally replaced by “will’s and “dwell” by “live” (though an archaism such as “viewless” is preserved).

The results of this partial modernization of the English are not uniformly felicitous. Particularly in the earlier editions, Macpherson produced some of the finest prose-poetry of his age, but here the alterations too often lead to prosaic flatness and rhythmic awkwardness. The juxtaposition of Budd and Macpherson can also have unintended comic effects. In “Carric-thura,” for instance, “Come thou, O Frothal! to the feast of Inistore: let the maid of thy love be there; let our faces brighten with joy!” becomes “Come on now, Frothal! Let us feast at Inistore and our faces brighten with joy!” Given the omission of “maid of thy love,” this looks more like an invitation to uninhibited carousing. Conversely, the failure to update consistently can also cause problems. A modern reader of a modernized text will naturally expect to be confronted with words that carry their currently accepted meaning. There are, therefore, unlikely to be many who will understand “gale” as a gentle breeze. Yet on the forty or so occasions in which Macpherson uses that word in *Ossian*, that is indeed what it means (as it does in Pope, Thomson, and countless other eighteenth-century poets, including Burns). Leaving “gale” as it is in this version strikes me as an error of judgment which makes apparent nonsense of some of the contrasts. For instance, “In peace, you [Fingal] are the gale of spring. In war, the mountain storm.” Similarly, in the fine opening section of “Berrathon”, the “gale” that wakes the reluctant flower is in fact a very different entity from the “blast” that will scatter its leaves. Admittedly, Budd does on occasion show awareness of the incongruity, as when she has “gentle” precede “like the gale that moves the grass.”

Although Budd remains an obvious admirer of Macpherson’s achievement, her comments occasionally might seem to echo those of the true believers among his contemporaries who thought him a less than perfect mediator of Ossian. So Lamderg, who in Macpherson is a chief, becomes a druid (apparently on the authority of John Toland). A note on p. 183 informs us: “One criticism of Macpherson was the lack of Druids in the Poems of Ossian, yet here are three together, if only Macpherson had known.” But one imagines he did know, since the figure of the hermitic druid is clearly lifted from his authentic sources and is St. Patrick in disguise. He has to be disguised, both to conceal anything suggestive of Irish origins and, of course, to avoid anachronism, since we are asked to believe that the action in the poems takes place between 210 and 285 AD. And so it does in the legends recorded in the ballads, which often have a reluctant, bad-tempered, and extremely geriatric Oisín/Oisean being prodded into regaling the saint with a tale from the old (pre-Christian) times. A blatant anachronism that Macpherson inherited from his sources, both Irish and Scottish, is the ubiquitous presence in the poetry of Scandinavians, aka Vikings. The historical underpinning for the Ossianic epics provided by Macpherson in his voluminous notes (mercifully truncated here) and dissertations (mercifully omitted) is almost entirely fantasy. This is not to deny the poems a degree of rootedness in Scottish history, tradition, and indeed landscape. With regard to topography and locations, Budd is, as she freely acknowledges, largely dependent on the findings in *Ossian and the Clyde* (1875) by Peter Hately Waddell, whose speculations are sometimes highly fanciful (one of his chapters is entitled “Oscar in Iceland”). But it is good to have the maps in this edition. And whatever the validity of the posited associations of individual places with particular Ossianic characters and events, the *Poems* are strikingly effective in evoking a certain type of landscape that is recognizably very Scottish. Macpherson managed to export a taste for it on a grand scale. Nor is the influence of his Ossian finished yet, as recent years have seen substantial new translations into French (2013) and Norwegian (2019), and a first-ever translation into Chinese is forthcoming this year. It should be known and acknowledged that Macpherson’s Ossian is one of the most significant works ever to have emerged from Scotland, both in its authentic and in its more spurious aspects. The avowed intention of Eileen Budd’s new edition is to bring Ossian to a new generation of Scottish readers. It deserves every success.

Howard Gaskill, University of Edinburgh

Leith Davis and Janet Sorensen, eds., *The International Companion to Scottish Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century*. Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, an imprint of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2021. Pp. vii + 450.

One can perhaps judge the prevailing interests of an age from its critical paradigms. In this respect, a notable precursor to Leith Davis and Janet Sorensen's *International Companion to Scottish Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century* is *The History of Scottish Literature, Volume 2: 1660–1800* (1987), edited by Andrew Hook. There are some intriguing similarities to these enterprises: both have eighteen chapters and take a long retrospective view of the century. Hook stretches the eighteenth century back to the Restoration, while the editors of the *International Companion* add another decade by including the Interregnum. Both edited collections are alert not only to the need to consolidate their subject area but also to render that material relevant and insightful to the contemporary moment. The general impetus of Hook's volume was to explore the range of Scottish writing in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries while advancing a case for the field's distinctiveness and coherence; as such, it participated in a wider cultural shift in the assertion of a rich and identifiable national tradition in the decade before that movement found concrete expression in the establishment of the Scottish Parliament at Holyrood. The significance and complexities of such national particularities are laid bare by Hook, who suggests in his introduction that his volume does "nothing to dispel the idea that particular historical circumstances ensured that Scottish literature and culture in the eighteenth century would be characterized by tension and uncertainty" (p. 3). The domestic national agenda is apparent in the chapter by Iain Gordon Brown on the Greco-Roman influence on that culture, which asserts that "Scottish nationalism in the eighteenth century is inevitably associated with antiquarianism" (p. 33), and in the chapter by Kenneth Simpson on Tobias Smollett, which insists that much of Smollett's "originality derives from his roots in the Scottish literary tradition" (p. 102).

Of course, to badge a work as a companion rather than a history is to make a rather different claim about its contents and purpose. Whereas calling a book a history suggests objective detachment, a sifting of available facts, and providing a broadly consistent line of interpretation, the companion promises something more capacious and approachable—a work that is capable of being looser and more irregular in the range of positions adopted and broader in the scope of its intended readership. As Davis declares in her introduction, companionship means "offering company and providing food for thought during a shared expedition" (p. 12). This book, we learn, was intended not as a comprehensive undertaking but rather as an attempt to provide a sequence of illuminating moments; and literature was to be judged as just that, with a concentration on imaginative writing—poetry, narrative fiction, and drama—rather than on revisiting the intellectual achievements of the Scottish Enlightenment. And this volume certainly possesses a sure sense of its own *Geist*, a Lukácian appreciation of the importance of historical consciousness. Whereas the cultural background of the *History of Scottish Literature* was the domestic national context, this collection considers Scottish literature in the age of globalization. It is a companion of Scottish literature for the era of equality, diversity, and inclusivity, and of impending ecological cataclysm.

The volume is organized into four thematic parts: Language, Identity, and History; Media and Mediation; Possibilities of Genre; and Environments of Space and Time, each with four or five chapters. The sequence of parts and chapters constitutes a rough chronological progression. Proceedings commence with Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart's account of the renewal of Gaelic literature in the 1650s and conclude with Michael Morris's examination of the recidivist behavior of colonial Scots in Ottobah Cugoana's abolitionist *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species* (1784). In between there are robust surveys of genres and accounts of canonical figures. Corey E. Andrews considers Burns in an overview of the formal developments of poems in Scots; Janet Sorensen examines Smollett's nautical idiolect; Ian Brown reveals the national dynamics of Scottish playwrighting in the period; Dafydd Moore detects an equivalence between the Ossianic landscape and James Hutton's geological investigations; and Alex Deans makes the case that "a complex relationship between the forms and meaning of progress (historical and spatial) suffuses eighteenth-century travel writing about Scotland" (p. 273).

Perhaps the more eye-catching contributions are those most closely aligned with the volume's progressive mission. In this vein, Eric Gidal considers Scots verse as a back narrative to late-stage Anthropocene, "a useful exercise to return to this body of work so as to gain some orientation within an unfolding catastrophe" (p. 247), and Emma Pink teases out the gender implications of Allan Ramsay's nationalism in *The Tea-Table Miscellany*: "Ramsay frames his concern regarding women's reception of his work within an economy of female modesty" (p. 103). JoEllen DeLucia detects the influence of Thomas Reid's common-sense philosophy on Scottish women novelists, and Morris in the closing essay demonstrates a certain self-confidence in the field by addressing David Hume's observations on slavery. If such chapters are broadly interpretative, a matter of placing well-known material within a novel conceptual purview, others unearth literary works or consider little-known ones. Juliet Shields extends recent work on Scottish women poets to investigate their writing and circulation in manuscript. Stiùbhart provides in his two chapters on Gaelic literature a sense of the range of verse composition in the period, and Kate Louise Mathis focuses on female Gaelic poets. Some of the circumstances recounted are moving, such as the internal exile endured by Sileas na Ceapaich (Cicely MacDonald), an author of odes, elegies, and satires. And then there are rambunctious figures, such as Alasdair MacDhomhnaill (Alexander MacDonald), a poet whose verse was

by turns “ironic, frank, convivial, experimental, passionate, ebullient, often disconcertingly wayward” (p. 38); in an alternate universe, according to Stiùbhart, he might well have ended up as Gaelic poet laureate to Charles Edward Stuart.

Given the ambitious range of this undertaking, as a volume that intends to put the study of Scottish literature on a fresh footing, to familiarize the uninitiated with Scottish literature, and also to provide ground-breaking research in the field, it is not entirely unexpected there should be some conceptual omissions and stresses. We should welcome the diversity and inclusion of additional voices. Ossian, who played a minor role in the 1980s history, finds a prominent place here, but Scottish classicism has all but vanished, and James Boswell seems to have been canceled. And while it is an admirable service to uncover and reveal literary undertakings in places and groups that have hitherto been overlooked, existence in itself is not an automatic virtue. One might wish to see rather more evaluation of the unfamiliar works and the extent to which they can be understood to have literary merit. But these are mere quibbles. This is a well-edited and accomplished volume, a credit to the editors and the contributors. The *International Companion* succeeds in persuading the reader to reflect on the scope and significance of Scottish literature of the long eighteenth century and to mediate in a dialectical fashion between the abiding concerns of that epoch and those of our own.

Sebastian Mitchell, University of Birmingham

Gerard Lee McKeever, *Dialectics of Improvement: Scottish Romanticism, 1786–1831*. Edinburgh Critical Studies in Romanticism. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020. Pp. vi + 222.

Gerard Lee McKeever’s *Dialectics of Improvement* begins by bringing into juxtaposition two contrasting perspectives on the work of “improvers” in Scotland in the age of Enlightenment and Romanticism (pp. 1–2). On the one hand, the *Edinburgh Magazine, or Literary Miscellany* reprinted in its December 1786 issue an article by “A. S.” from the *Political Herald, and Review*, titled “On Improvements in Scotland,” which celebrated the nation’s rapid progress and innovation in such areas as agriculture, commerce, and the mechanical arts. On the other hand, the *Castle-Douglas Weekly Visitor, and Literary Miscellany* reprinted on 21 January 1831 an essay from an unspecified collection, condemning recent attempts toward the reformation of “manners and sentiments” as a process of “indiscriminately reversing and changing, till what commenced in improvement has ended in deterioration.” Gerard McKeever uses these articles to introduce the era’s larger conversation about improvement, which he presents as a discursive area that captured a range of both hopes and fears around issues of modernization and progress in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The publication dates of the two articles neatly map onto the chronological span of McKeever’s project, which considers improvement as a constitutive theme within Scottish Romantic literature, across a range of genres, including poetry, fiction, and drama, from Robert Burns’s 1786 collection, *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* to James Hogg’s contributions to *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* in 1830 and 1831.

The title of McKeever’s monograph recalls Max Horkheimer and Theodor W. Adorno’s *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947), perhaps the most influential publication of the Frankfurt School of Critical Theory. McKeever notes that he shares with Horkheimer and Adorno “a recognition that improvement remains in close proximity to—and in dialogue with—the cultural forms it purports to supersede” (p. 20). He does not, however, engage in any detail with the fundamental thesis of Horkheimer’s and Adorno’s book, that “Myth is already enlightenment and enlightenment reverts to mythology” (*Dialectic of Enlightenment*, 2002, p. xviii). The philosophical context of McKeever’s study is less the twentieth-century Frankfurt School than the eighteenth-century Scottish School. Works by David Hume, Adam Smith, William Robertson, and Adam Ferguson provide a useful background to McKeever’s exploration of “the potential of improvement as a literary-historical phenomenon” in Romantic-era Scotland—one that involves improvement in a conception of the literary aesthetic, defined as “medium of secular belonging, vehicle of indefinite exchange, educational tool, theoretical guide to history” (p. 186). This approach enables McKeever to develop a series of illuminating readings of canonical and non-canonical texts. Chapter 1 focuses on Burns’s “The Cotter’s Saturday Night,” which McKeever describes as “subversively progressive” in its deployment of a “rustic poetics to negotiate an afterlife for tradition in or alongside modernity” (p. 38). Chapter 2 discusses the motif of improvement in Walter Scott’s *Chronicles of the Canongate* and selected contributions by Hogg to *Blackwood’s* (for example, Hogg’s 1830 “Story of Adam Scott,” the tale of a Scottish drover who is attacked by two Englishmen on his way back across the border, which McKeever compares to Scott’s “The Two Drovers” [from *Chronicles*]). Chapter 3 turns to Joanna Baillie’s handling of improvement in her plays, in particular *Count Basil* (1798), *The Family Legend* (1810), and *The Alienated Manor* (1836). McKeever contends that “where *The Family Legend* attempts to negotiate the primitive, *The Alienated Manor* is in some sense its mirror-image, and the two plays taken together fill out a dual critique of past and present that is consolidated by *Count Basil*” (pp. 139–40). Chapter 4 considers John Galt’s Scottish novels, *Annals of the Parish* (1821) and *The Entail* (1823), in relation to the social, political, and moral anxieties occasioned by Scotland’s “Age of Improvement.” Here McKeever brings new insight into the nature and extent of Galt’s formal innovations, presenting the serial history of *Annals* as “an integral ... example of Galt’s undercutting of the rising *Bildungsroman*” (p. 165) and *The Entail* as a reworking of the novel form “into an experimental test-case for the mechanisms of rapid change and its

cultural impact at both a local and national level” (p. 153).

McKeever concludes his study with a Coda that uses three articles by Thomas Carlyle published in the *Edinburgh Review* in the 1820s—“State of German Literature” (1827), a review of John Gibson Lockhart’s *Life of Robert Burns* (1828), and “Sign of the Times” (1829)—to reflect back on the period of Enlightenment and Romanticism in Scotland. Carlyle’s articles, McKeever argues, “are a further instalment of the dialectical purchase of improvement in the period, veering as they do between despondency and hope” (p. 188). Discussing Carlyle’s “State of German Literature,” McKeever alludes to the notion, articulated by Goethe among others, that all human progress is in a circle. Variations in this cluster of ideas would have considerable influence on the literature and culture of the nineteenth century. As M. H. Abrams describes in *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (1971), several German thinkers adapted the biblical storyline of a lost and future paradise into a theory that “fused” alternative views of human history as either decline or progress. They achieved this by representing the Fall as an “indispensable stage” on humanity’s route back toward lost unity and happiness, but along an “ascending plane” that would leave people “immeasurably better off” at the end than in the beginning (p. 201). McKeever’s study might have benefited from further exploration of continental European contexts to the Scottish discourse of improvement. Nevertheless, with its meticulously researched case studies, and convincing argumentation, *Dialectics of Improvement* makes a valuable contribution to ongoing debates about the nature of Scottish Romanticism, the role of genre in the Romantic period, and the politics of the aesthetic.

Catherine Jones, University of Aberdeen

Margaret Watkins, *The Philosophical Progress of Hume’s Essays*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019. Pp. ix + 265.

Margaret Watkins’s excellent *The Philosophical Progress of Hume’s Essays* is a timely companion to the recently published Clarendon Critical Edition of Hume’s *Essays Moral, Political and Literary*, edited by Tom L. Beauchamp and Mark A. Box. Watkins engages with Hume’s popular essays in seven chapters titled “Governing,” “Domineering,” “Working,” “Composing,” “Self-Loving,” “Loving,” and “Thinking”—each of which focuses on a different set of essays, though there is some overlap. These topical headings are initially surprising, but her groupings often bring out features of an essay which may easily have been missed in Hume’s own ordering. While focusing on the essays, Watkins often refers to Hume’s other published writings and correspondence in order to throw light on their philosophical themes.

Chapter 1, which discusses Hume’s political essays, particularly addresses his discussions of “political progress and decline.” It begins by noting Hume’s “antiquarian principle,” which holds that people naturally admire what is old and established. Nevertheless, Hume himself held that modern governments, including republics as well as civilized monarchies, encourage “industry, knowledge, and humanity” in their citizens. Watkins notes that while Hume criticized the Whig theory of an original contract, he allowed that consent for any government grows gradually through custom and habit. A section titled “The Priority of the Present” argues that while Hume opposed radical innovations in government and favored stability, he approved of the results of the Glorious Revolution in his own day since it was long established.

Chapter 2, “Domineering,” presents an enlightening examination of Hume’s attitude to slavery in “Of the Populousness of Ancient Nations” (pp. 66–81). Watkins stresses that Hume condemned ancient slavery on account of its cruelty and inhumanity, quite independently of his main argument that it diminished population growth. “While consistently admiring the ancient spirit of liberty, Hume emphasizes its irony” in oppressing “huge portions of the population” (p. 67). Watkins notes the paradox that Hume himself “failed to appreciate the racial dimension of colonial slavery’s injustice” in his infamous racist footnote in “Of National Characters” (p. 71).

In chapter 3, “Working,” Watkins focuses on essays that discuss “industry,” both in the sense of an economic product and as a human virtue. She argues that, for Hume, modern economy results in political progress as well as moral improvement. Industry is not only a means to human happiness but also an intrinsic and essential part of it. Watkins notes that Hume discusses “industry” in each of his four essays on human happiness. She challenges the claim that Hume himself should simply be identified with “The Sceptic” in the final essay—arguing that Hume, like “The Stoic,” thinks there are actions one can perform to improve one’s happiness, and it is not merely dependent on chance and one’s innate character. As with many discussions in the book, Watkins carefully considers the views of other scholars, and while I do not always agree with her conclusions, I always find her arguments challenging and engaging.

The title of chapter 4, “Composing,” is initially puzzling since its central topic is criticism, in the eighteenth-century sense. But Watkins justifies her choice of terminology at the beginning of the chapter. She discusses Hume’s claim in the essay “Of Eloquence” that the oratory of the ancients is superior to that of the moderns, and notes that Hume disregards the dangers of oratory in rousing dangerous passions in that essay, though he elsewhere recognizes those dangers. In contrast to factors that encouraged rough and aggressive passions in the ancient world, Watkins notes that polite conversation in the modern world, by including women, supports what Hume calls delicacy of taste and passion. This chapter also canvasses pre-Humean discussions of melancholy and the dangers of a sedentary, studious life in making one vulnerable to this disorder of the passions—a concern which, she argues,

Hume himself shares with his contemporaries. She discusses the essays “Of Tragedy” and “Of the Standard of Taste” toward the end of the chapter, arguing that on Hume’s view aesthetic experience serves to ameliorate fundamental problems inherent in our emotional lives.

In chapter 5, “Self-Loving,” Watkins gives a balanced view of Hume’s assessment of egoist theories of human motivation presented by his predecessors. While noting that he holds that self-interest plays an important role in human life, she also stresses that, following Joseph Butler, Hume argues that though the virtuous sentiment produces pleasure, it does not arise from it. Watkins suggests that, in criticizing the selfish system of morals in his essay “Of the Dignity or Meanness of Human Nature,” Hume has in mind the satirical writings of La Rochefoucauld and Bernard Mandeville. At the same time, she argues that insofar as self-love involves pride in our own virtue, it is itself a virtue for Hume.

In chapter 6, “Loving,” Watkins returns to Hume’s political questions, to private and public relationships as discussed in “Of the Parties in General.” Here, as so often in his political essays, Hume warns against factionalism—in particular, that which has its roots in personal friendships and animosities. She contrasts his views of the relation of the private and public spheres with those of Aristotle. At the end of the chapter, she considers Hume’s views on relations between men and women, arguing that they were, on the whole, progressive.

The final chapter, “Thinking,” canvasses Hume’s attitude to philosophy itself as discussed in a number of the essays. Watkins concludes that, as well as exposing the falsehoods of religious superstition and contributing in a limited way to personal moral improvement, Hume argues that true philosophy can counsel politicians while avoiding any contribution to factionalism (pp. 225–28). Throughout his essays, Hume recognizes the progress of modern life, and how precarious it is.

Margaret Watkins’s book does a fine job of capturing the nuances that make Hume’s essays so rich and rewarding.

John P. Wright, Central Michigan University

Iain Gordon Brown, *Frolics in the Face of Europe: Sir Walter Scott, Continental Travel and the Tradition of the Grand Tour*. Stroud, UK: Fonthill Media, 2020. Pp. 223.

One of the main challenges in writing a book about the continental travels of Sir Walter Scott is that over the course of his life Scott saw relatively little of Europe and never made anything approaching the traditional Grand Tour. He visited the Continent for the first time in July 1815, when he was just shy of forty-four years old, joining the crowds of British visitors marking the fall of Napoleon by hurrying to Paris and touring the site of the Battle of Waterloo. Aside from a short second visit to Paris in 1826, that was Scott’s only venture abroad until he traveled to Italy in the last year of his life, in a desperate pursuit of improved health. What makes this book a valuable—and entertaining—contribution to both the literature of the Grand Tour and the scholarship on Sir Walter Scott is Iain Gordon Brown’s careful delineation of the degree to which Scott’s imagined, planned, or endlessly deferred travels illuminate both the expectations that Scott had of himself as a writer and shifting contemporary assumptions about how travel functioned as cultural practice.

As Brown demonstrates through his careful reading of Scott’s letters and journals, Scott was in fact remarkably ambitious in his ideas for possible travel, especially in the early years of the century. In October 1808 he was dreaming about wintering in wartime Spain, so that he could “observe something both of the operation of the human passions under the strongest possible impulse and of the external pomp and circumstance attending military events” (p. 39). Although Scott never carried out this plan for war tourism, he was able to explore war and the “human passions” in the literary work that resulted from his 1815 journey abroad, most notably in the relatively unsuccessful poem *The Field of Waterloo*. Brown documents Scott’s continuing fascination with travel as a source of danger and glamour, particularly in his account of Scott’s 1825 journey to Ireland, which, as Brown convincingly argues, functioned for Scott as a sort of miniature Grand Tour, complete with visits to “classical” ground and threats from Irish versions of the “banditti” against whom Scott repeatedly cautioned women friends who were planning tours of Italy.

Yet in his trips abroad, Scott was never going to be anything like a conventional Grand Tourist, as Brown also makes clear. That was not least because Scott was already a celebrity himself when he made his first visit to France, and by the journeys of the mid-1820s, he had himself become one of the “lions” that travelers sought out. Whatever the vaunted dangers of the Irish tour, Brown notes that in fact it quickly “assumed the character of a quasi-royal progress” (p. 87), during which Scott both embraced and mocked the idea of himself as an object of tourist interest. In France in 1826 he became one of the sights of Paris for both locals and other visitors, and during his sad return across Italy and Germany during his final illness, he was actively pursued by an eager American celebrity-hunter.

It is also notable that the actual practice of travel seemed neither to inspire Scott in the way that he expected it would nor to give him the intense pleasure in the exotic and the unfamiliar that formed the basis of so much contemporary travel writing. Despite Scott’s ongoing assertions that travel would fuel his literary imagination—from the dream of seeing combat in Spain in 1808 to his late-in-life hope that a visit to Rhodes would inspire a new epic poem—Brown argues convincingly that Scott was in fact more fully inspired by others’ accounts of

those places, a point that Scott himself conceded in letters to some of his friends and would-be hosts. He was also inclined to be more interested in sites that reminded him of Scotland than in those that were completely strange and unfamiliar. In this respect, admittedly, Scott was hardly unique among his compatriots: Brown notes the tendency of Scott's contemporary and fellow-lawyer Henry Cockburn to find visual echoes of Scottish landscape in the north of Italy—a practice that was being mocked as far back as the 1780s by the novelist and traveler Dr. John Moore. For Scott, however, as Brown demonstrates, this search for reminders of home in the “classical” landscapes of Italy is as poignant as it is patriotic. Finally making a tour that, even in its attenuated early nineteenth-century form, remained a marker of culture and taste, Scott was demonstrating how deeply his imaginative vision was in fact rooted at home in Scotland.

Brown started this project to mark the two-hundred-and-fiftieth anniversary of Scott's birth, but he also offers a thoughtful analysis of the shifting concepts of travel in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. This is a subject that has attracted considerable scholarly interest, but Brown's focus on Scott's ambivalence about the actual practice of travel—however fascinated he was with it as an idea—offers a new and engaging approach to the subject. Beautifully illustrated with contemporary images of both Scott and his destinations, this book makes a significant contribution to the literature on Scotland and travel.

Pam Perkins, University of Manitoba



IN MEMORIAM: MICHAEL ALEXANDER STEWART (1937–2021)

With the death last summer of Michael Alexander (“Sandy”) Stewart, the study of the Scottish Enlightenment lost one of its truly great scholars. Sandy was born in Norfolk, East Anglia, where his father was a Unitarian minister and his mother a teacher. He attended Liverpool College and then St. Andrews University, where he studied Greek, and logic and metaphysics, graduating MA in 1960. He completed his PhD in philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania in 1965 with a dissertation on Plato's *Cratylus*. Sandy then held short-term positions at Brooklyn College and the University of Western Ontario, but ideas of a North American career were put aside when the new University of Lancaster needed a lecturer in ancient philosophy. The university's needs turned out to be wider than that, and soon Sandy was teaching general courses in the history of philosophy. Thus began his engagement with the major seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British thinkers that dominated his subsequent work. Sandy carried the concerns and methods of a classicist into the study of early modern philosophy, and this is vividly reflected in most of his work. He found the standard history of philosophy woefully inadequate in its textual scholarship, devoid of historical sense, and in thrall to an institutionalized canon. It was in his Lancaster lectures that he began to set these matters right, which the university eventually recognized by appointing him a professor specifically in the *history* of philosophy. His inaugural lecture on 9 November 1994—published as *The Kirk and the Infidel*—is a classic in its genre and in contemporary Hume scholarship. Sandy retired from teaching at the University of Lancaster in 1997 and subsequently moved to Edinburgh, where he pursued a very active retirement for as long as his health permitted. He died in Salisbury on 30 July 2021.

Sandy worked on a wide range of topics in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century thought. Although philosophy was central, he always saw it in its connections with other areas of thought, especially theology, and in its social, institutional, and personal contexts. He ranged from canonical authors such as Locke, Boyle, Berkeley, Hutcheson, Hume, and Reid to figures who were little-known when he drew attention to them, including Edward Stillingfleet, George Turnbull, William Wishart, John Abernethy, William Smith, and William Small. He wrote essays on all of these individuals and edited texts by several of them. In addition, he published a host of thematic works with an equally striking range of subjects, including synoptic views of rational and revealed religion in eighteenth-century Britain, Rational Dissent and its Irish and Scottish connections, classical learning in the Scottish Enlightenment, the philosophy curriculum in institutions of higher learning in the British Isles and colonial colleges, and the history of academic freedom.

Most famously, Sandy transformed the study of Hume by means of his remarkable ingenuity in ferreting out key figures and events and combining such findings with the most acute reading of philosophical texts. His dissection of Hume's first *Enquiry* may serve as the ideal type of such work, especially when combined with the extraordinary synthesis in his essay “Hume's Intellectual Development, 1711–1752.” Thanks to the efforts of Sandy's former student Ruth Barlow (née Savage), James Harris, and John P. Wright, Sandy's essays on Hume are being published by Oxford University Press this summer under the title *Hume's Philosophy in Historical Perspective*. It is hoped that the Gifford Lectures that Sandy delivered at the University of Aberdeen in 1994–95 with the title “New Light and Enlightenment. Case Studies in Early Eighteenth Century Scottish Thought” will also be published soon. Ruth Savage had previously edited a Festschrift for Sandy titled *Philosophy and Religion in Enlightenment Britain* (Oxford University Press, 2012).

Sandy was one of the foremost editors of historical texts and of collaborative works of scholarship. The latter category includes two collections of papers that have had a formative influence on the study of the Scottish

Enlightenment: *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment* (1990) and (co-edited with John Wright) *Hume and Hume's Connexions* (1995). The text editions include his acclaimed *Selected Philosophical Papers of Robert Boyle* (1979; 2nd ed. 1991); a fine collection by George Turnbull, *Education for Life: Correspondence and Writings on Religion and Practical Philosophy*, co-edited with Paul Wood (2014); and Francis Hutcheson's *Correspondence and Occasional Writings* (forthcoming in 2022), in which Sandy edited Hutcheson's private correspondence while co-editor Jim Moore edited the public correspondence and occasional writings and wrote the introduction. Sandy was for many years General Editor of the *Clarendon Edition of the Works of John Locke* and, together with Tom Beauchamp and the late David Fate Norton, founding General Editor of the *Clarendon Edition of the Works of David Hume*. In this work, Sandy combined sharp analytical intelligence with exceptional bibliographical, paleographical, and linguistic abilities. This made him a formidable collaborator, and against the background of a great many collaborations with him, I can say that it was equally intimidating and delightful to edit him and to be edited by him. Sandy had interesting views about what constitutes a text; its identity through editions; the connections between text, authorial intention, and context; and the implication of such matters for scholarly editorial and interpretative work.

Sandy was interested in such a profusion of topics and had such a unique approach to scholarship that it is impossible to sum up his work. However, it would in fact be a misunderstanding—a philosophical misunderstanding—to try to sum it up as if it had an overall meaning. It was not meant to. He focused on the search for evidence, and that inevitably means the particular. An argument would typically center on specific features of a text—revisions, quotations, allusions, etc.—and on this basis an interpretation would be built up or, as many can testify, an existing interpretation would be torn down. This mode of working led to an *oeuvre* that is dominated by essays, some of them very long, and by the scholarly editions of texts.

Behind this particularist approach lay an attitude that the reader has to discern from the actual practice in specific pieces of interpretation and the aims stated in these. Sandy made no assumption that an author he studied or the movement in intellectual culture in which that author might be placed had some inherent core, meaning, or direction, the unfolding of which it was the task of the interpreter to reveal. This is clearly evident in the way Sandy established the incidents—personal, circumstantial, and intellectual—that we call Hume's "life." Similarly, Sandy did not see the Enlightenment—Scottish or otherwise—as a movement with one true meaning and direction, such as progress. Well before topics such as race, gender relations, and Eurocentrism became foci for Enlightenment studies, he warned against ignoring these aspects of the new "science of man" and the geographico-ethnic narrowing of the agenda in Enlightenment histories of philosophy. Sandy was a historian of philosophical events, not a philosophical historian of meaning in the past. He very rarely indicated his own philosophical predilections. On one of these rare occasions, he expressed his admiration for the later Wittgenstein and his delight in reading J. L. Austin.

With a record of such concentrated scholarship, it may seem surprising that Sandy was an effective and accomplished academic organizer and facilitator. In addition to the large editorial schemes mentioned above, he was for seven years (1984–91) the founding Chairman of the Board of the British Society for the History of Philosophy and for a long time a member of the Board of the Mind Association. He served as the President of ECSSS from 1998 to 2000, and in 2009 he received the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award at the society's conference in St. Andrews. Sandy was a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and over the years he held visiting positions in Aberdeen, Oxford, Canberra, and Sierra Leone. In addition to his scholarly interests in Dissent, Sandy maintained close personal connections to Dissenting communities in Britain and Ireland. And wherever he was, his discerning taste in classical music and opera served him and his friends well.

Our field of study has lost a great and unusual scholar, and many of us have lost a very good friend. Sandy's lively conversation and wicked sense of humor are already greatly missed. But his scholarly voice will be heard anew in the valuable collection of his essays on Hume and the edition of Hutcheson's private correspondence that he tragically did not live to see published.

Knud Haakonssen, Universities of St. Andrews and Copenhagen



IN MEMORIAM: HENRY LEVAN FULTON (1935–2021)

Weeks before his death on 19 August 2021, at the age of 86, Henry Fulton was still at work. Undaunted by his advanced age and accompanying health problems, he wrote about his latest project in an email to a colleague on 4 July, "My scholarly instincts have seized control of me." And it is as an indefatigable scholar that he will be remembered by many who knew him personally and by others who know him only through his publications. After obtaining his PhD at the University of Michigan, Henry taught English literature at Central Michigan University from 1967 until he retired in 2000. He continued to study the Scottish Enlightenment, concentrating mainly on the life and work of the physician and author, Dr. John Moore. His definitive biography, *Dr. John Moore, 1729–1802*:

A Life in Medicine, Travel, and Revolution (2015), immediately took its place as the standard biography of Moore and has been recognized as a major contribution to eighteenth-century scholarship.

Henry embodied the two main qualities of a scholar: a mind always open to new ideas and a generosity in sharing his knowledge and his enthusiasms. Many of us know him mainly in this capacity, but his students and colleagues valued the man they described as “a master teacher: informed, humorous and kind-hearted.” At Central Michigan University he ran the study abroad program, and he and his wife Nancy, who survives him along with three grown children, set up an annual scholarship to enable students to enroll for a semester of courses at a Scottish university. Henry had many Scottish interests, which he promoted passionately, including Celtic music, malt whisky, and of course literature. He and Nancy were also deeply involved in church affairs, and in his last years Henry was at work on a study of an aunt who served as a missionary in China during the 1930s.

Henry was a devoted member of ECSSS from its inception in 1986, and he served a term as its Vice President and as a member of the Executive Board. The first ECSSS newsletter in Spring 1987 notes that at its inaugural seminar, during an ASECS conference, Henry presented a paper titled “The Failed Dream of Dr. John Moore.” This signaled the start of a lifetime of scholarship devoted to Moore, the publication of numerous articles, and the regular presentation of papers at ECSSS and ASECS conferences. Henry’s last ECSSS conference paper, “Married to Glasgow: John Moore’s Anxiety over Money,” was presented at the 2018 conference in Glasgow. In it he explored how the commercial heritage of the city contributed to Moore’s philosophical and psychological formation. It was especially fitting, therefore, that during a civic reception in the City Chambers for ECSSS, Henry’s work was officially recognized by his being made a burgess and a freeman of Glasgow—an honor rarely given to those born outside the city.

Sandra McCallum, University of Glasgow



IN MEMORIAM: BARBARA MURISON (1941–2019)

I learned only recently that historian Barbara Murison passed away in London, Ontario, on 23 December 2019. Barbara was born and raised in England and attended Cambridge University in the early 1960s. She emigrated to Canada but later taught history at Alma College in St. Thomas and St. Margaret’s School in Edinburgh. Returning to Ontario, she taught for some years at University of Western Ontario. Barbara was an enthusiastic member of ECSSS during her years at Western and in 2018 contributed an article titled “Roads Not Taken: Alternative Views of the Empire” to a special issue of *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* consisting of papers delivered at the 2013 ECSSS conference at the Sorbonne on “Scotland, Europe, and Empire.”

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers-Newark

BEETHOVEN, BURNS, AND GEORGE THOMSON ON DISPLAY IN EDINBURGH

ECSSS member Bill Zachs has organized an exhibition on “Beethoven, Burns and the Folksong” at his library off the Royal Mile in Edinburgh. The exhibition poses a question: how did Ludwig van Beethoven and Robert Burns join their creative talents to produce a series of remarkable folksong arrangements composed for piano, violin, cello, and voices? At the heart of the display is a 24-page musical autograph in Beethoven’s hand of five of the 180 arrangements the composer produced for the Edinburgh-based music publisher George Thomson—including Beethoven’s setting of Burns’s song “Highland Harry.” The unsung hero of the exhibition, Thomson was a civil servant with a passion for collecting, commissioning, and publishing arrangements of the folksong melodies of Scotland. He brought together not only Beethoven and Burns but also Joseph Haydn and Carl Maria von Weber, Walter Scott and Lord Byron, and other composers and poets, both famous and forgotten. The project continued for over fifty years with volume after volume of publications, many of which are on display. A fine portrait of Thomson by Colvin Smith (on loan from the City of Edinburgh) hangs in the center of the room, flanked by portraits of Beethoven and Burns.

The first section of the exhibition, “Beethoven and Scotland,” asks how Beethoven came to love all things Scottish. The simple answer is “Ossian.” On display are the principal editions and translations of James Macpherson’s Ossianic texts (including the rare 1760 *Fragments of Ancient Poetry*), as well as David Martin’s oil portrait of Macpherson. On a stand beside the painting is a stone-carved third-century “Celtic” head, there to imagine the representation of an Ossianic figure. Editions of Goethe’s *Sorrows of Young Werter* in German and English, with its passages of Ossianic texts, mark out one of the principal links between Beethoven and Scotland. The wider story of Scoto-Germanic connections is also told through a variety of books, manuscripts, and works of art.

A second section, “Burns and the Scottish Folksong,” opens with Wordsworth’s copy of the Kilmarnock edition of Burns’s *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* and the dedication copy of the *Scots Musical Museum* presented to the Edinburgh-based Catch Club. They complement what may be the exhibition’s most significant item: the manuscript (on loan from a private collection) of Burns’s extensive and rarely displayed Border Journal, which was recently edited by Nigel Leask in the first volume of the *Oxford Burns Edition*. Also included is a letter

from Burns to the Scottish Episcopal clergyman and poet John Skinner celebrating Scottish song.

The next section turns to George Thomson and the origins of his ambitious project. Thomson recalled sitting rapt at St. Cecilia's Hall in Edinburgh's Cowgate as a young man, listening to concerts arranged by the Edinburgh Musical Society. He was moved by the dulcet tones of the Italian castrato Guisto Tenducci singing traditional Scottish melodies. A fine mezzotint of Tenducci suggests the moment when young Thomson realized his mission to unite the traditions of Scotland's national melodies with European classical music. By means of this synthesis he single-handedly brought a new kind of music into the drawing rooms of British society. Thomson's engraved publications of Scottish as well as Irish and Welsh songs are on display, along with rare separate publications of the original violin and cello parts. A volume of proof copies of engravings commissioned by Thomson to enhance his publications takes the exhibition directly into the story of the production of these handsome volumes.

Another section relates individual stories of the five song arrangements in the principal Beethoven manuscript, considering the origins of both the melodies and the texts, with a special focus on "Highland Harry." One of the songs, "Oh Mary Ye's Be Clad in Silk," was never published by Thomson because he judged Beethoven's arrangement too difficult for all but a few of his amateur players. The correspondence between Beethoven and Thomson reveals how Thomson pleaded with the maestro to simplify the parts. The temperamental composer responded sharply: "I am not accustomed to retouch my compositions....It was your job to give me a better idea of the lack of skill of your performers." Then he added, "Were it not for a very particular...affection I feel for Scottish melody, I would not undertake this task...not for any fee." In another letter to Thomson, Beethoven challenged the view of scholars who have dismissed these arrangements as lucrative hack-work: "There are some songs which cannot succeed without some trouble, although one does not hear this when playing or looking at them....Some harmonies can be found very quickly, but [with] the simplicity, character and nature of the tune, to do so successfully is not always as easy for me as you perhaps believe; an infinite number of harmonies can be found, but only one is suited to the genre and character of the melody."

Also on display is the only known original letter from Thomson's side of his extensive correspondence with Burns. Burns's own letters to Thomson in the Morgan Library reveal more about the poet's creative process than any other source. In one letter in the exhibition, Burns explains his method: "Until I am a complete master of a tune in my own singing (such as it is) I never can compose for it. My way is: I consider the poetic sentiment correspondent to my idea of the musical expression; then chuse my theme; begin one Stanze; when it is composed, which is generally the most difficult part of the business, I walk out, sit down now & then, look out for objects in Nature around me that are in...harmony with the cogitations of my fancy & workings of my bosom; humming every now and then the air with the verses I have framed; when I feel my Muse beginning to jade, I retire to the solitary fireside of my study, & there commit my effusions to paper; swinging, at intervals, on the hind legs of my elbow-chair, by way of calling forth my own critical strictures, as my pen goes on."

Amid the original letters and other manuscripts, amid the original printed editions and fine images of the principal protagonists, many rarely seen, a monitor in the exhibition room plays the film of a live performance by students of the Royal Conservatoire of Scotland of the pieces in the Beethoven autograph, along with a handful of Beethoven's other arrangements of Burns's songs commissioned by Thomson. The music of Beethoven, the words of Burns, and the spirit of George Thomson fill the room.

The exhibition will run from mid-June to the end of 2022 and is open to all by appointment. Contact Bill Zachs at williamzachs@gmail.com. A book to accompany the exhibition will contain essays by Kirsteen McCue, the editor of *Robert Burns's Songs for George Thomson* (reviewed in this issue), and by musicologist Petra Weber-Bockhldt, the editor for Henle of this body of Beethoven's *Werke*. Bill Zachs will provide an introductory essay as well as a descriptive catalogue of nearly one hundred items in the exhibition.

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Corey E. ANDREWS, "Poems in the Scots Register, 1650–1750," in *ICSL*, 41–55.

Kendra ASHER, "Moderation and the Liberal State: David Hume's *History of England*," *Journal of Economic Behavior and Organization* 184 (2021): 850–59.

Nigel ASTON, "Principle, Polemic, and Ambition: Boswell's *A Letter to the People of Scotland* and the End of the Fox–North Coalition, 1783," in *BP*, 144–62.

Nigel ASTON, "Survival Strategies: Jacobite Adaptability, 1689–1789, and Counter-Revolutionary Prototypes," in *Cosmopolitan Conservatism: Countering Revolution in Transnational Networks, Ideas, and Movements (c.1700–1930)*, ed. Matthijs Lok, Friedemann Pestel, and Juliette Reboul (Brill, 2021), 175–96.

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Key to the Abbreviations

BP=*Boswell and the Press: Essays on the Ephemeral Writings of James Boswell, Esq.*, ed. Donald J. Newman (Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2021).

JCSL=*International Companion to Scottish Literature of the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Leith Davis and Janet Sorensen (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literature, 2021).

NP= “Nicholas Phillipson and the Sciences of Humankind in Enlightenment Scotland,” special issue of *History of European Ideas* (individual articles published online in summer 2021), 48.1 (2022).

PRB=*Performing Robert Burns: Enactments and Representations of the “National Bard,”* ed. Ian Brown and Gerard Carruthers (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021).

SE=*The Scottish Enlightenment: Human Nature, Social Theory and Moral Philosophy: Essays in Honour of Christopher J. Berry*, ed. R. J. W. Mills and Craig Smith (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021).

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Balance 1 Jan. 2021: £24,534.23

Income: +£1024.26 (dues, book orders, and donations)

Expenses: –£1000 (website management)

Balance 31 Dec. 2021: £24,558.49

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Balance 1 Jan. 2021: \$29,243.24

Income: +\$4380.44 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal: \$946; transfer from PayPal: \$1934.44; ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship: \$1500)

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Balance 31 Dec. 2021: \$30,275.13

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