

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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

SEE YOU IN ST ANDREWS!

ECSSS will join forces with the International Adam Smith Society and the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy for this year's conference, hosted by the Institute of Intellectual History at St Andrews University on 18–21 July 2023. The conference will kick off with a plenary talk by Nigel Leask of Glasgow University on "Thomas Pennant, Dr. Johnson, and the Scottish Enlightenment." Nigel's talk will address one of the conference themes, celebrating the 250th anniversary of the 1773 journey to Hebrides by James Boswell and Samuel Johnson. Another of the conference's themes, the tercentenary of the birth of Adam Ferguson in 1723, will be addressed in another plenary lecture by Lisa Hill from the University of Adelaide in Australia and in several panel talks. John Witherspoon, also born in 1723, will be the subject of a plenary lecture by Gideon Mailer of the University of Minnesota titled "Witherspoon at 300: Enlightenment and Revolution in History and Memory," and there will also be two panels devoted mainly to Witherspoon. But the 300th birthday of Adam Smith will get the most attention, with many panels and a concluding plenary lecture by Jeng-Guo Chen of Academia Sinica in Taipei, "Another Adam Smith Problem? Adam Smith on Empire: A Historiographical Reflection." Among the Smith panels will be "author meets critics" ones on Daniel B. Klein's *Central Notions of Smithian Liberalism* (2023) and Andreas Ortmann and Benoit Walraevens's *Adam Smith's System: A Re-Interpretation Inspired by Smith's Lectures on Rhetoric, Game Theory, and Conjectural History* (2022).

Conference organizer James Harris has not neglected extra-conference activities. There will be an excursion to Kirkcaldy and the fishing village of Anstruther on the 20th and a conference banquet and ceilidh on the evening of the 21st. The ECSSS AGM will be a luncheon meeting on Friday the 21st at 12:30.

Our thanks to James Harris and the Institute of Intellectual History for their gracious support.

A LIVELY LIVERPUDLIAN CONFERENCE

With expert guidance from conference organizer Mark Towsey, the society's conference on "Scots Abroad" at the University of Liverpool, 28–30 July 2022, was a

smash hit. After the welcome from Mark and ECSSS president Craig Smith, John Mee of the University of York opened the conference on the 28th with a plenary lecture on "Scottish Networks in the Transpennine Enlightenment: Knowledge and Institutions, 1781–1832." The lecture was an outgrowth of his Leverhulme Trust project on "Networks of Improvement" in northern England, leading to new discoveries about Scottish ideas and expatriates in that branch of the Enlightenment.

After lunch a panel on "Books and Borrowing," chaired by Katie Halsey, featured papers by Kit Baston, Matthew Sangster, Alex Deans, and Gerard Lee McKeever on various aspects of work being done on Scottish borrowers' registers during the period from 1750 to 1830. In a concurrent panel on "Scottish Presbyterians and the Wider World," Xiang Wei spoke on religion and the Scottish military, Ned Landsman on Scottish Presbyterian-Episcopalian struggles for dominion in North America, Florence Petroff on John Erskine's sermons on Catholics and America, and Julia Pohlmann on "the imagined Jew in Scottish covenanting sermons" around the turn of the eighteenth century. Later that afternoon, in a panel on social history, Paul Tonks spoke on Andrew Bell and the "Madras System" and Lucy Henry spoke on food scarcity and crime in the Inverness Sheriff Court in the early 1780s. And in a panel on "Scots and Their Ideas in Europe," talks were given by Sophie Dunn on servants in travel by Scots in Europe and Clarisse Godard Desmarest on Napoleon and Ossianic imagery.

The second day of the conference started with concurrent panels on "James Wodrow and Samuel Kenrick" and on "Scots in North America." In the first, two of the editors of the ongoing Oxford edition of the Wodrow-Kenrick correspondence, Anthony Page and Emma Macleod, spoke on aspects of that project, while Michael Brown considered the "problematic orthodoxy" in a Wodrow sermon from 1794. Meanwhile, Pam Perkins explored W. E. Cormack's travels in Newfoundland, and Sophie Jones and Stuart Salmon explored different aspects of Scots in the American Revolution. The theme of Scots and Empire continued later that morning, in a panel covering aspects of Scottish activity in Tibet (Jocelyn Zimmerman), India (Jane Corrie and Eloise Grey), and Australia (Rosi

Carr). In the concurrent panel, Laura Doak, Clare Loughlin, Robbie Tree, and Susanne Weston delivered papers arising from their Leverhulm Trust-funded project on the Scottish Privy Council during the period 1692–1808, chaired by project leader Alastair Mann. Then former Daiches-Manning Fellow Désha Osborne of Hunter College, City University of New York gave a powerful keynote lecture on “The Men Who Killed Chatoyer: Alexander Leith and His Network of North East Scottish Settlers in Eighteenth-Century Saint Vincent,” which probed the nature and broader significance of the duel between Major Leith and Garifuna Chief Joseph Chatoyer in March 1795. The final panel of the day, on “Scottish Music at Home and Abroad,” included talks by Mhairi Lawson on Burns’s 1792 song “The Slave’s Lament,” Rachel Bani on Scottish Gaelic song and emigration, Mary-Jannet Leith on the promotion of Scottish music in London by James Oswald and Robert Bremner, and Ellen Beard on James Oswald’s “Hidden Gaelic Gems.” Then the conference participants walked to the Liverpool Athenaeum—a historic subscription library and newsroom founded in 1797 by Burns’s biographer James Currie, among others—where a wine reception at which Ned Landsman received the society’s Lifetime Achievement Award (see below) was followed by the ECSSS AGM.

There were six more concurrent panels on the third day of the conference. In a panel on Scottish Enlightenment thought, Craig Smith addressed ideas about “the rough edges of civilization” and Brad Bow treated Dr. John Gregory and common sense philosophy. In a concurrent panel, Clare Loughlin, Clotilde Prunier, and Gregory J. Tirenin gave papers on different aspects of Catholicism and Anti-Catholicism in Scotland, including some attention to the career and political theology of Bishop George Hay. At a panel later that morning on reading and libraries, the audience heard about the Leighton Library in Dunblane (Joshua Smith), reading national identity in Elizabeth Hamilton’s *Memoirs of Modern Philosophers* (Cleo O’Callaghan), the life and reading of Alexander Walker (Hannah Kelly), and Scottish perspectives on a new eighteenth-century libraries database (Mark Towsey). While that was happening, a panel on “Revolution, War and the Scots” featured papers by Nicola Martin on Scottish warfare and imperial attitudes in the period after Culloden, by Emma Pearce on tartan uniforms in the British Empire, by Rory Butcher on Scottish fencibles, and by Rémy Duthille on celebrations of revolution by Scots abroad and foreign travelers in Scotland. In the afternoon, Leith Davis (the Lyon in Mourning) and Michael Taylor (James Edward Oglethorpe in Georgia) held forth in a panel on “Jacobites and Jacobitism,” while a panel on “Race, Slavery and Scots in Jamaica” featured papers by Kevin Marshall on Scottish overseers and Matthew Lee on Hector MacNeill’s views on the subject.

Congratulations to Mark Towsey and his committee for sustaining this conference through Covid and making it such a great success.

OTTAWA WITH CSECS AND NE/ASECS

From 26 to 29 October 2022, ECSSS participated 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.” Although ECSSS’s role was necessarily limited because this conference followed so closely on the heels of the society’s annual conference at Liverpool, there were several significant contributions. The conference opened on the morning of 27 October with a panel on “Returning to Hume’s *History*,” chaired by David Raynor, with papers by Mark Spencer on Hume’s review of Robert Henry’s *History of Great Britain*, Mikko Tolonen on religion in Hume’s view of the English Civil War, and Marc Hanvelt on a reconsideration of Hume’s “disdain” for Adam Ferguson’s *Essay on the History of Civil Society*. That afternoon, in a panel on “Scotland and the Experience of Modernity,” Pam Perkins spoke on “Travelling for Improvement” in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotland, Timothy Forest explored the “paradoxes” concerning Scottish islanders in British North America, and Adam Budd spoke on the London publisher Andrew Millar as a “Manager of Enlightenment.” The speakers in a third major ECSSS panel, on “Scottish Enlightenment Thinkers,” were William Donaldson (Thomas Blackwell), Ruth Perry (Thomas Gordon and the Aberdeen Philosophical Society), and Zubin Meer (Adam Ferguson’s nineteenth-century reputation). In another panel, Toni Vogel Carey spoke on “Conjectural History as a Scientific Method.” A variety of other topics were addressed by other ECSSS members (e.g., Kathryn Ready, JoEllen DeLucia, Elizabeth Kraft, and Rivka Swenson). Other ECSSS highlights occurred on the final day of the conference, when Leith Davis gave a plenary address on “Mediating Memory and Modernity in the 1745–46 Rising: Networking Jacobites” and presented the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Ruth Perry (see below).

ECSSS is grateful to Frans de Bruyn and Mitia Rioux-Beaulne of the University of Ottawa for putting together this major conference under difficult circumstances. The program committee included three ECSSS members who also contributed to the planning: Moira Hansen, Pam Perkins, and Rick Sher.

THE 2024 CONFERENCE IN PRINCETON

Four years after the joint Princeton conference of ECSSS and the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy had to be canceled on account of Covid, ECSSS and ISSP will hold a joint conference at Princeton Theological Seminary on 30 May–2 June 2024. The theme will be “Crisis, Continuity, and Change in Eighteenth-Century Scotland.” The conference will feature plenary talks by Paul Wood of the University of Victoria on “Hume and the Genesis of Thomas Reid’s *Inquiry into the Human Mind*” and Carol McGuirk of Florida Atlantic University on “Shifting Views of Labor and the Peasantry in Allan

Ramsay, Robert Fergusson, and Robert Burns.” We are hoping to have an excursion to the extraordinary Grounds for Sculpture as well as a walking tour of historic Princeton.

Call for Papers. Proposals for 90-minute panels or roundtables and 15-20-minute individual papers, along with a one-page cv for each speaker, should be sent to the program organizer, Rick Sher (rbsher6@gmail.com), by 15 November 2023.

MICHAEL BROWN LEADS ECSSS

At the AGM at the University of Liverpool on 29 July 2022, Michael Brown (history, U. of Aberdeen) was elected the society’s nineteenth President, succeeding Craig Smith, and JoEllen DeLucia (literature, Central Michigan U.) was elected vice president, succeeding Pam Perkins. Moira Hansen (literature, Open U.) was elected executive secretary, succeeding Rick Sher. Graduate students Rachel Bani (music, Florida State U.) and Kevin Marshall (history, Stony Brook U.) were elected members-at-large. Jean-François Dunyach, Emma Macleod, Mark Towsey, and Rick Sher were reelected to terms on the Executive Board.

The 2025 Conference: The membership approved a proposal to hold the society’s 2025 conference at the University of Stirling on the theme of “Scots and the Environment.” Since the meeting, the dates of the Stirling conference have been tentatively set for 22–25 July 2025.

The 2026 Conference: The membership also approved a proposal to meet in Philadelphia with the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 7–11 April 2026. This meeting will pay tribute to the 250th anniversaries of the American Revolution (and its connections with Scotland), the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, and the death of David Hume.

LANDSMAN AND PERRY HONORED

At the Liverpool conference in July 2022, Ned Landsman, Professor of History Emeritus at Stony Brook University, was awarded the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award for contributions to eighteenth-century Scottish studies. The award was presented by Ned’s PhD student Kevin Marshall, who noted that Ned is perhaps the foremost scholar in the world on eighteenth-century Scotland and America. Among his many publications is a volume that he edited in the ECSSS book series, *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600–1800* (2001). Ned’s contributions to ECSSS have been exceptional, including continuous service on the Executive Board since 1999 and a term as president of the society in 2002.

At the Ottawa conference in October 2022, Leith Davis presented the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Ruth Perry, Ann Fetter Friedlander Professor of Humanities Emeritus and Professor of English Emerita at MIT. Leith expounded on Ruth’s long and distinguished record of achievement in eighteenth-century literature, including ground-breaking publications on women and kinship in the novel, and

her important work on Scottish balladry that will result in a forthcoming book on Anna Gordon Brown. Ruth has also made major contributions to ECSSS, including compiling, with the eminent historian of Jacobite song William Donaldson, an “Enlightenment Songster,” which she and Willie used to lead Scottish song fests at several ECSSS conferences.

Congratulations Ned and Ruth!

DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWSHIP NEWS

This year the stipend of the ECSSS-ASECS [Daiches-Manning Fellowship](#) was increased to a maximum of £3900 for three months in residence at the University of Edinburgh’s Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities (IASH). With the support and generosity of IASH, the stipend has been fixed at the level recommended by UK Research and Innovation (UKRI) going forward.

THE DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWS

As discussed in the last issue, two 2022 Daiches-Manning Fellows are in residence at IASH this spring and summer: Elad Carmel and Valerie Wallace.

The recipient of the 2023 Daiches-Manning Fellowship is Noelle Gallagher, senior lecturer in eighteenth-century literature at the University of Manchester, who will be in residence at IASH in the autumn, doing research on a fascinating topic: oats and Scottishness in eighteenth-century print culture.

ADAM SMITH @ 300

The University of Glasgow, with support from the John Templeton Foundation and the Hunter Foundation, has launched a major project to mark the tercentenary of the birth of Adam Smith. “Tercentenary Week” will take place from 5 to 10 June, with talks and events celebrating Smith as a scholar, an educator, and a citizen. Among the major events is a day-long “Adam Smith 300 Symposium” on Saturday 10 June. ECSSS members Craig Smith and Ryan Hanley will be among the participants, and there will also be Adam Smith artifacts from the university’s collections on display. Further information is available at <https://www.gla.ac.uk/explore/adamsmith300/>.

HUME SOCIETY NEWS

The [Hume Society](#) is inviting submissions for the Third Annual Hume Studies Essay Prize. Open to graduate students and recent PhDs, the prize carries a stipend of \$1000 as well as publication in *Hume Studies*. The deadline for submissions is 1 August 2023. Further information: <https://www.humesociety.org/ojs/index.php/hs/announcement>.

The Hume Society will be holding its 50th annual conference in Oxford, 1–6 July 2024, hosted by Oxford University and Oxford Brooks University, on the theme “Hume: Past, Present, and Future.” The deadline for paper proposals is 1 December 2023, and further information will be posted on the society’s website in early autumn.

JOURNAL OF SCOTTISH THOUGHT

The *Journal of Scottish Thought* has been relaunched. Now published by Aberdeen University Press in open access format, the journal has a new editor, Brad Bow, and a new Editorial Board with many ECSSS members. As part of the launch, *JST* is planning a special issue on “Rethinking Scottish Thought,” to consider “the question of how scholars envision new horizons for the study of Scottish intellectual culture” across and between disciplines. Articles of 5000–8000 words are invited, with abstracts sent to the editor (Bradford.Bow@abdn.ac.uk) by 1 July 2023 and final submission by 30 September.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Rachel Bani is a temporary instructor at Converse U. in South Carolina...new member **Carmen-Veronica Borbely**, associate professor of English at Babes-Bolyai U. in Romania, is interested in the Scottish novel and the gothic...**Michael Brown**, now chair of the Academic Board of Aberdeen U., spoke at the 2022 ASECS meeting in St. Louis and will give a talk in Kirkcaldy in June at an event marking the Adam Smith tercentenary...**Stewart J. Brown** is now professor of divinity Emeritus at Edinburgh U....new member **Elad Carmel** is currently in residence at IASH as a Daiches-Manning Fellow...**Gerard Caruthers** is co-editor of *1820: Scottish Rebellion*, published by John Donald...**Leith Davis**'s April talk on “Encoding and Analyzing ‘The Lyon in Mourning’” can be viewed on the Association for Scottish Literature website; Leith gave a keynote talk in March at the launch of the U. of Guelph's special exhibition on Jacobite sources...**Paul de Gategno** has retired from Penn State U. at Brandywine...new member **Rebekah Doroszenko** is an independent scholar interested in gardens, designed landscapes, and architecture...new member **Tamas Demeter** of the Research Center for the Humanities in Budapest has published widely in the history of science and philosophy...**Jean-François Dunyach** has been appointed Vice-Head of History at the Sorbonne...**Michael Edson** is co-editor of a special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life* (47.2) on the Scottish sailor poet William Falconer...new member **John Feldmann**, a senior fellow at the Center for Financial Stability in New York, is interested in Scottish philosophy and religion; he has also brokered a new institutional membership for the **Prospero Society of Hampden-Sydney College** in Virginia, which has historical ties to John Witherspoon...**Elizabeth Ford** is living on a West Virginia mountain top as a research scholar at the Future Generations U.; in April her Blackwater Press published *Anangokaa*, Cameron Alam's novel about a Scottish girl in Canada in 1804...new member **Tony Gee** is an independent scholar interested in the history of sports, especially pugilism...**Eloise Grey** is now a teaching fellow in history at Aberdeen U...**Moira Hansen** and **Kirsteen McCue** were academic consultants for Allan Cumming's production *Burn*...**Mike Hill** plans to return to the 18th century after publication of his 2022 book *On Posthuman War*...in Sept. **Colin Kidd** and **Silvia Se-**

bastiani will be keynote speakers at the International Society for Intellectual History's conference at Edinburgh U. on “Crisis and Change in Intellectual History since c.1450”...**Mike Kugler** has published *Into the Jungle!*, a book about the comics drawn by his father during World War II...**Ned Landsman** is now Emeritus professor of history at Stony Brook U., where he is continuing to supervise PhD students, two of whom have book reviews in this issue...new member **Mary Jannet Leith** is a PhD candidate at the U. of Southampton with an interest in Scottish musical culture in London...**Felicity Loughlin** is now lecturer in the history of modern Christianity in the Edinburgh U. Divinity School...though based in Philadelphia, new member **Caroline McIntyre** is pursuing an M.Litt in Scottish history at the U. of Dundee...**Robin Mills** is now the book review editor of *History of European Ideas*...**Minakshi Minon** is a research associate in the Dept. of Social Studies of Medicine at McGill U....**Stephen Mullen**'s *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy*, reviewed in this issue, was launched at the Glasgow U. Centre for Scottish & Celtic Studies on 29 Nov. 2022; in March Stephen spoke in the centre's seminar series on “Archaeological Sites and Imperial Wealth in 19th-Century Scotland”...**Alastair Noble** received a PhD from the U. of Edinburgh, with a thesis on the Highlands and government, 1745–1760...new member **Tanner Ogle** is a PhD candidate in history at Texas A&M U., interested in the cultural, religious, and political history of the British Empire & the Atlantic world...new member **Emma Pearce** is a PhD candidate in art at Edinburgh U., studying tartan in visual and material culture...**Spartaco Puppo** has been awarded Italian national qualification for a professorship in history of political thought...Cambridge U. Press is publishing **John Robertson**'s edited volume *Time, History, and Political Thought*, based on a conference John organized in Cambridge in 2018...**Roy Rosenstein** is now Distinguished Professor of Literature Emeritus at American U. of Paris...in Sept. 2022 **Terry Seymour** spoke to the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society on “The Many Lives of James Boswell”...new member **Gregory Tirenin** is a PhD candidate in history at Boston U., with an interest in religious & political history...**Felix Waldmann** is now a research fellow in history at the Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, Australian Catholic U. in Melbourne; his 2017 IASH workshop on “Hume's Thought and Hume's Circle” has been published as a special issue of *History of European Ideas*, with additional contributions by ECSSS members David Raynor and Richard Sher...**Valerie Wallace** spoke on “The Reformed Presbyterian Church of Scotland and British Imperialism” as the keynote speaker at the Scottish Church History Society conference on 19 Nov. 2022...**Carl Wennerlind** is now the chair of the History Dept. at Barnard College, Columbia U....new member **Reva Wolf**, professor of art history at State U. of New York, New Paltz, is interested in portraiture & in freemasonry and art...in June 2022 **Bill Zachs** narrated performances on “Beethoven, Burns and the Folksong” at Broughton House in Kirkcudbright, Culzean Castle, and The Georgian House in Edinburgh.

The Scottish Enlightenment Confronts the Gods: Robert Millar's Global History of Religions (1723)

By Felicity Loughlin, University of Edinburgh

The intellectual culture of the Scottish Enlightenment has been celebrated for its pioneering contributions to many fields of inquiry, including philosophy, economics, science, and, perhaps most distinctively, the nascent disciplines of psychology and sociology. More recently, however, it has become increasingly evident that religion demands greater scholarly attention if we wish to gain a fuller understanding of the intellectual life of eighteenth-century Scotland and its legacy. As recent work by Thomas Ahnert, Stewart J. Brown, and Simon Grote, among others, has shown, theological questions and religious ideas were central to many of the Scottish Enlightenment's philosophical, aesthetic, scientific, and historical debates. Robin Mills has likewise shown that religion was fundamental to the emergence of a distinctive and influential Scottish science of human nature. My forthcoming book, *The Scottish Enlightenment Confronts the Gods*, which stems from my doctoral research, contributes to this important project of restoring religion to the intellectual history of eighteenth-century Scotland. It does so by recovering the Scots' substantial engagement with global non-Christian religious cultures, which were pivotal to their attempts to chart the origins and development of religion and its relationship with social and moral progress.

The book focuses especially on the Scottish literati's fascination with "paganism." This was a capacious conceptual category, which encompassed the rich tapestry of non-Abrahamic religions that lay beyond Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. The roots of this now-outdated categorization date back to the fourth-century Christian communities of the Roman Empire, who applied the term *pagani* to those who were neither Christian nor Jewish. As Alan Cameron argued in *The Last Pagans of Rome* (2010), by conceptualizing the diverse non-Abrahamic faiths of antiquity as representatives of a single religious type, "there is a very real sense in which Christianity actually created paganism" (p. 26). This Christian invention proved remarkably long-lived, and for European intellectuals, "paganism" remained a dominant way of conceptualizing non-Abrahamic global religions well into the Enlightenment.

As Frank Manuel demonstrated in his pioneering work, *The Eighteenth Century Confronts the Gods* (1959), pagan religions acquired new importance and relevance in this period amid the rise of new forms of unbelief and heterodoxy. Manuel revealed how non-Abrahamic religions were drawn into Europe's "great trial of Christianity" (p. 6), as skeptics, deists, and atheists mobilized the pagan past in their writings. For if it could be shown that religion was a natural phenomenon which followed universal patterns of development across all human societies, the distinctiveness of Christianity would be crucially undermined. Since Manuel's ground-breaking book, scholars including Justin Champion, Peter Harrison, and Jonathan Israel have done much to expand our understanding of the importance of pagan religious history in radical critiques of Christianity. Yet it is only recently that Christian participants in the debate have begun to be brought back into the frame. A growing body of scholarship has stressed the need to take seriously the sacred histories, mythographies, religious compendia, and histories of idolatry compiled by orthodox scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Dismissed by Manuel as uncritical and pedantic, such works have been shown to have played a pivotal role in framing new understandings of global religious history and were only later mobilized by more radical thinkers. More recently, attention has begun to be paid to eighteenth-century Christian thinkers who engaged in the battle over paganism. As Colin Kidd recently argued in *The World of Mr. Casaubon: Britain's Wars of Mythography, 1700–1870* (2016), many intellectuals within the Christian mainstream were confident that pagan history was a powerful weapon in the "intense struggle for the mind of European civilization" (p. 30) and would prove the truth and superiority of Christianity.

My book builds on these recent developments to argue that eighteenth-century Scotland offers a particularly illuminating case study for exploring the Christian engagement with pagan religious history in Enlightenment Europe. Scotland is a prime example of the "religious" or "moderate" Enlightenment; most Scottish intellectuals of the eighteenth century belonged to the Christian mainstream, and many of its leading luminaries in the latter half of the century were ordained clerics within the established Presbyterian Church. Additionally, unlike the literati of many other European countries, it was only from the early 1700s that numerous Scottish intellectuals began to devote substantial attention to pagan religion, its origins, and its effects on human societies. As such, their writings provide insights into the significance of paganism for Christian thinkers in the eighteenth century in particular.

Given that the majority of Scots subscribed to some form of Christianity, it is ironic that the only well-known Scottish contribution to Europe's encounter with paganism is *The Natural History of Religion* (1757) by the notorious skeptic David Hume. This provocative account of paganism owes its celebrity both to the reputation of its author as one of the most influential philosophers in Western history and to its acknowledged status as a seminal contribution to the sociology of religion. If we are to gain any sense of the distinctiveness or legacy of Hume's contribution, however, it is important to recover wider explorations of paganism within the Scottish Christian

mainstream, to which the *Natural History of Religion* contributed. More importantly, by recovering the forgotten voices in the Scottish engagement with non-Abrahamic religious history across the globe, we acquire fresh perspectives not only on Hume's contribution but more significantly on the wider contours that shaped the debate in Scotland and beyond. This approach reveals that the pagan past did not necessarily promote a sense of anxiety or crisis among Christian thinkers. Nor did interpretations of non-Abrahamic religions merely pit Christian intellectuals against atheists, deists, skeptics, and freethinkers. Crucially, contrasting approaches to paganism and the history of religion also separated different varieties of Christian thinkers from one another.

The book therefore begins by exploring Scottish inquiries into the pagan past in the "early" (pre-1740) phase of the Scottish Enlightenment, before moving to consider contributions of Hume and others in the age of the "high" (post-1740) Enlightenment. This broad chronological scope allows us to ask interesting questions about change and continuity in Scottish approaches to paganism and the nature of religion across the eighteenth century. To what extent did earlier scholarly approaches to paganism shape Scotland's distinctive sociological accounts of religion in its latter decades? Did the study of pagan religious history prompt a marked movement toward a more secular understanding of religion as a natural product of human societies? Did the Scottish literati ultimately reach a consensus in their explanations of paganism? And how far did Christianity retain its privileged position in global religious history?

To answer these questions, the book focuses on thinkers who made the most substantial or influential contributions to the discussion, each chosen to reflect the variety of ways in which Scottish thinkers made sense of paganism. These include, besides Hume, Andrew Michael (the Chevalier) Ramsay (1686–1743), a Catholic mystic and Jacobite who spent much of his life in France but maintained close connections with Scotland; Archibald Campbell (1691–1756), heterodox professor of divinity at St. Andrews; Thomas Blackwell (1701–1757), who held the chair of Greek at Aberdeen's Marischal College; and William Robertson (1721–93), who emerged as leader of the Church of Scotland's Moderate Party and later served as principal of the University of Edinburgh. An epilogue concludes the book by reflecting on the dominant idioms and strategies that shaped the Scots' histories of paganism and their influence on debates over the nature of religion. Positioning the Scottish contribution as part of the wider European engagement with the pagan past, it argues against the claim that such inquiries necessarily contributed to an inevitable devaluation of Christianity, while demonstrating that they nonetheless reframed approaches to religion in significant ways.

The book begins with the fascinating case of Robert Millar (1672–1752), father of the celebrated publisher Andrew Millar (1705–1768) and a devoted member of the Church of Scotland, who served as minister of Paisley Abbey in Renfrewshire from 1709. In 1723 Robert made his literary debut with the publication in two volumes of his remarkable *History of the Propagation of Christianity and Overthrow of Paganism*. This was a strikingly ambitious work, which charted the history of Christianity and paganism across the globe from antiquity to the present. It included a detailed account of the origins and progress of pagan idolatry, its decline as many converted to Christianity, and a survey of the "present state of the heathens" in Asia, Africa, and the Americas. Published by subscription, it generated substantial public interest, and over 460 individuals joined the list of subscribers, primarily local men and women but also many from towns and villages across Scotland, England, and Ireland. With the encouragement of his son, Andrew, a second edition was printed in London in 1726, followed by a third edition in 1731. Andrew had rightly perceived the publishing potential of his father's *Propagation*, which soon met with international acclaim. It was therefore with considerable justification that Andrew's epitaph to his father declared that he had merited a well-deserved place in the *respublica Christiana* by his writings.

Despite Robert's contemporary renown, however, few scholars have examined his contribution to Scottish historical scholarship. Important exceptions include John Foster, Ronald Davies and, most recently, Paul Tonks, who has drawn attention to Millar's *Propagation* as a pioneering contribution to the historiography of Christian missions. My book argues, however, that this work was also notable as one of the first and most substantial Scottish contributions to the European Enlightenment's investigation of paganism. As such, it sheds valuable light on the reasons why the pagan past began to matter to Scottish thinkers in the early decades of the eighteenth century. How far did Scots such as Millar engage with or depart from earlier European investigations of paganism? And what does Millar's work reveal about wider Scottish debates on religion and the distinctiveness of Christianity?

Like many eighteenth-century Scots, Millar saw the history of paganism as largely a history of idolatry. Osiris, Zeus, and Jupiter were false gods, as were the deities of contemporary non-Abrahamic religions, and their misguided devotees failed to direct correct worship to the one true deity. While a few wise philosophers may have attained some knowledge of fundamental religious truths, the vast majority of pagans had always been steeped in idolatrous error. "Idolatry" was a conceptual category with distinctly negative undertones. The Ten Commandments issued to the Israelites by the "jealous God" of the Old Testament included injunctions against the worship of other gods and the making of idols (Exodus 20: 3–6, Deuteronomy 5: 7–10). "Idolatry" also continued to frame Scottish accounts of popular paganism into the latter half of the century. As the most comprehensive account of popular paganism produced in Scotland at the time of its publication, and as a work to which many Scots sub-

scribed, Millar's *Propagation* provides an ideal starting point for exploring the importance of the pagan multitude to educated Scots of the early eighteenth century.

Three key conclusions can be drawn from a close analysis of this pioneering work. First, the discussion and footnotes in Millar's *Propagation* reveal his indebtedness to earlier European scholarship on the history of popular paganism. Millar cited many prominent histories of idolatry in his account, including John Selden's *De Diis Syriis* (1617), which examined the Near Eastern deities mentioned in the Old Testament, Gerardus Johannes Vossius's monumental *De Theologia Gentili* (1641), and Samuel Bochart's *Geographia Sacra* (1646), which mapped the spread of idolatry across the ancient world after the Flood. Following such writers, Millar framed his account within the chronological parameters of the Bible. Although the previous century had led to the troubling discovery that certain pagan chronologies predated the generally accepted year of Creation, most notably the long dynasties of ancient Egypt, Millar shared the view of most of his contemporaries that the Bible was the most ancient record of early human history. Chronological disparities were explained as the result of falsification, inconsistencies, or curious dating practices on the part of pagan historians. As for European historians of idolatry, Millar regarded the Biblical landmarks of the Fall, the Flood, and the repopulation of the earth by Noah's descendants as the natural starting point for charting the historical origins and progress of popular paganism. In addition to drawing on early modern scholarship, Millar consulted biblical accounts of paganism, classical Greco-Roman texts, patristic writings, and reports of modern pagans by missionaries, travelers, merchants, and colonists. His analysis of pagan history was thus rooted in erudition, particularly in his familiarity with a wide range of biblical and classical texts and early modern scholarship. As my book illustrates, this was a pattern that can be seen in other Scottish accounts of paganism.

Secondly, however, close reading of the *Propagation* reveals that some of the most pressing concerns and questions that animated Millar's investigation of paganism differed substantially from those which had exercised earlier European historians of idolatry. Unlike thinkers such as Vossius or Bochart, Millar did not seek to trace the precise geographical progress of idolatry through forensic etymological and philological analysis, nor did he aim to provide a detailed analysis of the particular permutations of specific pagan beliefs over time. Instead, he offered a more general account of the patterns that had shaped the rise of idolatry. Most significantly, his analysis of popular paganism was principally concerned with tracing the broader relationship between religious belief and moral and social progress. For Millar, it was evident that idolatrous paganism had disastrous consequences for both individuals and societies. Page after page of his description of non-Abrahamic religions draws attention to the deficiencies of their theologies and devotional practices, stressing their folly and depravity. He was especially appalled by Jesuit reports of sati in eighteenth-century India. Citing Father Peter Martin's account of the Madurai mission on the Coromandel Coast, printed in 1719, Millar described in vivid detail how forty-seven royal widows in the Ramnad kingdom were pressured to throw themselves on their husband's funeral pyre. The gruesome account related how the women, roaring "in the most dreadful manner, and tumbling over each other, strove to gain the brim of the pit" (Millar, *Propagation*, 1731 edn., 2:157–58).

Millar anticipated that some of his readers might find his lengthy account of the grim features of popular paganism rather wearisome. Yet he stressed that these chapters were essential to his "main design." Indeed, his discussion of pagan idolatry was crucial to the dual apologetic aims that underpinned his work. First, by proving the devastating spiritual and social influence of paganism, Millar hoped to demonstrate the errors of the deists who placed too much confidence in natural religion. He especially targeted deist "antiscriturists" such as Charles Blount (1654–93), Charles Gildon (c.1665–1724), and John Toland (1670–1722), who had undermined the necessity of divine revelation. He was horrified by their claims that "natural religion"—the religious beliefs that could be deduced from human reason or the senses without the assistance of supernatural revelation—was entirely sufficient for salvation. Yet he saw in pagan idolatry a way of reasserting the importance of revealed Christianity. As pagans had either predated, lacked, or forgotten divine revelation, their religious beliefs and practices provided empirical evidence regarding the scope and limits of natural religion. If it could be proven that most pagans had fallen into drastic religious errors, then deist denials of the necessity of the supernatural revelation could be exposed as deeply flawed. As Millar concluded, "the state of *Paganism* over the world . . . does discover the insufficiency of nature's light to conduct men to happiness, and the necessity of divine revelation; since these religions invented by men, and propagated by the enemy of mankind are so absurd, and destructive to immortal souls" (Millar, *Propagation*, 2:224). As such, Millar hoped that his history would allow him to "contribute my mite, that libertines in this degenerate age, may not return us to a state of infidelity, from which we are, in the mercy of God, happily deliver'd" (2:2). As my book argues, similar sentiments were held by other Scots who delved into pagan religious history.

The related apologetic aim of Millar's work was to instill in his fellow Christians a sense of gratitude for their faith and a desire to share it with the rest of humanity. His account of paganism frequently contrasted the damaging social and moral consequences of popular paganism with the positive influence of Christianity. For Millar, pagan history proved that only divine revelation could reliably inform humans of their necessary duties to God

and one another. The gospel, he argued, was so crucial in guiding humanity to moral conduct and civilization that Christianity was central to safeguarding the world from barbarism, violence, and anarchy. “What is the world without Christianity? Nothing but a barbarous wilderness, a cage for devils and unclean spirits! ’Tis this that teaches the duty both of princes and people . . . and therefore is of great and excellent advantage even to civil society among men” (1:145). This fascination with the connection between religious belief and social progress was shared by other Scots throughout the century. More unusual was Millar’s attempt to yoke his account of pagan idolatry to an ardent appeal for the continued extension of Protestant missionary activity in non-European lands. His evangelical ardor would not find widespread support from his compatriots until the early decades of the nineteenth century, when large numbers of Scotsmen and women would rally behind Britain’s missionary endeavors with enthusiasm. Nevertheless, his emphasis on the general patterns that shaped the global history of paganism and his focus on the broader social and moral consequences of religious diversity were shared by others. From its inception, then, the Scottish fascination with paganism in the early eighteenth century lay not in detailed philological, particular analysis but in its relation to some of the most pressing religious and philosophical questions of the age, including the distinctiveness of Christianity, the scope and limits of natural religion, and the relationship between religion and human flourishing.

Finally, Millar’s *Propagation* reveals that for Christian intellectuals the encounter with non-Abrahamic religious history did not necessarily provoke a crisis of faith or a sense that Christianity was simply one religion among many. In the early decades of the eighteenth century, the pagan past continued to be positioned within biblical chronologies and narratives and was seen as a valuable means of rekindling the ardor of apathetic Christians and silencing unbelievers who had appealed to paganism to defend the sufficiency of natural religion. For Millar, as for many other Scots discussed in my book, the history of paganism was important because it proved rather than undermined the unique significance of Christianity in the global history of religion. For the most part, this remained true into the latter decades of the century, even as new scholarly methods and questions came to supplement the erudite traditions that had informed the writings of earlier thinkers such as Millar.

Nevertheless, as other chapters of my book discuss, not all Scots shared Millar’s distinctly negative interpretation of non-Abrahamic religious cultures. Additionally, some were more interested in exploring the religious beliefs and practices of those perceived as the wise pagan elite. Most significantly, while the apologetic significance of paganism prompted a deeper engagement with the global history of religion, it also fostered new theological and philosophical debates that divided different varieties of Scottish Christians.

This article is based on Felicity Loughlin’s doctoral thesis, “Religion, Erudition and Enlightenment: Histories of Paganism in Eighteenth-Century Scotland,” for which she was awarded a PhD in history from the University of Edinburgh in 2018. She is currently completing a monograph based on the thesis for Oxford University Press, titled *The Scottish Enlightenment Confronts the Gods: Paganism and the Nature of Religion*. In 2022 Felicity took up a lectureship in the School of Divinity at the University of Edinburgh, where her research and teaching explores the history of modern Christianity in Europe from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries, with a particular focus on the Scottish context. She is currently researching unbelief in the Scottish Christian landscape, c.1697–1914. She would be happy to engage in discussion of any aspects of her work (F.Loughlin@ed.ac.uk).

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Review Essays

Reclaiming Scots Poetic Heritage: Allan Ramsay's Crucial Intervention

By Carol McGuirk, Florida Atlantic University

"The *Scotticisms*, which perhaps may offend some over-nice Ear, give new Life and Grace to the Poetry."
—Allan Ramsay (1686–1758), defending his use of Scottish dialect in *Poems* (1721)

The Gentle Shepherd. Edited by Steve Newman and David McGuinness. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022. The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay. Volume 1. Pp. xxiii + 601.

Poems of Allan Ramsay. Edited by Rhona Brown. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay. Volume 2: *Poems: 1721 and 1728*. Volume 3: *Poems: Uncollected and Dubia*. Pp. xxi + 762, 449.

In a 1967 article in *Akros*, poet Tom Scott reflected on the eighteenth-century Scots vernacular poets—chiefly Robert Fergusson but also touching on Allan Ramsay and Robert Burns. Although “true heirs of the great Scottish tradition,” Scott argued, they had lost their language birthright due to such disruptions as the Union of Crowns (1603), the mid-seventeenth-century Civil War, and what Tom Scott saw as the *coup de grâce*, the 1707 Act of Union. The convulsions of history had “made a boneyard and called it Reformation; they had made a surrender and called it Union,” and by the eighteenth century gifted and aspiring vernacular poets inherited nothing but “a desolation” (p. 15). Their father’s “house [was] occupied by the enemy . . . [the] treasures and heirlooms . . . mostly locked up, . . . and [for Fergusson] only the faithful old caretaker, Allan Ramsay . . . was there to tell . . . snatches of what once had been” (pp. 15–16). By c.1711, when Ramsay began to write and circulate vernacular satires and comic elegies, the Scots literary tradition had been for some time virtually immobilized—“a whale stranded in shallows” (pp. 15–16).

The groundbreaking Ramsay volumes under review—the first three in a new edition of Ramsay’s collected works under the general editorship of Murray Pittock—present a strong case for Ramsay as more than a faithful caretaker. In fact, his hyperactive energy makes him more of a cultural juggernaut and chief instigator of the eighteenth-century Scots vernacular revival. There were others at that time who were gifted poets, including Ramsay’s correspondent William Hamilton of Gilbertfield; yet it was probably Ramsay who worked most tirelessly to un-beach the whale.

One of his most popular works, *The Gentle Shepherd*, is the focus of the first volume. Ramsay’s pastoral revolves, like Tom Scott’s parable of bereft poets, around the issue of stolen birthright and lost identity. This “pastoral comedy” (the play’s 1725 subtitle) celebrates a father’s return to his property as well as to a son and niece unaware that they have only been fostered by the shepherds who raised them. After thirteen years of Sir William Worthy’s absence in exile, his estate is almost in ruin; yet the shepherds are confident that better days have come and that Sir William will speedily rebuild. The editors of *The Gentle Shepherd*, Steve Newman and David McGuinness, discuss both early versions of Ramsay’s pastoral (1725 and 1729), and their commentaries are deeply nuanced and illuminating. Newman offers valuable insights on literary-historical matters, while McGuinness skillfully explains musical contexts and sources.

In volume 2, Rhona Brown considers Ramsay’s two subscription volumes of poems (1721 and 1728) and ably untangles and explicates the sometimes disparate conclusions drawn by Ramsay editors and bibliographers. One item de-canonized in this new edition is the so-called “gather-up” edition accepted by (and relied on for collation in) the Scottish Text Society’s Ramsay edition, with Burns Martin and John W. Oliver editing the first two volumes (1953–54) and Alexander Kinghorn and Alexander Law editing volumes 3–6 (1961–74). Brown’s discussion of the many variant 1720 “editions” and their wild irregularities builds an airtight case for considering the “gather up” more as a heap of miscellaneous pirated copies and fragments than a reliable copy-text. The matter made me reflect on the numerous obstacles to manuscript research when the STS editors were working. There is now comparative ease of access to manuscripts, many of which have been digitized by research libraries and archives and are available online. However, Brown takes seriously the evidence of her own research and persuasively delineates reasons for her editorial decisions. In volume 3 she considers a host of poems that Ramsay never collected in book form as well as a very small group of “Dubia”—poems that have been linked to Ramsay. The materials are of varying quality, but Brown’s commentary is just as balanced, fair-minded, and precise as it is in volume 2; again, she separates Ramsay’s authorized work from any faulty prior attributions. Brown’s volumes collate the poetic texts with Ramsay’s choices in earlier printings, such as pamphlets and broadsides; there are many such ephemeral publications, and it is good to have access to their unique details. In addition, like all poets Ramsay tink-

ered when he transposed, and the changes he made are sometimes revealing.

That volume 2 considers Ramsay's subscription volumes of the 1720s is sensible, as it is clear that the poet regarded these writings as his best work. He sought to improve many that had appeared in broadside during his early years as a poet, though in truth, with or without revision, the works completed before 1726 exhibit his liveliest and best uses of vernacular. The 1728 edition casts a mixed light on Ramsay's mood during his highest period of popularity, for the second Ramsay subscription volume seems somewhat overwrought, or perhaps just overdressed. The 1721 subscription list is some six pages long—the same page-count as the edition of 1728—but in 1721 the subscription list displays a wider range of occupations and characters, while the 1728 list feels a bit stuffy with all those aristocrats at the head of every letter. In 1728 some 62 new ones were added to the group. There are 72 new commoners in 1728 as well, but the impression is that they are chiefly drawn from the socially prominent: property owners and representatives of various professions as well as city officials. Under this crowded list, Ramsay rather abjectly expresses thanks, writing that he sees in the approval of his noble and generous subscribers an almost "Godlike Benevolence, [in] condescending to support [me]" (2:232). As a consequence, he continues, "I have taken Care to evite [Scots: *shun*] every Thought tending either to Debauchery or Irreligion, while I endeavour to be serviceable to Morality, even in those Verses of the merriest Turn; so that the most grave and modest, in reading, shall neither be shocked or affronted" (2:232–33). This promise may explain why Ramsay's early satires are for the most part absent from the second subscription *Poems*. In contrast, the poems in the 1721 edition convey a writer in a different frame of mind, comfortable in his own skin and relishing his success. Of the two, I prefer 1721 for its joyous inclusion of intense local color, including ungentle references to bodily functions and dense vernacular. In his 1786 Kilmarnock edition, Robert Burns too begins his first subscription edition not with something dignified, such as "The Cotter's Saturday Night" (though it is included as poem no. 13) but with "The Twa Dogs," a neglected masterpiece rich in dialect and earthy humor as well as being—at 238 lines—his second-longest poetic performance. In their first volumes, neither Ramsay nor Burns were especially worried about showcasing Scottish dialect: they loved it, and they used it as they saw fit. They shared a second opportunity for a subscription edition, too, about which both seem more ambivalent, abashed, and self-conscious.

Two versions of a kindred text are also contrasted and compared in the *Gentle Shepherd* volume. Ramsay's original version (1725) is no ballad-opera, yet it does include directions for some songs to be performed by the characters; the expanded ballad-opera of 1729 adds seventeen further songs (p. 11). Neither version from the 1720s prints the music, so McGuinness's notes are especially helpful in situating Ramsay's source-tunes. Readers of the 1720s who wished to consult the musical settings recommended in *The Gentle Shepherd* were directed to another text recently published by Ramsay, the first volume of *The Tea Table Miscellany* (1724); in this edition three or four lines of the opening musical setting are given (including multiple examples of variants) on pp. 462–558.

Ramsay's choice of 1660 as his historical setting for *The Gentle Shepherd*, as Newman perceptively notes, is significant in emphasizing a backstory of extended civil unrest that had recently ended. By backdating to 1660, Ramsay also eliminates any need to comment on other matters of contention that have not yet occurred in the world of the play, from Parliament's expulsion of James II in 1689 to the 1707 Act of Union. *The Gentle Shepherd* does emphasize the disruption of almost every character's life over the years of contention and unrest. Although eventually disclosed to be the son and niece of Sir William Worthy, for instance, central lovers Patie and Peggy have been reared as shepherd children and remain ignorant—as in Tom Scott's vision of vernacular poets—of their birthright. With the restoration of Charles II to the monarchy—the event immediately preceding the events in the play—Patie's father (who is also Peggy's uncle; she is the daughter of Sir William's beloved late sister) is rumored to be returning to his property and tenants after his long exile. Ramsay in this way sets up and sustains an atmosphere of return and reconciliation: a benignant patriarch is greeted with joy (and a lively community feast) after extended and difficult separation. Nor is a judgmental Kirk visible in the play: as Newman deftly comments, "There are no pastors in this pastoral" (p. 30).

A festive closure is far from being required in pastoral. Writing of paintings in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (1970), Erwin Panofsky argued that the pastoral world is more often represented as "a realm irretrievably lost, seen through a veil of reminiscent melancholy" (p. 349). Ramsay, however, provides his audience with a thoroughly happy outcome instead. Sir William Worthy eventually embraces Peggy as his prospective daughter-in-law (having learned she is not a shepherdess but a niece) and generously rewards the shepherds who have remained loyal. It is no wonder that this exuberant play was popular. On another matter, it is clear from the notes in volume 1 that if Ramsay's popular ballad-opera expansion of 1729 was inspired by the titanic success of John Gay's *The Beggar's Opera* (1728) in London, the musical influence goes both ways: for as McGuinness points out, "three of the airs" in the 1725 version of *The Gentle Shepherd*—Gay's numbers 40, 49, and 52—reappear in *The Beggar's Opera*.

Upward mobility is a major focus in *The Gentle Shepherd* and clearly a theme dear to Ramsay's heart. Ramsay's hero Patie has always been a voracious reader and self-improver. At mid-play, when Patie learns that he is heir to a baronetcy, he first assures his close friend Roger that they will always be friends; then he adds that he is glad that he has prepared himself for social prominence by his own pursuit of knowledge and advises Roger to do the same. Another character, Mause, miscalled a witch by ignorant Bauldy, is suspected of ill-doing because she is well-spoken and articulate (she explains this as a result of her long association with the gentry: she was Peggy's

nursemaid before the war). Patie's loving shepherd foster-parents have not told him of his social rank, nor does Mause, the sole character who knows Peggy's story. She originally saved infant Peggy from being murdered by a wicked uncle, conveying her secretly (being herself too poor to rear Peggy) to a couple she knows well, trusted tenants of the Worthy family. She does not reveal the toddler's identity—just leaves her on their doorstep.

Political turmoil is centrally linked to the events in Ramsay's plot, yet in the end (in accord with the laws of comedy) all difficulties are overcome. As the play closes, shepherds, gentry, and even reclusive Mause are all drawn closely and cordially together. The 1725 and 1729 texts for *The Gentle Shepherd* extend only from page 54 to page 218: more than half of this thoughtful and charming edition consists of the editors' readings and commentary.

Ramsay was clearly gregarious. Early in life he communed with all constituencies in his beloved Edinburgh. His subscription poetry editions of 1721 and 1728—though, as mentioned, more particularly the earlier—show his delight in the checkered social strata of the city: aristocrats and gentry, physicians and judges, advocates and academics, merchants and tradesmen, cynical sex workers (“Lucky Spence's Last Advice”) and honest alewives (“Elegy on Maggy Johnston, who died Anno 1711”). Like his shepherd-hero Patie, Ramsay was also, from his early days in the capital, an avid reader. As I once discussed in an article on Augustan influences on Ramsay (*Studies in Scottish Literature*, 1981), he became acquainted through discussions at the Easy Club with Addison and Steele's *Spectator* and (evidently) also *The Guardian*, published from March to October 1713, whose authors took up the topic of English pastoral. Alexander Pope wrote (though he did not sign) *Guardian* 40; and Pope subscribed for both of Ramsay's *Poems*, as did Sir Richard Steele, although Steele died in September 1728, before the printing was completed for the second subscription volume. The awed gratitude of Ramsay in 1728 was directed to aristocrats who had praised and supported his writing, but he also stood in awe of the writings of Pope and Gay and was flattered by subscriptions from Pope's friend John Arbuthnot, as well as the poet/playwright Richard Savage—also among Ramsay's subscribers. John Gay did not subscribe to Ramsay's final edition of *Poems*, having recently lost the fortune he made from *The Beggar's Opera* in the collapse of the South Sea Bubble (addressed in several of Ramsay's 1728 poems). Yet Gay's friend and patroness the Duchess of Queensberry did subscribe in 1728. Like his hero Patie, Ramsay in youth had engaged in tireless study. A telling passage in *The Gentle Shepherd* describes Patie's regular travel to Edinburgh to sell his best cheeses, spending the profits on books, his “silent friends”: “Frae Books, the Wale [choicest] o' Books, I gat some Skill,/ These best can teach what's real good and ill:/ Near grudge ilk Year to ware some Stanes of Cheese,/ To gain these silent friends that ever please” (p. 107).

This indefatigable person began his city life at around age fifteen, when he was sent from his home in Leadhills to be apprenticed to an Edinburgh wigmaker, as his brother Robert had been earlier. By 1709 or so, Ramsay had set up a wig-making shop, but by 1715 he was also known as the “Laureate” of Edinburgh's Easy Club. By the early 1720s the wig-making shop had become a bookshop with a sideline in map-trading. Ramsay's pre-1720s reputation was based on his early poems, which are by turns caustic and mellow. After the mid-1720s, his poems became more polished but less vernacular in diction, though still Scottish in subject matter. Brown's edition of Ramsay's early uncollected poems shows what seems to have been a painful and only gradual mastery of English pronunciation (and consequently, English meter and scansion)—technical issues that did not arise when he used vernacular.

Unlike most poets then or now, Ramsay enjoyed a comfortable prosperity when still comparatively young. He had been named a burgher in Edinburgh's North Kirk parish (burghers were authorized to buy and sell land in the city) when he was still constructing wigs. When he moved his book and map shop to a central location near St. Giles, Ramsay established in 1726 the first lending library in Great Britain, perhaps the first anywhere, supplying books by subscription. (Benjamin Franklin's “The Library Company” did not open in Philadelphia until 1731.) He supported the School of St. Luke, a short-lived Edinburgh painting academy in which he enrolled his gifted son; later in life, Allan Ramsay the Younger prospered in London as one of the chief court painters for George III. (A selection of the elder Ramsay's own strange-but-charming doodles on his drafts is featured in Brown's notes.) Ramsay constructed and opened a permanent Edinburgh theatre in late 1736, though he was unable to keep it open after 1738, in part because of Walpole's draconian Licensing Act of 1737 but also because of anti-theatrical sermons by Edinburgh ministers who were certain that dramatic representations promoted sin. (Caustic sermons also were preached against Ramsay's lending library, especially after Ramsay added French novels to the collection.) Posterity often has neglected his cosmopolitan tastes, which began with poetry but soon extended to the visual, musical, and dramatic arts. He sought out manuscript collections that preserved earlier Scottish poems as well, publishing *The Ever Green*, his anthology of older Scots material. Although in general he avoids satiric political commentary, one very interesting text among his uncollected poems is notable for its glints of rage and critique of bad-faith promises, as well as the pursuit of lucre. “The Tale of Three Bonnets” seems to have been inspired by Jonathan Swift's similar plot in “A Tale of a Tub” (1704), wherein three brothers inherit a “coat”; in Swift, this stands for the Christian faith. Two of the three damage the coat; only one mends it and restores its fabric. In Ramsay's poem, anonymously published in 1722, a dying patriarch distributes to his three sons three Scottish bonnets, the headgear often worn by small landholders; perhaps not incidentally, Ramsay's stepfather was a bonnet laird. The bonnets, explains the father on his deathbed, had been worn by their ancestors. He solemnly enjoins his sons to take good care of them, but as in “A Tale of a Tub,” only one of the three carries out his father's dying wish. Herit-

age and birthright: this poem offers another instance of their importance to Ramsay. In Ramsay's satire, one of the faithless brothers has been seduced by Rosie (England, as Brown notes [p. 231], citing Alexander Law's research notes); the remaining brother is too foolish to see any value in his father's bequest and is happy to give it away to the brother courting Rosie. She gleefully snatches both of them up and throws them into the fire. The bitter edge in this poem is unusual for Ramsay.

These volumes engage in a long overdue and commendably serious reappraisal of this long-neglected poet. Allan Ramsay inspired later eighteenth-century successors such as Fergusson and Burns but was still suggesting topics and styles to gifted Scottish poets in the twentieth century, among them Hugh MacDiarmid and Robert Garioch. Solid, well-grounded, and accessible, these valuable new studies mark a truly auspicious beginning for the Edinburgh edition of Ramsay's collected works.

M. A. Stewart, David Hume, and the Scottish Enlightenment

By John Robertson, Clare College, Cambridge

M. A. Stewart, *Hume's Philosophy in Historical Perspective*. Edited with an Introduction by James A. Harris, Ruth Savage, and John P. Wright. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. Pp. xiv + 392.

The publication of this volume of papers on David Hume's philosophy by M. A. (Sandy) Stewart (1937–2021) is an event to be welcomed by all scholars of Hume and of Enlightenment in Scotland. Conceived before the author's death, the volume has been brought to publication by its three editors with the support Peter Momtchiloff, Oxford University Press's philosophy editor. To their credit, this is not a variorum edition, reproducing the papers in their original variety of formats, but a newly printed and handsomely produced book. As such, the volume honors Stewart's memory, but its significance goes much further.

This is not a collection of all Stewart's papers or a selection from the full range of his scholarly interests. While it includes studies of Hume's responses to arguments by John Locke and George Berkeley, papers by Stewart concerning these and other philosophers in their own right have been excluded. Rather than ordering the chapters by date of original publication, the editors have chosen their own sequence, with a consequent gain in coherence. But otherwise they have confined their intervention to the provision of publication details where Stewart had cited works still unpublished. Their introduction is reticent about these decisions, but it does provide a helpful précis of the chosen contents.

The volume opens with introductory chapters on David Hume and on the philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment, the first originally an encyclopedia article from 2003, the second from a 1996 collection of papers on British philosophy in the age of Enlightenment. The latter foregrounds philosophy teaching in the Scottish universities and the emergence from the 1720s of a liberalizing movement, led by Francis Hutcheson, that sought to teach moral philosophy in a framework of natural rather than strict Calvinist theology, the better to educate students in broadly Stoic values. Hume is depicted as reacting against this tendency, with the focus of his philosophical energies on the critique of both the moral philosophy and the natural theology of Hutcheson and his followers.

Having set Hume in this perspective, the volume begins in earnest with one of Stewart's greatest achievements, the lengthy paper on "Hume's Intellectual Development, 1711–1752," originally published in 2005. Here Stewart undertook a meticulous reconstruction and analysis of the available evidence of Hume's education at Edinburgh University, his reading at Ninewells through the period of philosophical self-education up to the breakdown of his health in the early 1730s, his stay in France between 1734 and 1737, the return to London to prepare the *Treatise of Human Nature* for publication, and the redirection of his energies in the 1740s into the writing of essays, culminating in the *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* and the initial composition of the *Natural History of Religion* and the *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*. Although Stewart refrained in this paper from direct criticism, his account of Hume's intellectual formation corrected multiple errors in Ernest Campbell Mossner's *The Life of David Hume* (1954). Stewart's findings were the basis for this reviewer's memoir of Hume in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* and the starting point for James A. Harris's *Hume: An Intellectual Biography* (2015). But these and other publications have not made Stewart's paper redundant, for it also laid the ground for a crucial element in Stewart's own interpretation of Hume's philosophical purposes, by highlighting what Stewart took to be Hume's early repudiation of Stoic moral guidance.

There follows a group of papers exploring Hume's philosophical thinking in the 1740s, with the unsuccessful candidacy for the professorship of moral philosophy at Edinburgh University providing the fulcrum of Stewart's analysis. Under the general title "The Stoic Legacy in the Early Scottish Enlightenment," the first of these papers (originally published in 1991) takes off from Hume's early disenchantment with Stoic morals to offer an interpretation of the quartet of early essays devoted to ancient philosophical characters: "the Epicurean," "the Stoic," "the Platonist," and "the Sceptic." For Stewart, Hume is to be identified firmly with "the Sceptic," while "the Stoic" should be recognized as his primary target. The essays were written in a context, which Stewart proceeds to elaborate, where a version of Christian Stoicism was already dominant in the Scottish universities and

confronted Hume in particular in the person of Francis Hutcheson. Hutcheson's response to the *Treatise* had been visibly wary, and Stewart reads this set of short essays as Hume's retort, the initial expression of his repudiation of a species of philosophy which he would open the *Philosophical Essays* by describing as "easy and obvious." Between the two publications, however, Hume would suffer the disappointment of rejection in Edinburgh, an episode that Stewart made the subject of his 1994 inaugural lecture at the University of Lancaster, reprinted as chapter 5, "The Kirk and the Infidel." This was another meticulous, archivally based study, which explicitly corrected the confusions and misconceptions formerly entertained by Mossner and John Valdimir Price. Although the evidence suggested that Hume might well have been defeated anyway, for lack of effective political support among the city magistracy and their government patrons, Stewart's narrative reconstruction laid bare the lengths to which Hutcheson and William Wishart went to block Hume's candidacy.

Two more essays develop the intellectual and academic implications of Stewart's interpretation of Hume's defeat. In "Two Species of Philosophy: The Historical Significance of the First *Enquiry*" (originally published in 2002), Stewart argues that the work initially entitled *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding* was by no means simply a rewriting in more accessible form of Part I of the *Treatise*. Rather, it was written in the context of the Edinburgh debacle, as a statement of his conception of philosophy as requiring a basis in metaphysics, thus not "easy and obvious." As such, it was intended to cover the several topics that Hutcheson and his ilk treated under "moral philosophy," including moral psychology, liberty and agency, and the foundations of revealed and natural religion. The wider academic implications of Hume's determination to do philosophy differently are more fully explored in the chapter on "Academic Freedom: Origins of an Idea" (first published in 1991). Here the starting point is an earlier kerfuffle at Glasgow University between 1716 and 1724, when Irish Presbyterian students led a succession of protests against the arbitrary exercise of authority by Principal John Stirling, and in particular his attempt to deny the students their right to elect the rector. But while this may look like our idea of academic freedom, the beneficiaries of the cause, Stewart pointed out, were Hutcheson and Wishart, for whom its legacy was the opportunity to teach their students to practice virtue within a Christian natural theological framework—an opportunity they were not going to allow Hume the freedom to disrupt.

With the central pillars of Stewart's interpretation of Hume's philosophy and its significance for the Scottish Enlightenment in place, the volume's next two chapters are devoted to the close examination of Hume manuscripts. Here Stewart applies painstakingly acquired skills in manuscript evaluation and analysis. "An Early Fragment on Evil" examines a manuscript acquired by the National Library of Scotland in 1993, which Stewart concluded could be linked to the *Treatise* but eventually decided was less likely to be one of its excised "nobler parts" than a draft of an insertion to a possible revised edition. "The Dating of Hume's Manuscripts" (2000) considers the manuscripts deposited in the National Library by the Royal Society of Edinburgh, the most important of which were "An Historical Essay on Chivalry and Modern Honour," a set of notes from his reading known as the "Memoranda," and the manuscript of the "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion." Each is subjected to microscopic analysis of paper, writing, and content before being tentatively dated: the essay on chivalry to c.1731 (a date later corrected by a year by John Wright), the "Memoranda" to the period 1739–45, and the "Dialogues" to 1751, with additions and revisions to the manuscript likely to have been made in 1757 and 1761. Stewart discounted the likelihood of significant revision to the "Dialogues" in 1776, despite Hume's claim to have been "revising" the manuscript ten days before his death: he was almost certainly using "revising" in its Scots sense of "reviewing," since he was in no condition to work on it.

Following these chapters are three devoted to close textual analysis of Hume's treatment of specific philosophical problems: "Abstraction and Representation in Locke, Berkeley, and Hume" (1996), "Hume and the 'metaphysical argument *a priori*'" (1985), and "Hume's Historical View of Miracles" (1994). The first Stewart treats as a tale of misrepresentation, as first Berkeley and then Hume reframed the arguments of their predecessors. More complex is the reading of Hume's treatment of the argument *a priori* in Part 9 of the *Dialogues*. Originally formulated by Samuel Clarke, the argument *a priori* is presented in a much-simplified form in the *Dialogues* by Demea, a character who Stewart suggests may here be identified with Hume's Scottish contemporary, Rev. George Anderson. Stewart's point is that this identification strengthens the likelihood that Cleanthes, given the role of refuting the argument, was the character representing the liberal philosophers and theologians, including Hutcheson and Colin MacLaurin, to whom Hume was equally opposed. The suggestion of some commentators that Cleanthes here stands in for Hume is, in Stewart's view, "just witless floundering" (p. 294). It is Philo who alone, and (as Hume revised the manuscript) at increasing length, represents Hume. The third in this set of chapters traces Hume's focus on probability and testimony as the concepts crucial to assessment of miracles back to the Port-Royal *Logic*, and subsequently to Locke and John Tillotson. While Hume may also have drawn on more radical critics of miracles, there was plenty in mainstream Christian discussion of the issues to nourish his skepticism.

The volume ends with a chapter on the reception of Hume's works in Ireland in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and another on the reception of Hume's writings on religion in eighteenth-century Britain. Originally published in 2005 as introductions to reprints of the works of Hume's critics, these studies are indicative rather than comprehensive; they attest to the importance that Stewart attached to the Irish dimension of British intellectual life and to his curiosity about the purpose and fate of Hume's writings on religion.

Altogether, this collection of Stewart's papers has a value that goes well beyond making accessible hither-

to scattered and in some cases “occasional” publications. Reordered in this sequence, the chapters enable the reader to appreciate both the several parts and the overall coherence of Stewart’s understanding of Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment. Stewart’s Hume is almost exclusively the philosopher and the critic of the philosophical bases and the moral claims of religion; Hume the political and economic essayist and the historian is mentioned only in passing. But this does not mean that the *Treatise of Human Nature* predominates; rather, Stewart’s focus is on the thread that, he believes, connects all Hume’s philosophical works, a commitment to “anatomy” over “painting,” to analysis or “metaphysics” over didactic exhortation. Only in the light of this commitment, Stewart suggests, will we understand Hume’s abiding determination to push back against the claims of religion to frame human understanding and moral choices.

Stewart does not suppose that Hume’s argumentation was always flawless. Besides misrepresenting his interlocutors when his account of an argument required it, Hume could sow confusion by himself: analysis of revisions to the manuscript of Part 9 of the *Dialogues* leads Stewart to pronounce Hume’s discussion of the argument *a priori* “a mess” (p. 304), even as his knowledge of the contemporary Scottish context enables him to suggest what Hume was trying to do, and whose positions he was seeking to undermine. More than once Stewart emphasizes that we should not be misled by Hume’s apparently growing concern, amounting at times to an obsession, with repudiating the *Treatise* in favor of the *Enquiries*. What changed after the *Treatise* was not Hume’s commitment to a demanding rather than “easy” conception of philosophy but his estimate of the most effective manner of conveying it to those capable of judging it. The means to this end was the essay, which, Stewart realized, was the form in which Hume conceived the First *Enquiry* when he initially and accurately titled it *Philosophical Essays concerning Human Understanding*. Stewart’s account of Hume’s trajectory across the 1740s and beyond thus differs from that subsequently offered by James Harris in his intellectual biography, where the assumption of continuity is played down in favor of recognizing the different opportunities opened to Hume by forms of literary production other than the philosophical treatise. (The second iteration of Harris’s argument, in his *Hume: A Very Short Introduction* (2021), is, however, perhaps closer to Stewart’s.)

Inseparable from this portrayal of Hume, as we have seen, is Stewart’s construction of the dominant form of philosophy in mid-eighteenth-century Scotland as a combination of Christian natural theology with Stoic ethics. This was the philosophy shared by Hutcheson at Glasgow, George Turnbull at Aberdeen, and Wishart in Edinburgh. It was not reactionary—for Stewart, Hume’s tendency to denounce all his opponents as bigots was a self-indulgence that did his cause and his friends no good. On the contrary, it was liberal and tolerant—up to the point that it insisted on the active promotion of “virtue.” From the earliest of the papers in this volume, Stewart clearly wanted his readers to appreciate the intellectual strength and significance of this academic group, and of Hutcheson’s philosophical writing in particular. It may be that his account of their thinking was over- (or perhaps under-) determined by his conjoint account of Hume’s response to it: Thomas Ahnert has since suggested in *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment* (2014) that the prospect of future reward was as important to Scottish Enlightenment moral philosophy as Newtonian or other natural theology. But Stewart’s insistence on the importance of philosophical debate to understanding the Scottish Enlightenment was to be widely accepted and arguably had a decisive impact on the development of the field from the 1980s onward.

Collecting these papers on Hume and Scottish philosophy in one volume also makes it possible to appreciate the qualities that made Stewart distinctive as a scholar. Two stand out. The first stems from Stewart’s self-conception as a historian of philosophy. In the Anglophone world, the history of philosophy has for long been the preserve of a small but distinguished group of practitioners, who refuse to accept their analytic colleagues’ belief that doing history is no better than a form of “intellectual tourism” unless it is directed at study of current philosophical issues. Stewart was scornful of that approach, dismissing analytic readings of the *Dialogues* as compounding, not clarifying, the problems of understanding the work’s arguments. But he was also insistent that philosophical training mattered, once emphasizing to me the importance he attached to having a degree in philosophy. This may explain occasional sharpness toward other historians of Hume’s philosophy. It also ensured that Stewart kept a critical eye on Hume himself: the occasional confusions in his arguments required historical explanation too. The fruits of Stewart’s commitment to the history of philosophy are evident in detail in this volume in the papers on the First *Enquiry*, on abstraction and representation, and on the metaphysical argument *a priori*. But they are also apparent more generally, in the insistence on the abiding importance of philosophical argument to Hume, and to any historical reconstruction of the Scottish Enlightenment.

A second quality reinforced this commitment to being a historian of philosophy: the conviction that the ability to read philosophically should be accompanied by expertise in manuscripts and bibliography. Stewart’s investment in such expertise meant that he could be severe on those who had skimmed on this dimension of scholarship. Mossner was a particular target of Stewart’s scorn, being variously charged with misreading and misidentifying the sources for the Edinburgh professorial election, as well as being “unsteady” in his chronology of its unfolding (p. 112 n. 4). Mossner had made “a pig’s ear” of the essay on chivalry and had apparently never set eyes on the manuscript of the “Memoranda,” making nonsense of its Greek and Latin as well as gratuitously reordering its sections, altogether “another performance that was never of a publishable standard” (pp. 211–12 nn. 3 and 4). Mossner’s pupils and associates were likewise in the line of Stewart’s fire, not least John Price. Stewart’s criticism could be excessive, if not unfair, when away from Humean ground, notably that directed at Ian Simpson Ross. But

Stewart's Hume scholarship has left everyone in his debt, putting understanding of his manuscripts on a secure footing and demonstrating, in the case of the *Dialogues*—the only one of Hume's published works of which the manuscript survives—just how much interpretative gain can be realized from careful reading of the manuscript alongside the printed text.

The notoriety of Stewart as a critic is unfortunate, for it gets in the way of appreciating his larger conception of what it is to study Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment. This is especially so in the way it has tended to isolate Stewart from his contemporaries, propagating the image of the lone scholar, lying in wait to pounce on erring colleagues. But the image was deceptive: it is far from the case that Stewart worked alone. To understand Stewart's contribution to Hume and Scottish Enlightenment scholarship, we do better to adapt the title of a volume Stewart himself co-edited with John P. Wright—*Hume and Hume's Connexions* (1994)—and think in terms of “Stewart and Stewart's connexions.”

Given Stewart's commitment to the history of philosophy, it is unsurprising that two of his closest connections were with fellow practitioners: John Wright and, more recently, James Harris (both fittingly editors of this volume). In an association going back at least to the 1980s, Wright shared Stewart's determination to understand Hume's philosophy historically, which meant taking the genesis of the *Treatise* seriously and getting the manuscript evidence right. When so many others studied Hume's philosophy less historically, Wright's seconding of Stewart's priorities mattered. In the next generation, James Harris, refusing to let himself be intimidated by Stewart's reputation, constructed his intellectual biography of Hume on the firm foundations of “Hume's intellectual development,” thence to elaborate his own interpretation not only of Hume's philosophy but also of Hume's political, economic, and historical writings.

A third connection, with James Moore, might seem at a remove, for Moore's disciplinary affiliation was with political philosophy, a dimension of Hume's thought of minor interest to Stewart. Yet this was perhaps the connection of greatest significance for study of the Scottish Enlightenment as a whole. Moore and Stewart first met at a conference in Trinity College Dublin in 1981 and immediately bonded over a shared intuition that Hume's conflicted relation with Hutcheson offered the key to a radical reassessment of both philosophers. Where Norman Kemp Smith had supposed that the differences between Hume and Hutcheson were less important than what they had in common, Stewart and Moore committed to demonstrating the opposite, that Hume and Hutcheson were set on radically opposed philosophical paths. This was not to the detriment of Hutcheson. On the contrary, Moore shared Stewart's interest in Hutcheson's Irish background and career, and in a joint 1993 article in the *Bulletin of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland* they explored the publication by William Smith, an Irish Presbyterian bookseller who had moved from Dublin to Amsterdam, of a review of the *Treatise* that may have been facilitated by Hutcheson. Focusing on Hutcheson, Moore argued in an article in Stewart's 1990 edited volume, *Studies in the Philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment*, that his return to Glasgow as professor of moral philosophy in 1730 had major intellectual implications, entailing that Hutcheson be understood as the author of “two systems” of thought, the second framed by the natural jurisprudence he was now obliged to use in his teaching. Setting Hume against Hutcheson, Moore then accentuated the hostility to Stoicism identified by Stewart, suggesting that Hume adopted a kind of skeptical Epicureanism instead (“Hume and Hutcheson,” in *Hume and Hume's Connexions*). This was an “Epicureanism” rather broader than the character of the Epicurean identified by Hume in his essay of that name, and owing much to Pierre Bayle and Bernard Mandeville. In turn, this suggestion would be foundational for István Hont's readings of the political and economic thought of Hume, Smith, and Rousseau in *Jealousy of Trade* (2005) and *Politics and Commercial Society* (2015), and also for this reviewer's comparative study of Enlightenment in Scotland and Naples in *The Case for the Enlightenment* (2005). At the end of his life, Stewart was again working with Moore, on an edition of Hutcheson's *Correspondence and Occasional Writings* (2022).

This final collaboration of Stewart and Moore points to further connections with those who edited and facilitated, as well as informed and drew inspiration from, Stewart's scholarship. One of these was Knud Haakonssen, who was instrumental in bringing Hutcheson's *Correspondence and Occasional Writings* to publication after Stewart ceased to be able to work on his part. The volume is the penultimate stage of Haakonssen's initiative to use his Liberty Fund series, “Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics,” to produce a complete edition of Hutcheson's works in English. An interpreter of Hutcheson and Hume in his own right, Haakonssen offered Stewart (and Moore) an interlocutor with whom they did not always agree but who shared and amplified their conviction of Hutcheson's and Hume's importance and, more generally, of the importance of philosophy teaching in the Scottish universities. Similarly, Richard Sher had made the point about universities even earlier and had also identified the presence of a powerful vein of Christian Stoicism among the “Moderate” clergy who came to dominate teaching in the universities in the generation after Hutcheson. Stewart steered clear of the intellectual world of the Moderates, but he had been quick to appreciate the significance of Sher's *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1985) for his own account of Scottish academic philosophy.

The five scholars I have singled out (Wright, Harris, Moore, Haakonssen, and Sher) by no means exhaust Stewart's connections. Stewart was a regular attendee at ECSSS conferences, which gave him audiences and opportunities to learn about developments elsewhere in the field. With students as well as colleagues, he was generous with his expertise when he thought it would be appreciated and acted upon. But there is a final connection that must not be overlooked, with Ruth Savage, who played a vital role in Stewart's last years by providing research

assistance and personal support. As well as co-editing the volume under review, she projected and edited an earlier volume in Stewart's honor, *Philosophy and Religion in Enlightenment Britain* (2012), and she and her husband curated the service in celebration of Sandy Stewart's life and work in St. Thomas's Church in Salisbury in August 2021.

It is in the light of "Stewart's connexions," I suggest, that the full significance of the volume under review is to be appreciated. *Hume's Philosophy in Historical Perspective* is valuable not simply as a testament to Stewart's scholarship and as a collection of papers otherwise scattered and inaccessible. It stands as a keystone in our understanding of the Scottish Enlightenment. In its conviction of the importance of philosophy, and specifically of Hume's challenge to the Christian moral philosophy espoused by Hutcheson and his followers, Stewart's work established the intellectual substance of Enlightenment in Scotland. At a time when social, soon to be overtaken by "cultural," histories of Enlightenment were on the rise elsewhere in Europe and North America, the work of Stewart and his connections ensured that intellectual history remained a primary focus of scholars of Enlightenment in Scotland, and that philosophy, and Hume's philosophy in particular, remained central to that focus. The importance of the history of philosophy for understanding the Scottish Enlightenment is Stewart's legacy, and why the papers collected in this volume matter so much.

Hume's *Essays*

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David Hume, *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*. Edited by Tom L. Beauchamp and Mark A. Box. Associate editor: Michael Silverthorne. Contributing editors: J. A. W. Gunn and F. David Harvey. Two volumes. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2021. The Clarendon Edition of the Works of David Hume. Pp. xxi + 1387.

The Clarendon Edition of David Hume's *Essays, Moral, Political and Literary* is a long-awaited installment of the Clarendon Edition of the Works of David Hume. Hume never published a book with the one-word title "*Essays*." The work that modern scholars identify as Hume's *Essays* originated in 1741 with *Essays, Moral and Political*, a title Hume retained in two subsequent editions (1742 and 1748) before adopting the title *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* (1753). The latter constituted an amalgam of *Essays, Moral and Political* and Hume's *Political Discourses* (1752). In 1760 Hume adopted the title *Essays, Moral, Political, and Literary*, which constituted a new amalgam of *Essays and Treatises on Several Subjects* with Hume's *Four Dissertations* (1757).

Since 1985, scholars have principally relied on Eugene F. Miller's edition of Hume's *Essays*, produced for the Liberty Fund and revised by Miller in 1987. Miller's edition has many merits, perhaps chief among them that it is freely accessible via the Fund's website. Yet Miller had no pretensions to produce a "critical" edition, which collates variants or includes a systematic editorial apparatus to explicate Hume's claims or provides a historical bibliography of the several editions of the *Essays*. Surrogates for each component could be found in Miller's edition, Knud Haakonssen's Cambridge University Press edition (1994), T. E. Jessop's *A Bibliography of David Hume and of Scottish Philosophy from Francis Hutcheson to Lord Balfour* (1938), and Sadao Ikeda and colleagues' *David Hume and the Eighteenth Century British Thought* (1986). However, these works were placeholders for a true critical edition.

Edited principally by Tom L. Beauchamp and Mark A. Box, the Clarendon Edition is an extraordinary contribution to the scholarship of Hume's life and thought. This review focuses on the approach to the presentation of Hume's text and provides a small number of observations about the edition's many merits and its (relatively few and minor) deficiencies.

The edition is in two volumes. The first volume includes the text of the essays (pp. 3–373), as well as the index (pp. 375–400) subjoined by Hume to the 1772 edition. This is followed by A History of Hume's *Essays* (pp. 401–444), A Bibliographical Schema of the Editions (pp. 446–95), and a list of European Book Translations of the Essays (pp. 446–501). There follows an Editorial Appendix of Emendations and Substantive Variants (pp. 502–688) and three appendices (pp. 689–713): the list of "Scotticisms" attributed to Hume (Appendix 1), the dedication by Hume to John Home, the playwright, which Hume prefixed to copies of his *Four Dissertations* (1757) (Appendix 2), and a series of Facsimile Reproductions (Appendix 3). The facsimile reproductions include a manuscript fragment of Hume's essay on the "Populousness of Ancient Nations" (discussed below), title pages to the 1741, 1752, 1757, and 1772 editions of the *Essays*, an advertisement to the 1741 edition, pages from *The Craftsman* revealing its "appropriation" of Hume's essay on "Whether the British Government Inclines More to Absolute Monarchy, or to a Republic," a facsimile of "Queries and Answers relating to Sir Robert Walpole's Character," as it appeared in the *Scots Magazine* in 1742 in response to Hume's "Character" of Walpole, and an engraved portrait of Hume from the 1768 edition of the *Essays*. The second volume consists almost entirely of the editors' annotations (pp. 714–1148), followed by a Glossary, Biographical Appendix, Catalogue of Hume's References, a Reference List (bibliography), and an Index to both volumes.

The work of compiling this edition was gargantuan. The bibliographical schema attests to the editors' consultation of scores of copies of the *Essays* in several libraries. The challenge posed by the *Essays* in this respect far exceeds the difficulties that the *Treatise of Human Nature* or *Enquiries* had presented. The editors have performed an invaluable service by the schema alone, which is complemented by a rich apparatus, summarizing reviews and notices of each edition in multiple languages. The collation is another remarkable accomplishment. The editors have compared twenty-two editions (by my count of the sigla) to constitute a "critical text." The annotations to the text are superb: economical in style, apposite, informative, and generous to the inexpert reader. The familiarity with political, classical, economic, and literary history demanded of the annotator is inordinately high, yet the editors have amply satisfied expectations. The text itself is presented crisply and intelligibly. In summary, it is difficult to overstate the success of the editors in providing an edition for scholarly use.

The editors' "History of Hume's *Essays*" is brief but illuminating. The editors suggest intriguingly that Hume had intended the *Essays* initially to serve as the basis of a "weekly" publication: "It was common for enterprising authors to start up their own papers, and it is at least as likely that Hume intended to create his own weekly as to contribute to an existing one" (1:407). This suggestion is supported by Hume's evident appeals to a readership in "this city" (1:407 n. 22)—that is, Edinburgh. This is a plausible explanation of Hume's intentions, and one wonders how Hume's metier as a literary journalist in the mold of Addison or even Smollett would have affected his subsequent life and reputation.

The Clarendon Edition already commands a deserved reputation for its high editorial standards. With the oversight of Beauchamp, David Fate Norton, and the late M. A. Stewart, the editions published thus far—Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (2007), edited by Norton and Mary J. Norton, and the *Enquiries* (1998, 2000), *Natural History of Religion* and *Dissertation on the Passions* (2007), edited by Beauchamp—have rightly superseded the available alternatives. However, a debate has surrounded the editorial approach exemplified by the Clarendon *Treatise*. As James A. Harris observed in a critical review in *Modern Intellectual History* in 2008 (pp. 633–41), that edition did not "mark a decisive step forward from Selby-Bigge as modified by Nidditch" (p. 641), that is, Peter Nidditch's modified 1978 edition of L. A. Selby Bigge's 1888 edition of the *Treatise*.

Harris's criticism centered on two issues. First, the two-volume Clarendon *Treatise* separated the editorial apparatus from Hume's text. The edition used endnotes instead of footnotes, and the endnotes were keyed to Hume's text not by superscript numerals but by a system of annotation by lemmata and numerated lineation. Moreover, the endnotes were in an entirely separate volume from the text. As Harris noted, "scholars want to be able to see both where the textual cruxes are and all of the material relevant to resolving them." Yet the "clean text, almost totally devoid of editorial markings," did not make "anywhere near obvious enough" issues that interest the scholar, who "wants it to be made plain where there are questions about the accuracy of the compositors, where Hume might have made mistakes himself, and where there is evidence that Hume might have altered his text given the chance of a second edition" (pp. 640–41).

Harris's second criticism focused "on changes made by the Nortons to their copy text." Among other difficulties, the Nortons silently amended Hume's spelling and Hume's quotations. For example, the Nortons' standardizing of "Hutcheson" as Hume's orthography in the edition made it "impossible to know whether Hume himself wrote . . . 'Hutcheson' and not 'Hutchison' or 'Hutchinson.'" As Harris asked: "Why not record the spelling as it is in the copy text, with a note to explain what might seem a bizarre lapse on Hume's part?" As for the emendation of quotations, Harris queried similarly: "Would it not then be interesting that that is how he remembered the passages in question?" (p. 637). A related difficulty was the Nortons' inclusion of Hume's emendations to volume 3 of the *Treatise*, in a copy bearing Hume's autograph marginalia that is now preserved in the British Library. Where Nidditch placed these alterations in an appendix, with asterisks in the text to mark where the reader should consult it, the Nortons included the alterations in the text "without giving any indication on the page that these passages were not in the *Treatise* as it was published" (p. 638).

Finally, Harris objected to the Nortons' practice of emendation where they doubted a reading. For example, at *Treatise* 1.3.10, Hume in Selby-Bigge/Nidditch refers to "the eternal establish'd persuasions founded on memory and custom." Yet the Nortons altered "eternal" to "external." In *Treatise* 3.3.2.6, Hume in Selby-Bigge/Nidditch refers to a man who "pleases himself" in a "flattering conceit." Yet the Nortons altered "pleases" to "places." As Harris wrote, the difficulty is not principally the act of conjectural emendation, which was elaborately justified by the Nortons in the apparatus, but the silent intrusion of the emendation into the text itself. An unwary reader—without reaching for the apparatus—would not know that there are differences between Hume's published text and the Nortons'.

Harris's criticisms ranged in gravity. A complaint about the use of endnotes is one that I am sure many readers share about academic publications generally; the exertion of checking a separate part of the book or a separate volume for the pertinent reference is difficult to justify on aesthetic grounds. Yet the information *is* accessible; this is a complaint about convenience. In contrast, the other complaints merited more serious consideration from the Clarendon editors, since they raised the possibility of transmitting a flawed textual tradition. Scholars who give the relevant lection at 1.3.10 as "external" may not realize they are trafficking in a controvertible emendation.

When A. Wayne Colver and John Valdimir Price published a conjoined edition of Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* and *Natural History of Religion* for the Clarendon Press in 1976, they were subjected

to withering criticism in M. A. Stewart's review in *Philosophical Books* (1977) for their practice of controvertible emendation. As Stewart noted, Price claimed that he had "not supplied or changed any punctuation." Yet he adjusted "punctuation where Hume failed to after inserting corrections of wording" (pp. 49–54). Stewart's concern was animated, in part, by Price's pretension to have published a diplomatic edition of Hume's manuscript of the *Dialogues*, but the review articulated a general stance on emendation. Stewart objected to Price's intrusion of "standardizations": "one cannot say . . . that he [Price] introduces such standardizations as there is reasonable evidence Hume would have introduced if inconsistencies in his MS practice had been pointed out to him and had bothered him." On the strength of "reasonable evidence," Stewart would impliedly permit standardization, but the bar for *emendatio ope ingenii*—as practiced by the Nortons at 1.3.10—was necessarily far higher.

A question presented to the Clarendon Edition of Hume's *Essays* was thus whether it would observe these strictures. The editors' response is evidently Yes and No. Harris's complaint about the separation of text from apparatus is ignored. The Clarendon *Essays* continue to present a "clean" text and consign the apparatus to an appendix, reviving the practice of annotation by the use of lemmata and numerated lineation. In my judgment, this is justified but unfortunate. First, it preserves consistency across the Clarendon Editions. Second, more substantively, the editorial apparatus is so extensive, comprising a collation of variants and annotations, that it would obtrude excessively if cast on a page of the size used by the edition. The editors could have contemplated a larger format for the edition, which might have accommodated a *mise en page* with separable blocs of text, annotation, and collation, but this is an approach disfavored by the Clarendon Editions generally, presumably because of cost.

There are inevitable inconveniences to the separation of the text from the apparatus, as Harris rightly observes. Readers must now consult three places concurrently to see the text, collation, and annotation. For example, the penultimate paragraph of the text of "Of the Refinement of the Arts" is presented at 1:217; line 3 of 1:217 is keyed to the collation on 1:621, where we learn that Hume had included a significant additional paragraph at this juncture in two particular recensions of the *Essay*. The reader must also check 2:922 to see that the editors have annotated line 3 of 1:217, where they explicate Hume's claim that it is "little less than a contradiction in terms, to talk of a vice, which is in general beneficial to society." Bringing the material on 1:621 and 2:922 onto 1:217 would be helpful to the reader, but it is difficult to imagine how the text would appear intelligibly with this frame surrounding it.

A separate issue is raised by the edition's omission of a concordance of pagination with Miller's edition, since the numerated lineation in the edition is not reflected in Miller's or any other edition, as one might find with Selby-Bigge numbering. Miller has enjoyed the status of Selby-Bigge/Nidditch in scholarship on the *Essays*, and the Clarendon Edition might have included a concordance of pagination. Yet one can also understand why the editors would prefer that scholars now deprecate Miller's edition.

The Clarendon *Essays* is less troubled than Price's edition of the *Dialogues* by the problem of transcribing a manuscript. Only one relevant manuscript is extant: a fragment of Hume's "Populousness of Ancient Nations," which the edition reproduces in facsimile (1:701–702) on the basis of the facsimile in William Mure, ed., *Selections from the Family Papers Preserved at Caldwell* (1854), 1: pt. 2.1, plate IIB. The edition notes that the manuscript has since "disappeared," but it was recently sold by Bloomsbury Auctions (London), *Important Books, Manuscripts, and Works on Paper* (12 Nov. 2015), lot 39. The edition provides an unobjectionable diplomatic transcription of the Mure facsimile, which it separately incorporates into the apparatus (1:655). The editors' observation (1:701) that M. A. Stewart had confirmed the manuscript to be authentic is helpful, but it is extremely difficult to believe that a fragment on such an esoteric subject could be forged before 1854 and intruded into the papers of the Mure family. Although I have sounded the alarm elsewhere (see "David Hume in Chicago: A Twentieth-Century Hoax," in *Journal of British Studies*, 2020, pp. 793–820), I am hesitant to accept that we need preemptively to assert the authenticity of a Hume manuscript where facsimiles of it exist; a cursory inspection of the handwriting shows that it is unmistakably Hume's.

On the issue of conjectural emendation, the editors do not practice *emendatio ope ingenii* in a form similar to the Nortons at 1.3.10, although they correct "genuine errors." The most substantial emendation of this kind that I have identified is in "Of the Original Contract" (2:1109), where the edition "restores the ending of the essay to the form it had in 1753–68, before what we deem to be a corruption occurred." In the editions of 1770, 1772, and 1777, the sentence comprising note 5 "became repositioned as the final paragraph of the essay" (editors' emphasis). The editors surmise that this was "a mistake, likely by the compositor." This is a significant intervention, since the editors favor the 1772 edition as the copy-text (discussed further below). Is it possible that Hume failed to observe this error in the 1772 edition, when he was otherwise minutely attentive to perceived infelicities in phrasing or punctuation? The answer is evidently Yes, since note 5 is obviously disjunctive as the concluding paragraph of the essay. The editors clearly explain the emendation three times (2:1109, 1:672–73), including in conspicuous boldface type. Yet, as Harris would note, the text itself (1:345–46) bears no indication that the editors have intervened. I remain sympathetic to Harris's concern, since the burden placed on the reader to consult the apparatus may be excessive, but I cannot think that the use of asterisks or another notation would be preferable.

The emendation at 2:1109 is an unusual instance of the editors disfavoring the 1772 edition. The latter is the "copy text," in lieu of the 1777 edition, which Miller and others have used. The editors justify their preference for 1772 by noting that it was "the last edition seen through the press by Hume" (1:502). In comparison, "little is

known about the preparation and supervision” of the 1777 edition (the only significant complication being “Of the Origin of Government,” the only essay that was first published in 1777); it is thus difficult to establish whether “alterations in the 1777 [edition] were Hume’s rather than those of individuals who had responsibility for preparing the manuscript for the printer or overseeing the process of publication” (1:506). The presence of formal and substantive variants in the 1777 edition that “are inconsistent with Hume’s” practices is a further ground to use the 1772 edition (1:506). I am convinced by the editors’ reasoning: Hume applied such careful attention to his works that it is obviously preferable to use as copy-text the edition that he had a chance to inspect. The difficulty at 2:1109 is exceptional; even Hume nods.

Inevitably, the editors err as well. A list of errata is not intended to diminish the editors’ achievement but to assist in any revised edition which they might contemplate. I have noticed the following: Waldman is *recte* Waldmann (2:1233). “LibertyClassics” is not an imprint (2:1233). Some titles are translated (2:1232: *Christianisme dévoilé*) but not others (2:1232: *Essai sur le règne de l’empereur Aurélien*). Authorial appellations, such as “Henry Dodwell the elder” (2:1269) are not used consistently (cf. 2:1221). The editors refer to Hugh Hume-Campbell, 3rd earl of Marchmont, as “Hugh Hume, 3rd earl of Marchmont” (2:1178), although they favor “Hume-Campbell” when referring to his brother (2:1234). The editors refer to the same periodical in the same note with different orthography, and arguably an objectionable omission of accentuation: *Bibliothèque [sic] raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de L’Europe* and *Bibliothèque [sic] raisonnée des ouvrages des savans de l’Europe* (1:404). References to the British Library are inconsistent (1:426 n. 86, 1:459). I noticed the following typographical error in the annotations: “repudiation in [*sic*] 22 February 1774” (2:759).

Finally, the editors refer to Hume’s *Five Dissertations* by noting that “Only one set” of the canceled leaves from that work—the leaves which included “Of Suicide” and “Of the Immortality of the Soul”—“is known to survive” and refer to NLS, MS 509 (1:468). However, another copy was evidently preserved by the National Museums of Scotland from where it was evidently stolen, as I have reported elsewhere (*Further Letters of David Hume*, ed. Waldmann (2014), pp. 185–86).

One annotation which will invariably attract attention pertains to Hume’s racist footnote in “Of National Characters” (2:886). The editors do not adequately distinguish between plantation slavery, which Hume nowhere “deplores,” and “domestic slavery,” which they rightly observe was the subject of Hume’s criticism. Furthermore, the evidence adduced of William Dickson’s *Letters on Slavery* (1789) recruiting Hume to the cause of abolitionism is tendentious; Dickson recognized Hume’s disinclination to extend his criticism of slavery to “the colonies of some European states” (p. 44). The suggestion that James Beattie did not criticize slavery when reprimanding Hume in the *Essay* is erroneous; Beattie clearly refers to the “negro slave” (p. 482). It is regrettable that the editors did not cite the work of John Immerwahr, Silvia Sebastiani, or Aaron Garrett on this important subject.

It bears repeating that these are slips in an otherwise remarkable work of scholarship.

The Introductory-Book Trap: Six Adam Smith Books for Beginners

By Jack Russell Weinstein, University of North Dakota

Christopher J. Berry, *Adam Smith: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018. Very Short Introductions. Pp. 128.

Samuel Fleischacker, *Being Me Being You: Adam Smith and Empathy*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2019. Pp. xii + 216.

Samuel Fleischacker, *Adam Smith*. Abingdon, Oxon: Routledge, 2021. Routledge Philosophers. Pp. xvi + 364.

Ryan Patrick Hanley, ed., *Adam Smith: His Life, Thought, and Legacy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016. Pp. xxiv + 571.

Ryan Patrick Hanley, *Our Great Purpose: Adam Smith on Living a Better Life*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019. Pp. 156.

Craig Smith, *Adam Smith*. Cambridge, Medford: Polity, 2020. Classic Thinkers. Pp. viii + 210.

Adam Smith scholarship is stadial. Starting from the mid-nineteen-seventies it saw the establishment of default scholarly texts (the Glasgow Edition), after which the boundaries of a porous corpus began to emerge from works such as Donald Winch’s *Adam Smith’s Politics* (1978), Knud Haakonssen’s *The Science of a Legislator* (1989), and Charles L. Griswold, Jr.’s *Adam Smith and the Virtues of Enlightenment* (1998). Each of these books aimed to provide both a diagram of the system and an account of Smith’s unfinished and esoteric ideas.

The next stage, the longest one, involved battling over the unity of Smith’s voice and works: Peter Mi-

nowitz, *Profits, Priests, and Princes: Adam Smith's Emancipation of Economics from Politics and Religion* (1993); James R. Otteson, *Adam Smith's Marketplace of Life* (2002); Leonidas Montes, *Adam Smith in Context* (2004); Jerry Evensky, *Adam Smith's Moral Philosophy* (2005); Dogan Göçmen, *The Adam Smith Problem* (2007); Fonna Forman-Barzilai, *Adam Smith and the Circles of Sympathy* (2010); and Jack Russell Weinstein, *Adam Smith's Pluralism* (2013). The debate was over "The Adam Smith Problem," the interpretive framework suggesting that Smith's work was at best inconsistent, at worst self-contradictory. The consensus today is that no such problem actually exists. Scholars now assume that Smith speaks with one systematic voice and that whatever tensions endure are contained within each book, essay, or lecture. Smith's self-contradictions are acknowledgment of the inconsistency in the human experience, not a philosophical failure.

The first two decades of this century saw the growth of edited collections, companions, and handbooks that mapped out the Smithian discourse: Samuel Fleischacker, *On Adam Smith's "Wealth of Nations": A Philosophical Companion* (2004); Knud Haakonssen, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith* (2006); Leonidas Montes and Eric Schliesser, eds., *New Voices on Adam Smith* (2006); Jeffrey T. Young, ed., *Elgar Companion to Adam Smith* (2009); and Christopher J. Berry, Maria Pia Paganelli, and Craig Smith, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith* (2016). By dividing Smith's corpus into themes, these Talmudic supplements allowed the neophyte and senior scholar to join the same conversation.

Like Smith's own stadial theory, this is not a perfect progression. There are books that are out of sequence and issue-focused monographs that limit their discussion to particular controversies. But what this map does provide is a sense of the almost-inevitable next and current stage: the battle for general audiences.

There are many reasons why introductory books are in vogue, including the desire for royalties, shifts in academic publishing, and journal wait times. But intellectually this shift makes sense. Scholars want a new audience and Smith's gatekeepers control the next stages to come. And, since Smith is so highly politicized, since the global battle between libertarians and advocates for social welfare is played out in Smith Studies, vying for his future audience can often feel like trying out a new electorate. Introductory books are important.

The earliest of the books in this review essay, Ryan Hanley's anthology *Adam Smith: His Life, Thought, and Legacy*, does not fall prey to partisanship in part because, while it advertises itself as being part of the new decade—as being an introductory text—it is, in fact, a culmination of the previous one. Hanley's collection is a superior account of the thematic Smithian discourse. Its sections, in order—"Introductions: Texts and Context," "Smith's Social Vision," "Smith and Economics," "Smith Beyond Economics," and "Smith Beyond the Academy"—parallel my stadial account above, and that final section reveals the politico-economic battle at hand. In order, its chapters are: "Adam Smith: Some Popular Uses and Abuses" by Gavin Kennedy; "Adam Smith and the Left" by Samuel Fleischacker; "Adam Smith and the Right" by James R. Otteson; "Adam Smith in China: From Ideology to Academia" by Luo Wei-Dong; "Adam Smith and Shareholder Capitalism" by John C. Bogle, and "Adam Smith and Free Trade" by Douglas Irwin. Could there be a more explicit pronouncement of the battle the introductory texts are fighting?

That Hanley's anthology is so "on the nose" is no criticism. It is an outstanding text with top-shelf contributors. It is an encapsulation of the best thinkers on the central Smithian debates, thoughtfully edited. It is not, however, an introductory text. It is a scholarly compendium for people already fluent in Smithese. A beginner would be lost and overwhelmed, while a scholar ought to be nothing but impressed. Reading it is a necessity, which is why Hanley's follow-up, *Our Great Purpose: Adam Smith and Living a Better Life*, is such a disappointment.

Philosophical writing for the general public must be attuned to its non-academic audience. *Our Great Purpose* is intended for readers largely ignorant of Smith but is actually written for the more familiar. Hanley references, for example, readers of Book 1 of *The Wealth of Nations* who know only "the stories of the pin factory and the butcher, brewer and baker (to which we will return below)" (p. 38). Yet, new readers will have no idea what these stories are or what "Book 1" refers to. Hanley only returns to the butcher example thirty pages later, when the reference is long forgotten. At one point, Hanley remarks that "a philosopher with Latin might describe the difference that Smith is describing as one between benevolence and beneficence," (p. 20), but he doesn't explain what that difference is, what these two words mean, or even why they are important. So while the book is marketed for a general audience, it is actually intended for philosophers with Latin.

There are other examples of this sort: Hanley mentions "*Das Adam Smith Problem*" only to dismiss it in the next sentence (p. 36), and he has two separate "get off my lawn" moments in which he derides social network and selfie culture. Philosophically, I have no issue with this, but condemning out of hand the younger generation whom he wants as an audience instead of using Smith as an excuse to investigate what is good or bad about it is poor salesmanship and a missed opportunity (pp. 76, 128). There is also an odd chapter-ordering choice when, at the end, he moves from covering, each in their own chapter, the theme of death in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (a genuinely interesting discussion), to religion, to Hume's eulogy, and then God, instead of allowing the reader to connect more naturally: death, eulogy, God, religion. This alternative narrative creates parallels between the metaphysics of death and God and the social practices of eulogies and religion. In short, for beginners, this book is too chaotic and assumes too much background knowledge.

Each chapter begins with a quote from Smith presented as an epigraph for consideration. It is followed by

a few blank lines, then an italicized “translation” of the quote by Hanley. Only after that comes the text of the chapter. So, in theory, readers will be excited by Smith’s aphorism, confirm their understanding of what it means, and then read an in-depth discussion.

The first problem is that Smith, while often elegant, is not always pithy. The reader may be excited by the quote beginning chapter 16, “Man naturally desires not only to be loved, but to be lovely,” or charmed by chapter 13’s “Humanity does not desire to be great, but to be beloved.” But, the newcomer is going to be baffled by chapter 17’s “When I endeavour to examine my own conduct, when I endeavour to pass sentence upon it, and either to approve or condemn it, it is evident that, in all such cases, I divide myself, as it were, into two persons; and that I, the examiner and judge, represent a different character from that other I, the person whose conduct is examined into and judged of.” Nor will the novice be moved by Smith’s famous first sentence (chapter 2), which Hanley presents partially: “How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him...” For my part, the first sentence of *TMS* is one of the most complicated and baggage-filled in all of Smith. I have a six-minute animated video dedicated to a word-by-word account of it (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Dr5JpZd4aaVM>). Maybe Hanley has more faith in his readers than I do, but the beguiling nature of *TMS*’s beginning isn’t resolved by intellect; it’s unfurled through familiarity with eighteenth-century syntax and vocabulary—something newcomers don’t have.

Furthermore, Hanley’s summation of these epigraphs is questionable. Chapter 1 begins with the quote “Every man is, no doubt, by nature, first and principally recommended to his own care; and as he is fitter to take care of himself than of any other person, it is fit and right that it should be so.” Hanley then tells us that what this actually means is “self-interest is part of human nature, but it’s a self-interest of a very particular sort” (p. 11). I disagree. No attentive reader will get this claim from this particular sentence in isolation: there is no obvious or evident connection between Smith’s words and Hanley’s interpretation. What the sentence actually means is that people are, first and foremost, *responsible* for themselves and that they are better at managing this responsibility than anyone else. Self-interest might follow from these claims, but not obviously. I am responsible for my own grooming. I may even be best at it. This doesn’t mean that I care less about my child’s grooming more than my own or that I would not prefer to live in a society in which grooming is irrelevant. Hanley gets to the actual text of the sentence by the end of the chapter, but his approach expects his readers to have prior opinion about Smith, again defeating the purpose of an introductory book.

There is a similar sleight of hand in chapter 9: Smith’s quote here is: “The disposition to admire, and almost to worship, the rich and the powerful, and to despise, or, at least, to neglect persons of poor and mean condition though necessary both to establish and to maintain the distinction of ranks and the order of society is, at the same time, the great and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments.” Hanley’s translation is: “Capitalism brings material benefits but it also has moral costs our lives must address.” (p. 45) Again, no. This sentence tells us nothing about capitalism; in fact, many of the rich Smith referred to were aristocrats who earned their money from feudal and post-feudal heredity, pre-capitalism. What this sentence is actually telling us is that the average person falsely looks to the rich and famous as role models, and because of this, fails to see the value in those who struggle economically. This, in turn, distorts our ability to make moral judgments because we confuse money and virtue. Since Smith is the progenitor of capitalism, his descriptions must apply retroactively; they are not prophesies. Hence, Hanley’s translation is just wrong, which is particularly unfortunate because *this* would have been the ideal quote and chapter to motivate the discussion about the complexities of social networks that he seems to want to have. Instagram, Facebook, TikTok all glorify the pretty, the famous, the monied, and the attention-seeking. Smith’s critique explains why this is damaging to our moral judgment. But instead, Hanley uses it as an opportunity to reflect on Marx and that “Genevan philosopher Jean Jacques Rousseau” (p. 47).

In short, I don’t think the book works. What Hanley does deserve credit for, and what should be celebrated, is that he has tried to write something more sophisticated than a typical encyclopedic introductory book. *Our Great Purpose* is not just the biography, overview, and reaction sequence our next group of books share. Hanley is attempting to be novel, interesting and, for lack of a better term, “to get people hooked” (see my article “What Does Public Philosophy Do? (Hint: It Does Not Make Better Citizens),” in *Essays in Philosophy*, 2014, p. 46). This is a genuine attempt at *public philosophy*; Hanley wants his readers to become *enthusiastic* about Smith, not just informed. I respect this, and it attracts me, despite falling short.

Which leads us to three examples of the standard model that Hanley rejects. Christopher J. Berry, Craig Smith, and Samuel Fleischacker have all written introductory books in competing series: Oxford University Press’s *Very Short Introductions*, Polity’s *Classic Thinkers*, and the *Routledge Philosophers*, respectively. All begin with biographical chapters, then move to the Scottish Enlightenment context, then summarize Smith thematically, then end with the political impact and debate that I mentioned above.

Berry’s volume is brightly colored and pocket-sized, but the other two are roughly the same dimensions in indistinguishable grey tones; I have to look twice to pick up the correct one. Like Hanley’s book, all three begin with what Smith is not: “Adam Smith is the Author of *The Wealth of Nations*, one of the great works in the history of economics. But it is little read. . . . On a broader front his name conjures up the promotion of self-interest and opposition to the state interfering in the market-place . . . both of these are gross over-simplifications” (Berry, p. 1).

“Adam Smith (1723–1790) is unusual among philosophers from over two hundred years ago. He is unusual because his work is still widely discussed today. . . . unfortunately, the ‘Adam Smith’ that exists in the popular imagination is somewhat different from the Adam Smith who lived and wrote in eighteenth-century Scotland (Smith, p. 1). ‘Few Figures have been simultaneously as well known and as poorly understood as Adam Smith’ (Fleischacker, *Adam Smith*, p. 1). One wonders when we will get an introductory book on Smith that isn’t on the defensive.

Berry’s *Adam Smith: A Very Short Introduction* is (naturally) the shortest and the most efficient; it’s half the length of Craig Smith’s volume, which is about two-thirds as long as Fleischacker’s. Berry’s is a mainstream account, with little to object to other than an odd identification of Nobel Laureate Amartya Sen as someone who has “written an introduction to a recent popular edition of *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*” (p. 103). I wish Berry had included a bit more criticism in the account, pointing out, for example, that Smith’s speculative history of language has no intellectual validity in the face of modern understanding of linguistics or anthropology—human beings did not develop language analogous to the way individual children do. But it’s unclear how much of a mandate Berry had to follow. The Oxford University Press series seems pretty uniform.

The main issue for Berry’s book is the same as for any of the other very short histories: it is unclear whether it is a compelling enough difference to warrant reading it or an Internet encyclopedia of philosophy. Obviously, I don’t mean to suggest that Berry isn’t a first-rate scholar. His account is clear and precise, as is his other scholarly work; I would take Berry’s interpretation over the pretentious and intentionally obfuscating Stanford Encyclopedia any day. But if the intended audience is the general public, then I suspect they would defer to the Internet simply because it’s free and easily accessible. Why buy or borrow the book, particularly if you don’t know who Berry is? I suspect Oxford University Press is relying on brand recognition and prestige, but this reveals, yet again, that a book which purports to be for everybody is actually for advanced undergraduates, graduates, and the occasional professor. And since this is who reads it, Berry can get away with not concerning himself with what Hanley strove for: creating enthusiasm. The book is well written but dry. The only reason to turn the page is that one wants to finish the summary. I’m not sure this is enough.

Craig Smith’s book differs from Berry’s in its pacing, since it is longer and adds a small amount of criticism of Smith. For example, Craig Smith writes: “this is another case where Smith lets his terminological distinction get away from him” (p. 75). I appreciated this willingness to engage with Adam Smith himself. The account of Smith’s theory of justice is particularly good, as is the account of Smith’s legacy. Ultimately, though, the book is basically a longer version of Berry’s with a welcome larger typeface, and for this reason newbies are likely to defer to Berry’s more truncated account.

Fleischacker utilizes his added space much better, at least in part because he is the first author who is honest about who his audience is: “I anticipate the readers of this book will primarily be either philosophers and students of philosophy who are unfamiliar with Smith, or political scientists, and intellectual historians who read a lot of Smith but never really engaged with him as a philosopher” (Fleischacker, p. xx). This admission is liberating because it allows Fleischacker to do the one thing that Berry and Smith do not: provide an introduction to the Smithian discourse rather than just Smith’s primary texts. Fleischacker engages with other scholars, takes positions on interpretive issues, articulates multiple sides of controversies, and gives voice to the fact that Smith is complex enough to be contentious. Fleischacker is more academic than the others, with a teacherly rather than encyclopedic tone. I found his book to be the most informative and satisfying of the three, but, of course, this in itself is a red flag since I am not the intended audience. I know who the players are; I’m a professional. My instinct is that Fleischacker’s academic referencing will be too much for the newcomer. There are notes at the end of each chapter, a list of further reading, and, ultimately, a useful glossary, all intended to help readers catch their breath, but does this push the monograph into textbook territory, and therefore presume an instructor’s supervision? This may be the case.

Ultimately, people are going to choose between these three introductions based on external factors: How much time do they have? Do they want to prioritize the summaries or the debates? Whose writing style do they prefer? One might argue that the benefit of having three such similar projects is that they prevent an audience from having to fit a square peg into a round hole: one chooses each according to their ability, to each according to their needs. But how does one know in advance which book to choose? Covers, size, and that pesky brand recognition, I suppose.

The advantage that *all* three books have, particularly Berry’s and Fleischacker’s, is that they are later-career summaries. Their relative levels of experience are evident in their writing choices. My own 2001 introductory book, *On Adam Smith*, haunts me, not because I made an embarrassing and inexplicable mistake about Smith’s use of profit in *The Wealth of Nations* (Fleischacker references this and I correct it in *Adam Smith’s Pluralism*), but because I was straight out of grad school when I wrote it. A case can be made for leaving introductory books to senior scholars, who have more global perspectives and are more experienced at contextualizing debates.

Let me be clear: these four scholars are of the highest caliber, and their knowledge of Smith and ability to explain him is unimpeachable. My quarrel isn’t with them, and I dislike being so critical of people whom I admire. Instead, my criticism is reserved for the inherently risk-averse academic presses that demand the same thing over and over. What we need is a new introductory format, a new genre. This is what Hanley was trying to discover in

Our Great Purpose, so, ironically, and much to my own surprise, I find myself returning to his book as the most attractive, despite its shortcomings. It's also an element that Fleischacker is playing with in his other recent publication, *Being Me Being You: Adam Smith and Empathy* (2019). What makes this book interesting in the context of this review is that while it is about Smith, it's not an introduction to his work; it is an introduction to empathy. It presents Smith in his role as interlocutor within a larger debate, making him seem alive and relevant. Suddenly, Smith has something to say.

Being You Being Me begins with an overview of types of empathy, emphasizing the distinction between "contagious empathy" (Hume's) and "projective empathy" (Smith's). This is a useful framework. Fleischacker then spends a chapter on Smith's theory of sympathy, evaluating and defending the "concordance" interpretation. From there, he seeks to plug holes in Smith's theory and then engages with modern cultural pluralism, social unity, and "circles of sympathy." He takes Smith's side in his critique of utilitarianism and ultimately pairs Smith and Kant, to tackle cultural and political demonization. This is a book that deserves its own review. I found it interesting, helpful, and an eminently useful summation of all the recent work on sympathy. But is it in the same category as the other five books discussed in this review essay? Maybe? It is indeed written for non-Smithian audiences—Fleischacker makes this clear in his rhetoric and style—and it may also be useful to researchers of empathy. But it is also accessible to those with no such background, and reading it was a pleasure.

What *Being You Being Me* isn't is public philosophy (see my "The Case Against Public Philosophy" in *A Companion to Public Philosophy*, ed. Lee McIntyre, 2022, pp. 26–40.): it is an academic book, albeit a clear, accessible one, which is, frankly, the best kind. Hanley's is the closest to a genuinely introductory experience, but the three series books are clearer, more straightforward, and more narrowly defined. Which one people choose is a matter of personal choice. Pick the book with which you find fellow-feeling and enjoy its particular strengths.

Other Reviews

Leith Davis, *Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland: From the 1688 Revolution to the 1745 Jacobite Rising*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022. Pp. ix + 307.

In *Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland*, Leith Davis focuses on five historical "episodes" in England, Scotland, and Ireland to show the relationship between print media, mediation, and what came to constitute cultural memory. The episodes in question are the 1688 Revolution, the War of the Two Kings in Ireland (1688–91), the Scottish attempt to colonize Darien in the late 1690s, and the Jacobite risings in 1715 and 1745. Davis argues that it was during this period that the idea of "the British nation" was both consolidated and challenged. The rapid development of print was crucial for determining which memories became part of the national culture that "served to affirm an English-centred sense of Britain as a nation based on individual liberty, parliamentary democracy, a benevolent monarchy—and the incorporation of any troubling elements" (p. 2). Mediation—the interpretation, circulation, reception, and storing of print sources—was essential in this process of creating national cultural memory, and people sometimes mediated print sources with awareness of how they would affect future memory. Rather than refer to cultural memory as a modern invention, as many scholars do, Davis contends that there should be more emphasis on its origins in early eighteenth-century Britain. She describes her research as intersecting with three fields: cultural memory studies, book history or print culture studies, and British studies. Her book "revises and revisits" the concepts of Benedict Anderson, focusing on how the role of print changed over time and shaped national memory (p. 11). Davis supports her arguments with newspapers, manuscript newsletters, declarations, popular histories, correspondence, and other sources.

Throughout much of the book, Davis is in conversation with the ideas of Pierre Nora, particularly his concept of *lieux de mémoire*, or sites of memory. In contrast to Nora, Davis emphasizes the mediation, archivization, and revisiting of print media that legitimize interpretations of events. This process can cement interpretations of events as signifiers of national identity, relegate them, or even silence them through acts of purposeful forgetting. For Davis, "meaning that is invested in a site of memory is connected to the initial mediation of the event as well as its subsequent storage and reactivation" (p. 268). In the studies of these five historical episodes, mediation is essential for establishing the eventual authority of print media. Davis makes intriguing points about the role of other kinds of communication in relation to print, for instance the oral transmission of written declarations. One of the more interesting aspects of her use of sources involves looking at "counter-memories" of these episodes, which are interwoven with the official cultural memory through the mediation of print to create what Davis calls "knots" of cultural memory. These counter-memories come to the forefront in the chapters on the War of the Two Kings and the Jacobite risings.

Parts of Davis's book seem particularly relevant today. Chapter 4, "Writing the 1715 Jacobite Rising: Periodical Networks and the Inscription of the News," details how overwhelming the news could be when newspapers and manuscript newsletters were circulating along with essays that attempted to downplay the Jacobite threat. The inundation of disjointed and sometimes conflicting information created a situation in which periodical essays made the news more easily digestible, though they also expressed the political opinions of their authors and editors, such as Richard Steele and Joseph Addison. The sheer amount of news increased by the time of the 1745 Jac-

obite Rising and created concern not only about the accuracy of the news but also about how people read and interpreted it. The book's conclusion looks at mediation in the years after these events by exploring the retrospective work of Walter Scott, specifically *Waverley*. Davis shows how Scott mediated counter-memories by acknowledging them, and in doing so incorporated them into his own "progressive narrative" that took away their "power to stimulate action" (p. 263). In this way, Davis uses Scott to show how influential mediation can be in crafting national memories.

This book is suitable for any audience with a general understanding of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century British history. It will be useful in university classrooms and will also inspire future research on topics such as the reception of print media among people of lower status, those in exurban or rural areas, and women, as well as further exploration of media reception among the Scots and Irish. While the chapter on Irish and English interpretations of the War of the Two Kings incorporates the idea of colonial knots of memory, it would be interesting to use Davis's template to explore how other experiences of colonization were integrated into cultural memory in Britain during the first half of the eighteenth century.

Mediating Cultural Memory in Britain and Ireland is a compelling contribution not only to the field of British history but also to memory and print studies. It successfully shows how expanding print in the late seventeenth century and first half of the eighteenth century helped to shape British identity by legitimizing English interpretations of major events. The mediation of these print sources, through oral transmission, contestation, storage, and purposeful forgetting, was essential for establishing the authority that print came to embody by the mid-eighteenth century.

Bonnie Soper, Stony Brook University

Peter Pininski, *Bonnie Prince Charlie: His Life, Family, Legend*. Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2022. Revised Edition. Pp. 288.

This is an important publication that fills many gaps in the narrative of one of the last royal dynasties to try to uphold the principle of the divine right of kings. Yet it is also a perplexing work. It is a reworking of the author's 2010 book *Bonnie Prince Charlie: A Life*, which was updated in 2012 and (in a Polish translation) 2013. The introduction equivocally states that "It often seems the last Stuarts have been so thoroughly researched that there can be nothing left to unearth"—a sentiment to which I can attest from personal experience. The research for the earlier version of this publication revealed the existence of daughters and granddaughters of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, as reiterated here. This kind of information is undoubtedly interesting to fanatics of Jacobite history, but realistically it is just a footnote to a consistently detrimental fantasy of the continuity of the Jacobite cause to the present day (much like the "Lost Cause" of the American Confederacy). Although Pininski approaches his subject with a relatively scholarly demeanor, including extensive footnotes and a bibliography, it will come as no surprise that he has claimed to be a direct descendant of Prince Charles himself. It is reassuring that he recognizes the "charlatanism" of many of those who have also claimed Stuart ancestry (most notably the "Sobieski Stuart" brothers, whom I have researched in detail), but it still indelibly colors his methodological approach and raises questions about many of his observations. It is also puzzling why the National Museums Scotland—which in 2017 presented a major exhibition with an accompanying scholarly catalogue, *Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites*—considered it worthwhile to invest in another substantial publication that covers much of the same ground.

Perhaps what is most remarkable about this book is the cover image: a hitherto unlocated 1737 pastel portrait of Prince Charles Edward Stuart by the Venetian artist Rosalba Carriera. It was discovered by Pininski, with the help of Edward Corp, and unveiled at the National Museum of Scotland in 2019. Without a doubt this is one of the most important additions to the oeuvre of the portraiture of Prince Charles and quite overshadows the so-called "Ramsay" portrait that the Scottish National Portrait Gallery recently acquired for more than one million pounds. I have expressed many doubts about the "Ramsay" (which is not reproduced in this book) but endorse the Carriera as a major discovery. Unfortunately, Pininski does not go into detail about the discovery and attribution of this portrait, or even indicate its current whereabouts (though the implication is that his private foundation in Liechtenstein owns it.)

The book is richly illustrated with the very high standard of color reproduction that is expected from NMS publications. If anything justifies the republication, it is this, as it gives a strong visual background to Pininski's narrative. From an art historian's perspective, it is frustrating that few of the images give collection or provenance information (especially the Carriera). At most there is image permission information. Several images are drawn from the forementioned Pininski Foundation, reflecting a trait of writers on the Jacobites to also be collectors and possibly favor items in their own collections as having greater importance than fully catalogued and researched museum collections. That was certainly the case with Donald Nicholas's *The Portraits of Bonnie Prince Charlie* (1973).

Despite these reservations, this is an attractive and deeply researched volume. Pininski has brought together many years of research and inquiry to present possibly the most comprehensive overview of the last Stuarts and their legacy. The documentary evidence he has compiled is impressive and contributes substantially to the understanding of the Stuarts and Jacobitism in the critical period from 1688 to 1746. I applaud the author for devoting so much effort to analyzing the decline of the dynasty and its hapless bedraggled representative, but ultimately it is

a rather melancholy saga. Over half the book is devoted to this dispiriting narrative, which ends up being little more than an analysis of the squabbling internecine fighting of an eighteenth-century disempowered European royal family. As for the last word of the book's title, no, the shortbread tin and the Drambuie bottle will never make a "legend" of Bonnie Prince Charlie.

Robin Nicholson, *Art Museum Strategies*

Paul O'Keeffe, *Culloden: Battle and Aftermath*. London: Bodley Head, 2021. Pp. 410.

Paul O'Keeffe's *Culloden* is a lucidly written, meticulously researched account of one of the most dramatic events in Georgian England: the Jacobite insurgency of 1745–46, ignominiously crushed at Culloden, thereby dooming the Pretender's hopes for a Stuart restoration. The opening chapter, after effectively analyzing the military pros and cons of both government and rebel troops, illustrates that the first confrontation, ending in the defeat of Hanoverian regiments led by Gen. Henley at Prestonpans, was decided more by the variables of wind, rain, and terrain than Jacobite weaponry or tactics. Moreover, confirming newer research (e.g., Jeremy Black, *Culloden and the '45*, 2015), O'Keeffe demonstrates that the rebel army failed to attract the number of English sympathizers initially expected, leaving Prince Charles Edward Stuart's forces severely outnumbered from the outset and making a successful dash to London highly unlikely, if not impossible. Thus, the four thousand regular troops sent to Finchley to defend the northern approaches to London were sufficient to delay the unduly slow Jacobite advance, giving Cumberland additional time for interception and enabling Marshal Wade (marching posthaste) to cut off all retreat (pp. 165–82).

While the shifting tides of battle, and their results, are chronicled in expert fashion, the narrative at times borders on the lurid, with its relentlessly visceral depiction of battlefield gore: bodies torn to pieces by musketry and grapeshot, disemboweled horses, even slaughtered civilians—a cult of blood not typical of eighteenth-century military encounters. Admittedly, the author's wordplay compels attention and titillates the imagination, but perhaps, at times, to the detriment of more balanced, moderate thematic symmetry and presentation.

The book seamlessly interweaves battle narratives with discussion of the weapons—mainly socket bayonet vs. broadsword—used by the respective armies in close-quarter combat, an important subject often marginalized even in the specialist literature. More intensive use of these implements, with a decisive shift away from concentric platoon fire, proved inadequate at Prestonpans (pp. 28–39). This shift was critically important, for it explains Cumberland's preparations at Culloden, giving strong emphasis to the valuable order and discipline engendered by intensive bayonet training and drill. Hence the *Gentleman's Magazine's* observation that the duke's innovation for frontline troops would “doubtless be entered in the books of discipline as proper against sword and target” (May 1746, p. 244), providing the government infantry with enhanced confidence against a Highland onslaught.

Part II succinctly illustrates how in the Prince's army—unrested, underfed, and outmanned—morale diminished significantly prior to the final encounter. Matters were worsened by interclan disputes over issues of precedence in the order of battle, timing of the advance, and the pace of march, with regiments regularly falling behind, impeded by woodlands, marshes, and unfamiliar roads. This section, moreover, explains how these factors ruined Jacobite plans for a surprise attack—especially considering the Royal Army's habitual vigilance, superior spy network, flexible troop disposition, larger cavalry and reserves, and ingenious artillery placement, which at the most critical moment skewed the rebel order of battle. The resultant disparities “would affect the co-ordination of the Jacobite attack and even the capacity of parts of the army to engage at all” (p. 95), as gaps opened in the overstretched front lines. The battlefield carnage, ending in an all-out rebel retreat, was tragically followed by overall chaos and brutality: the slaughter of wounded fugitives in headlong retreat from the killing zones, the crass execution of prisoners of war on both sides, wholesale looting, and pillaging of the dead by government patrols, rebels, and civilians alike (pp. 132–34).

O'Keeffe's prose once again tends toward the dangerously overdramatic, though overall his coverage of the key events is masterly: an admirable blend of narrative and analytical skill, deployed in taut chapters that illuminate and integrate the Scottish and English dimensions of the Jacobite invasion most effectively. Unity is provided by the guiding insight that from first to last Jacobitism was a military phenomenon—a point scholars sometimes overlook. Despite the high political intrigues involved, any possible restoration of the exiled Stuarts inevitably entailed the serious and massive use of armed force necessary for challenging and dislodging the dynastic settlement of 1689. With bold conviction the author unravels and clarifies the complex, interactive political and military dynamics defining the Jacobite phenomenon, thereby significantly expanding the existing body of scholarly literature on this theme.

The volume's austere combat narrative mellows pleasantly in the succeeding section (Part III), appropriately titled “Wine, Punch and Patriotism”—essentially a lively portrayal of the festivities across England celebrating Culloden, involving, inevitably, bacchanalian sprees interspersed with lavish dramatic, poetic, artistic, and musical pomp. O'Keeffe's evocative exegesis of these functions provides unique insights into the mentalité of Georgian popular, as well as patrician, society—a distinctive panorama in which disparate, regional cultural traditions were filtered, revised, and recombined in ways that reflect each locale's experience and cultural needs. By expanding the London-centered focus of traditional eighteenth-century historiography, with contributions by so-called

periphery regions—Ireland, Wales, and especially Scotland—the book draws welcome attention to the notion of “conceptual Space,” a theoretical postulate in which ideas and knowledge are produced, refined, and influenced by “networks of exchange” of ideas, people, and commodities, all varying in scope. By viewing his research findings with an integrative focus on transcultural patterns of similarity (and differences), the author reflects and nicely blends with newer interpretative currents exploring creatively novel, more sophisticated, multidimensional approaches to the past (cf. Karl W. Schweizer, “Every Language Is an Archive,” *The European Legacy*, 2014, pp. 252–55). In the process, he also recontextualizes Habermas’s concept of the public sphere—those complex cultural transmutations that significantly altered social relations, notions of legitimate authority, citizenship ideals, constitutional conventions, and class identity.

Drawing on compelling new evidence, the book closes with an in-depth account of the administrative procedural complexities involved in bringing captured rebels to trial, especially in the sessions held at Carlisle and York. During the first session, of the 50 found guilty of high treason and sentenced to death, 33 were executed. In the York trials, 70 of the 75 indicted were convicted, 5 acquitted. Of the 70 death sentences, 46 were commuted on condition of enlistment or transportation (p. 280).

Valuable light is also cast on one of the unexpected beneficial side effects of the government’s extensive consolidation of power following the uprisings: the gradual surveying, charting, and complete mapping of both Scottish Lowland and Highland areas, mostly thus far terra incognita. This was combined with progressive alterations in the physical landscape via the form of new or improved road networks, essential to the coordination of troop cantonments in the field in the event of future insurrections.

In sum, despite some minor shortcomings, *Culloden* can be read with profit by specialists in English or Scottish history and will also interest general readers desirous to know more about this important episode and its colorful personalities.

Karl W. Schweizer, NJIT/Rutgers University, Newark

Humphrey Welfare, *General William Roy, 1726–1790: Father of the Ordnance Survey*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022. Pp. xv + 303.

The Scots military engineer and cartographer William Roy, argues his biographer Humphrey Welfare, should be better known. Welfare begins his well-written book with a brief prologue describing a 1775 dinner hosted by Nevil Maskelyne, the Astronomer Royal, in honor of Captain Cook. Other guests included Sir John Pringle, Physician to the King and President of the Royal Society; Daniel Solander, the botanist on Cook’s first voyage; James “Athenian” Stuart, painter and architect; and Lt.-Col. William Roy. Welfare demonstrates that Roy belonged in this illustrious company.

Roy was one of many eighteenth-century Scots who found success in the army. However, his career followed an unusual path. The son of a factor in Lanarkshire, Roy had an excellent early education at the Lanark grammar school, but little is known of the critical years after he left school around 1741. Welfare diligently searched for evidence, but he resorts to probable conjecture: perhaps Roy was employed by the post office to survey post roads, or perhaps he worked as an estate surveyor. He may also have attended the mathematics lectures of Colin Maclaurin in Edinburgh. He was without doubt, as the contents of his library attest, a prodigious autodidact. Lt.-Col. David Watson of the Corps of Engineers chose Roy in 1747 to assist him in his project to map the Highlands. Watson became a key patron.

The “improvement” of the Highlands after Culloden, as well as the suppression of future rebellions, necessitated accurate mapping. Welfare’s account of the Military Survey of Scotland (1747–52) details its technical, scientific, and artistic requirements with a sure hand and numerous illustrations, mostly in color. It rightly emphasizes the survey’s importance to Roy’s career as well as its influence on the eventual Ordnance Survey. Summer field work and winter analysis and drawing occupied a team of young men for several years under Watson’s command. Roy took over the management of the tactical side of the project, even though he was not yet a member of the military. After the Highlands were completed, the survey extended to the south. During this period, Roy first encountered Roman antiquities, which would become a major interest. In 1755 he received both a formal appointment as a military engineer and a commission in the army. The engineers constituted a kind of parallel army, with their own ranks and qualifications; Roy ended his career as a general in the army and a lieutenant colonel in the engineers.

The following year Roy and Watson began their survey of the coast of England, assessing its preparedness against a possible invasion as well as the logistics of provisioning; Watson had long been Deputy Quartermaster General for Scotland, and Roy now also began to assume a quartermaster’s role. Welfare’s account of provisioning provides a fascinating glimpse into the inner workings of an eighteenth-century army. The outbreak of war in 1756 led Roy to active military engagement overseas, including participation in the Battle of Minden in 1759. His detailed mapping of that battle, which included lift-up flaps that tracked troop movements, was widely acclaimed, although his main role in Germany was in provisioning. His military experience dovetailed with his burgeoning interest in Roman antiquities, particularly in Scotland and northern England. He was not alone in looking back to the Romans for examples of road-building, camp placement and design, and provisioning. From the 1750s through the 1770s, he worked on a manuscript titled *The Military Antiquities of North Britain*. This grew to

120,000 words with a large number of illustrations and maps, and was finally published posthumously by the Society of Antiquaries (to which he had been elected in 1776) in 1793. His maps, often of earthworks that were soon demolished in the drive for agricultural improvement, became valuable records of vanished sites, not least because of their accuracy and detail, and many of the sites he recorded were later confirmed by aerial photography.

Roy's use of the term "North Britain" rather than Scotland indicates his political sympathies. His father was a Presbyterian elder and his brother a clergyman. Although Roy does not appear to have been overtly pious—his library did not include a Bible—he was certainly no fan of the Jacobites on both religious and political grounds, and he was a firm conservative and supporter of the crown. He did not live in Scotland after the 1750s.

Roy's move to London in 1765 signaled a new phase of sociability and science, although he continued his military duties, supervising the provisioning of British troops during the American Revolution. Elected a fellow of the Royal Society in 1767, Roy partook of both its intellectual and social life. He became good friends with Joseph Banks and joined his Royal Society supper club. A steady patron of London instrument makers, he filled his house in London with scientific instruments. Among his activities in the 1770s was "hypsometry," the use of a barometer to measure elevation. The Military Survey of Scotland did not include good measurements of elevation, and Roy aimed to correct this shortcoming. The other major project of his last decade was geodesy, the measurement of the shape of the earth, accomplished largely by a painstaking process of trigonometric triangulation. He continued to urge the creation of a full cartographical survey of Britain, finally realized in the nineteenth century with the Ordnance Survey.

Roy died in London in 1790. He never married, and little is known of his personal life. He left few letters or personal papers, and a single portrait may or may not be of him. To call Welfare's very thorough biography a labor of love is not to denigrate it; it took immense patience and diligence to assemble the scattered pieces of Roy's life and place him in a context of patronage, military life, and scientific sociability that was uniquely Scottish. The book is well produced, with many illustrations and a full bibliography.

Anita Guerrini, Oregon State University

Rosie Waine, *Highland Style: Fashioning Highland Dress, c.1745–1845*. Edinburgh: NMS Enterprises, 2022. Pp. xii + 210.

Tartan: is it Scottish, or merely Scott-ish? This important question and many others are addressed in Rosie Waine's *Highland Style*, which scholars of dress history and Scottish cultural history, as well as other interested readers, should welcome to the literature on Scotland's national dress and one of its most visible exports.

In four detailed chapters, Waine traces both the history and development of post-1745 tartan into a national symbol of Scotland and Scottishness and the history of tartan holdings in the National Museums of Scotland. There are times when this dual narrative does not work: while the provenance of the articles Waine discusses is of great interest, the history of tartan in the national collections often bogs down the exploration of the items themselves and seems to belong in another book. This is especially true of the first chapter, which should probably start with the information regarding the tartan exhibit at the New York Fashion Institute in 1989 instead of a long history of the national collection of tartan, which adds little of interest to the narrative.

The second chapter, "The Rise and Influence of the Highland Societies," is significantly stronger and more focused, starting in 1828 when the Highland Club of Scotland visited Inchkeith, complete with a pipe band. All in attendance were in Highland costume. Highland costume as we know it originated with the Highland Society of London in 1782, after the Marquess of Graham succeeded in getting the Dress Act repealed, on the grounds that Highland Scotland was no longer a threat. This image was extraordinarily influential in promoting the ideas of Scotland as a wild and romantic land and of a unified national identity. As Highland societies grew, so did their rules and occasions for wearing Highland dress, which slowly evolved from what inhabitants of the Highlands are known to have worn into the outfit we now associate with Scotland's national image. By 1822, when George IV visited Edinburgh, the Highland societies had established a national dress.

One of the major myths Waine dispels is the idea that there is anything particularly historical or authentic about modern national dress. It was largely established in London in the late eighteenth century and used as part of the creation of the romanticized image of Scotland. Whether or not that diminishes the authenticity of so-called family tartans, worn proudly by members of the Scottish diaspora, is an important debate, but not one for Waine's work.

Chapter 3, "Designing and Trading Tartan in Georgian Britain," carries the global design and manufacture of tartan into the nineteenth century. Waine charts the development of patterns and colors, using the Wilsons of Bannockburn as a case study. This firm existed until 1924, leaving a vast supply of records and account books with remnants attached. These can help in accounting for the popularity of tartan abroad and the wide dissemination of the pattern. The technique of attaching a sample was very savvy, enabling the Wilsons to show what was offered and manage expectations. Presumably this practice was unusual, though Waine does not discuss the usual method of cloth-shopping. A highlight of this chapter is how a garment's history can divulge details about a society. For example, tartan cloaks between 1802 and 1845 evolved from showing a clan affiliation to being selected and used as a practical garment. By the time Elizabeth Gaskell published *Wives and Daughters* in 1864, the idea, in England

at least, of a “true clan tartan” was under scrutiny, and Mrs. Gaskell’s heroine feels awkward in wearing a dress that is both tackily bright and not of her heritage. This social signaling through dress has much to do with the by-then pervasive understanding of Scottishness and Scottish identity.

The final chapter, “Highland Style in Georgian Society,” focuses on the global construction and style of Highland dress in the Georgian period. The folding of the kilt and turning of the coats were standardized, and women began to abandon the arisaide in favor of tartan sashes or dresses. Some items formerly believed to be authentic, such as the Hawthornden coat, were actually contemporary pieces, made in homage to the romanticized memory of Bonnie Prince Charlie, and the evolving style of dress can be seen in artworks depicting the prince. It becomes clear in this chapter that Highland dress was reserved for upper-class society.

Printed on glossy paper and well-illustrated, *Highland Style* is a strong addition to studies of Scottish material culture in the long eighteenth century. It would have been even stronger, however, without the many digressions into previous exhibits, museum layout, and tartan collections within the museum’s history. Although these digressions may have been required by the publishing and funding bodies, they do not enhance the book. The layout and image placement occasionally break the flow of the narrative, though this is sometimes unavoidable.

Elizabeth Ford, Future Generations University

Allan I. MacInnes, Patricia Barton, and Kieran German, eds., *Scottish Liturgical Traditions and Religious Politics: From Reformers to Jacobites, 1540–1764*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021. Scottish Religious Cultures: Historical Perspectives. Pp. viii + 225.

Studies in Scottish liturgy, let alone those that connect liturgy with religious politics in the early modern era, have a rarity value, and this collection is welcome on those grounds alone. The post-Reformation religious establishment fought shy of set forms of service, and Charles I’s efforts to impose a prayer book on his Scottish subjects in 1637 notoriously alienated opinion in his northern kingdom at a crucial juncture in the “Personal Rule.” Presbyterianism and the absence of liturgy appeared coterminous, and even after episcopacy returned to Scotland after the Restoration in 1660 the circumstances were unpropitious for a Book of Common Prayer on the English 1662 model. This was a liturgically light polity, and it was only after the Revolution of 1688–90 that the disestablished Episcopalians moved toward using a formalized order of offices based on what was understood at the time as the best primitive models. As with Roman Catholics displaced by James II and VII’s “abdication,” ecclesiological upheaval necessitated a confessional flexibility that was often associated with efforts to restore the exiled Stuarts.

Most of the essays place liturgy at their center; a minority focus on religious politics. Almost half the collection deals with subjects that precede the long eighteenth century. Stephen Mark Holmes sets the scene with consideration (via the tabulation of literary fragments) of local variants in the pre-1560 Latin liturgy that fell foul of the Tridentine drive for uniformity which is the subject of Patricia Barton’s chapter on “Jesuits, Mission and Gender in Post-Reformation Scotland.” Thomas McNally looks at the Franciscan mission to the Highlands in the seventeenth century, one obliged to withdraw to Ireland by the late 1630s, but not before, McNally contends, it had an enduring impact on Catholic survival in the West Highlands and Islands.

In chapter 4 the spotlight turns to Episcopalianism and stays there. Opening the way is John M. Hintermaier, who confirms the appetite for liturgy in the circles around Robert Leighton in Charles II’s reign, a tendency that stalled because of resistance in the church at large. But the trend was clear, also evident in accessible theological writings such as Henry Scougal’s distinctly Arminian *The Life of God in the Soul of Man* (1677). Scougal died prematurely in 1678, but Isaac M. Poobalan underlines his contemporary and posthumous influence. Alastair Raffe guides us with assurance through the brief window of multi-confessional Scotland (1686–89), when religious competition fostered liturgical creativity. That pluralistic period was abruptly curtailed by the Revolution of 1688, which ended the episcopal character of the established Kirk. Those who in conscience could not accommodate Presbyterianism into their ecclesiology spanned, in Kieran German’s phrase, the “spectrum of confessional commitment” (p. 122). German’s chapter explores the relatively fluid range of Episcopalian opinion in one of its heartlands: Aberdeen. Men and women in practice flitted between juring and nonjuring congregations, taking advantage of the Toleration Act of 1712 to use the English liturgy.

Research has tended to focus on nonjuring Episcopalians, but Tristram Clarke helpfully redresses the balance in his chapter on “Jurors and Qualified Clergy.” He focuses on the gradually increasing use of the Book of Common Prayer in such congregations, showing how prayer books were purchased and distributed. These were men and women prepared to pray for Hanoverian sovereigns after 1714. Other Episcopalians, including the northeast “mystics,” George and James Garden, decided after Queen Anne’s death that they could not in conscience do so and became, in the words of Marie-Luise Ehrenscheidtner, “reluctant Jacobites.” Her chapter explores their spiritual environment carefully and contextually. It is followed by Richard Sharp, who lays out with assured scholarship the liturgical tradition of the English nonjurors on which their Scottish equivalents drew so often. A. Emsley Nimmo examines the life of Bishop Archibald Campbell, “one of the greatest minds produced by the Scottish Church” (p. 173). Campbell passed much of his life in London (his contacts with English clergy and laity await recovery) and, as Nimmo shows, liturgical research and rewriting were central to his scholarship.

Two seminal events for Episcopalians in the eighteenth century were the Jacobite rising of 1745–46 and the production of the liturgy of 1764. In “Clerics Behaving Badly,” Darren S. Layne considers the extent of clerical involvement in the rebellion and looks across the communions, drawing on the wealth of information to be found in the Jacobite database of 1745. He concludes that most clerical participants were Episcopalians. Few overt acts of treason could be proved against them, but they were still treated more harshly in its aftermath than their Catholic counterparts. In the last chapter, W. Douglas Kornahrens returns to the great episcopalian scholar Bishop Thomas Rattray, whose eucharistic doctrine was the defining influence on the Scottish liturgy of 1764. Kornahrens shows decisively how far patristic writing (and his early seventeenth-century Aberdonian predecessors) influenced his *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of Jerusalem* (1744). As this and other chapters confirm, early modern Scottish liturgists, free of the trammels of legal establishment faced by their English counterparts, had a profound effect on Anglican formation and identity well beyond Scotland.

Nigel Aston, University of York

Andrew Mackillop, *Human Capital and Empire: Scotland, Ireland, Wales and British Imperialism in Asia, c.1690–c.1820*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021. Studies in Imperialism. Pp. xix + 319.

This superb book makes an immense contribution to the historiography of empire and the multifaceted impact of British imperialism in Asia, both within Asia itself and especially on the “metropolitan provinces” of the British and Irish Isles. Since it is impossible in a notice of this length to do justice to its breadth and depth, this review will be limited to outlining the major contours of the author’s analysis and to providing an overall assessment of its contributions. There are seven substantive chapters, bookended by an insightful introduction (“Complicating the Coloniser: Scottish, Irish and Welsh Perspectives on British Imperialism in Asia”) and a clear and compelling conclusion (“‘Poor’ Europe’s Pathways to Empire and Globalisation”). Although the territory covered is chronologically, geographically, conceptually, and historiographically very broad, the book more than lives up to the scale of its ambition.

The introduction offers an excellent guide to the book’s aims. Although it deploys key interpretive concepts from economists such as Gary Becker (human capital) and sociologists such as Pierre Bourdieu and James Coleman (social capital), and Nan Lin (network theory), Mackillop’s approach is always profoundly attentive to historical context, drawing on and engaging with leading historians of British imperialism and globalization such as A. G. Hopkins, Philip Stern, C. A. Bayly, and P. J. Marshall. Mackillop conceives of his comparative project as a “case study of the mutually constitutive interaction of global, imperial, national, corporate, regional, local and familial dynamics during the age of ‘proto-globalisation’” (p. 1). He correctly points out that “The chronology and quantity of Irish, Scottish and Welsh participation in the commercial, merchant marine, military and medical divisions of the pre-1815 corporation [the East India Company, or EIC] are outlined for the first time” (p. 2)—itself a notable scholarly achievement.

Chapter 1 focuses on London. Echoing Stana Nenadic’s ECSSS volume *Scots in London in the Eighteenth Century* (2010), Mackillop convincingly demonstrates that “Participation in one whole hemisphere of England and then Britain’s global empire was shaped by the existence and patronage capacities of expatriate communities in London” (p. 29). His methodical and detailed research establishes the necessity of beginning with an appreciation of London as the metropolis that housed what was always called the English East India Company, or the “United Merchants of England trading to the East Indies” (p. 31). “At no time was the EIC ever formally referred to as ‘British,’” Mackillop notes. Despite its formal name, however, during the second half of the eighteenth century it enabled hugely significant Scottish participation.

Chapter 2 (“The Brokers of Human Capital: Shareholders and Directors”) builds effectively on the previous chapter. Mackillop contends that “Recovering patterns of shareholding and the patronage strategies of Scots, Irish and Welsh in the EIC helps place the metropole more fully into an understanding of how English imperialism became a broader British and Irish phenomenon” (p. 58). Chapter 3 (“Civil Servants and Mariners”) provides a rich understanding of British global migration in the eighteenth century by means of its focus on the crucial role of sojourning as a betterment migration strategy in Asia. It offers a salutary warning against “Wha’s like us” chauvinism: “The tendency to exaggerate the Scottish presence is a by-product of using diaspora history as a vicarious form of national history. From this emphasis has sprung a fixation on disproportionate numbers and uncritical assumptions about national as opposed to familial and regional forms of identity at work in the Empire” (p. 84). Chapter 4 (“The Military: Economies of High- and Low-Value Human Capital”) focuses on an important topic that was the subject of Mackillop’s excellent first book, *“More Fruitful than the Soil”: Army, Empire, and the Scottish Highlands, 1715–1815* (2000). Since both Scots and Irish had a long history of military migration, this chapter explores themes of continuity and change in a nuanced and persuasive manner. Ultimately, however, Mackillop shows the marked differences between Scottish and Irish military mobility. Simply put, Scots showed a notable pattern of high-value (i.e., officers) but low volume migration into Asian military service, while the Irish, conversely, sent large numbers of (often Roman Catholic) troops in the ranks.

Although most of the book focuses on socioeconomic analysis, there is also discussion of important cultural, intellectual, and political themes. Chapter 5 (“Circuits of Human and Cultural Capital: Medicine and the

Knowledge Economy in Asia”) demonstrates, somewhat surprisingly, that the very large number of Scottish medical men in Asian service was not simply a result of the education offered at the Scottish universities, as the vast majority did not gain medical degrees in Scotland. “Enlightenment and migration became deeply interconnected and mutually constitutive,” Mackillop argues. “The development of medical expertise north of the border was shaped by a global geography of learning that encompassed places like Aberdeen, Edinburgh, London, the Company’s oceanic shipping routes, Madras, Bombay, Calcutta and China” (p. 184). Thus, Scotland’s eighteenth-century reputation for Enlightenment and medical expertise was profoundly affected by Asian empire.

Chapter 6 (“The Free Traders: Connecting Economies of Human and Monetary Capital”) deals with the crucial role of private traders in shaping early British imperialism in Asia. Mackillop enumerates the major role of “Scottish sojourners,” who “were able to maximise connections between the official and private economies and play a substantial role in the vitally important remittance trade” (p. 213). With characteristic methodological rigor, using a database of over six thousand individuals, chapter 7 (“Returns: Realising the Human Capital Economy”) elucidates how returnees were remarkably successful at disguising Asian wealth, notably in Scotland, with the result that many Scots then and since did not appreciate its importance for their country’s economy, society, politics, and culture. I found this chapter one of the most innovative and interesting parts of the book.

What we learn ultimately is that Sir Walter Scott was correct to view India as Scotland’s “corn chest” (p. 254). Mackillop’s detailed survey compares and contrasts in compelling fashion the engagements of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales with empire and trade in Asia. Wales was significantly underrepresented; Ireland had high-volume but relatively low-value mobility of human capital; Scotland was considerably overrepresented among elites, such as military officers, medics, and free merchants. The economic impact was very large and showed a marked regional effect on Edinburgh and east-central Scotland.

It is perhaps fitting to end by returning to the beginning of the book and the introduction by the “Founding Editor” of the venerable Studies in Imperialism series in which this monograph appears. John M. MacKenzie commends Mackillop’s work as “the first really authoritative study of the connection of the East India Company not only with Scotland, but also with Ireland and Wales during the long eighteenth century from 1690 to 1820” (p. xviii). The author analyzes a “tremendous range of sources” and employs effectively “all manner of statistical techniques and theoretical notions to appraise the effects of the Asian connection with these three so-called provincial societies” (pp. xviii–xix). MacKenzie closes by rightly emphasizing that this book will undoubtedly stimulate further research on Asian empire. Indeed, it should be, and no doubt quickly will become, required reading for anyone interested in the transformative global dynamics of British imperialism in Asia, as well as a wide range of students and scholars in the social sciences and humanities. That is the hallmark of truly groundbreaking and important historical scholarship.

Paul Tonks, Yonsei University

Stephen Mullen, *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy: Scotland and Caribbean Slavery, 1775–1838*. London: University of London Press, 2022. New Historical Perspectives (Royal Historical Society). Pp. xxi + 302.

Few historians have come to be more closely associated with Scotland’s connections to the colonial Caribbean than Stephen Mullen. Over the last ten years he has published insightful articles, contributed to edited volumes, and appeared in a BBC documentary on Scotland and slavery. His new monograph is therefore much anticipated. *The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy* provides an excellent examination of Scottish involvement with colonial trade and the enormous profits that were made on the backs of enslaved Africans and people of African descent. Furthermore, the book challenges existing research on patterns of migration, the financial gains of sugar-related businesses, and their effects on wider Scottish society. It is a text that will become core reading for anyone researching Scotland and the Caribbean.

The book is well-structured, making it accessible to undergraduates or scholars new to the field. Every chapter begins with Mullen’s intentions and ends with a concise conclusion. The first four chapters provide background information on the rise of the West India merchants in Glasgow, their commercial networks, and their business practices. Although some of this material can be found in Mullen’s other publications, these chapters form a necessary foundation for the rest of the book. The subsequent three chapters are case studies on colonies that became British territories during three different phases of colonization: Jamaica in the first phase of mainly English colonization; Granada and Carriacou in the second phase, after the treaty of Utrecht; and Trinidad during the third phase, in the early nineteenth century and the latter stages of enslavement. The final chapter considers the wider effects of the fortunes repatriated to Scotland, and Glasgow in particular, by West Indian merchants. To readers acquainted with T. M. Devine’s *The Tobacco Lords*, the arrangement of this last chapter will feel familiar.

The aims and arguments of the book are clearly expressed, convincing, and supported by exacting archival research. Mullen establishes that the West India interest in Glasgow was a potent economic force within the city and much larger than previously acknowledged. The book uses records from one hundred and fifty subscribers to the Glasgow West India Association between 1804 and 1834 to illuminate the vast sums accumulated and expatriated during an era in which profits from slavery were previously thought to be in decline. Initially, historians cast doubt on the ability of the Scots West Indian planters and merchants to repatriate their wealth to their homeland.

However, Mullen demonstrates through incisive use of inventories, day books, and company letters that the sugar elites commanded “an integrated Atlantic economy which facilitated an influx of capital into the west of Scotland” (p. 90). The sugar elite’s further investments in Scotland provide convincing evidence supporting this view.

Situating his work within the sphere of Eric Williams’s thesis of enslavement and the development of European economies, Mullen contends that the Glasgow West India interest should be considered primarily commercial rather than industrial. The book concludes that their “greater investments lay in commerce; wealth held in banking and insurance; and the laying out of large-scale loans” (p. 291). That the first phase of the Scottish industrial revolution took place before the fortunes made from sugar were transferred back to Scotland supports this position. Mullen notes that this is not to say that there was no investment in industry, but the lion’s share of investment lay in commercial endeavors.

Mullen’s breadth of knowledge and passion for his subject are clear. Throughout *The Sugar Aristocracy*, the author is continually in conversation with the historiography of Scots in the Caribbean. Mullen builds on Douglas Hamilton’s work on commercial networks in Grenada and engages with Andrew McKillop’s analysis of the repatriation of wealth from the East Indies. He is also successful in raising the profile of the West India merchants beyond “a simple addendum to the more lucrative tobacco trade” (p. 23). There are welcome challenges to orthodoxy within the field. For example, previous works highlighted the role of second sons of landed families in the West Indies. Mullen demonstrates that, although their presence was notable, the sons of landed families made up a small percentage of the overall number of Scots in the region. The number of second sons was only half the number of firstborn sons among the merchant and planters in this investigation. Similarly, Mullen nuances Alan Karras’s “sojourners” thesis of young Scots hoping to make a quick fortune and return home by providing pertinent examples of Scots who remained in the colonies after building their fortunes there, though moving back to Scotland was well within their means.

The book offers challenges and opportunities for researchers in the field. Given the title, the focus of the text naturally falls on the elites and those who were able to make significant sums from their involvement in colonial trade. However, there were also vast numbers of non-elite Scots in the Caribbean, whose experience of colonial life and impact on the colonies are as yet unexplored. Although there are glimpses of their existence here, such as carpenter John Newlands and overseer Alexander Reid, questions remain about the majority of Scots who migrated to the West Indies and their influence on life there beyond Kingston’s Presbyterian Church in Jamaica and St. Andrew’s Day celebrations.

The Glasgow Sugar Aristocracy is an ideal book for researchers looking to enhance their understanding of Scotland’s connections to the colonial Caribbean, transatlantic trading networks, and the economic effects of the profits of enslavement on a major British provincial city. Its thorough engagement with the historiography of Scots’ connections to the West Indies makes it an excellent starting point for new students, while the depth of analysis into Glasgow’s West India interest provides insightful new perspectives for experienced researchers in the field.

Kevin Marshall, Stony Brook University

Ronald Lyndsay Crawford, *Scotland and America in the Age of Paine: Ideas of Liberty and the Making of Four Americans*. Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 2022. Pp. xxiv + 557.

Ronald Crawford’s new book discusses not only the four elements named in its title—Scots, Americans, and ideas of liberty, in the age of Thomas Paine—and especially their interaction. The first half of the book examines the Scottish context of the American and French revolutions, dealing with Scottish responses to Paine’s *Common Sense* (1776) and *Rights of Man* (1791–92); the writings of Scottish Enlightenment thinkers and Church of Scotland ministers on the American Revolution; Scottish-American discussions of “improvement” and progress; and writers of all these backgrounds slowly toiling toward dealing with the great stain on the eighteenth century that was slavery. Having established these wider contexts, the second half of the book addresses the book’s subtitle by examining four Scottish emigrants to America: the Presbyterian minister John Witherspoon, the bookseller Robert Aitken, the lawyer James Wilson, and the satirical poet Alexander Wilson.

One of this book’s major strengths is its depth of archival research: it is enormously learned in the original publications and documents. For instance, Crawford draws out the full details of the charges laid against Thomas Muir in his trial for sedition in August 1793, as few of Muir’s many previous historians have done, and he lays out fully the contemporary bibliographical context of that trial. The book’s outstanding contribution is Crawford’s substantial discussions of individuals who were important in both Scotland and America in this period, some of whom—Robert Aitken, Alexander Wilson, and James Wilson—are perhaps less well known by Scottish historians. As the author of *The Lost World of John Witherspoon* (2014), Crawford has much to contribute on the Ayrshire clergyman who became the president of the College of New Jersey at Princeton. He rightly rejects the old, simplistic division into rational, moralizing Moderates and spiritual, unintellectual Evangelicals. Witherspoon’s slowness to condemn slavery and the slave trade is obviously problematic and important to know. I worry, though, about the casting of Witherspoon’s continued adherence to Calvinism after his emigration to America, and to doctrines such as original sin, as evidence of a deficit of “enlightenment” (pp. 293–95). Without a clear definition of

“Enlightenment,” the implication is that what does not fit our current *zeitgeist* cannot be “enlightened.”

Although John Millar, professor of civil law at the University of Glasgow, does not have a chapter to himself, Crawford’s work on his views on slavery is also especially interesting. Crawford does not consider directly the chronology of when the tipping-point into abolitionism was reached in Scottish public opinion. How was the shift made from the lack of awareness that slavery was a moral problem to the recognition that the trade and the practice must both be abolished? This is not one of the author’s purposes here, though the opinion of individuals on slavery is an important thread through the book. Crawford does, however, suggest a way through the problem, by tracing with great care the works that Millar read as he wrote, and later revised, *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks* (1771), including books by John Huddleston Wynne, William and Edmund Burke, Benjamin Rush, Granville Sharp, and Anthony Benezet. This approach raises the possibility of an intellectual history of the emergence of abolitionism before or alongside the two major explanations to date: the British trauma of the American Revolution and the success of the propaganda, public, and political campaigns of the later 1780s. One would like to know what Millar, as a jurist, had to say about the *Somerset* and *Knight* cases in the 1770s, the *Zong* massacre of 1781, Olaudah Equiano’s *Interesting Narrative* (1787), and James Ramsay’s *Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the Sugar Colonies* (1784). Had he read Benjamin Lay’s book, *All Slave-Keepers who Keep the Innocent in Bondage, Apostates* (1737)? But what Crawford has traced here is interesting in itself and suggestive methodologically for wider application.

In a book of this length, inevitably readers will take issue with views and perspectives argued by its author, and split the odd factual hair—e.g., Thomas Fyshe Palmer was transported to Botany Bay for seven years, not fourteen, and was minister at Montrose from 1783–85, not 1793–95 (pp. 127, 436), and Paine’s *Rights of Man, Part Two* was published in 1792 not 1772 (p. 147). Some of the background material is well known and might have been summarized more concisely. More substantially for this reviewer, the reader has to work quite hard to extract the book’s principal argument: that Paine’s influence in his lifetime was substantial, and a significant element in the Scottish-American political relationship. It is not immediately obvious, for instance, why a chapter on Scotland and the American Revolution follows a chapter on Scotland and the French Revolution. There are many wonderful lengthy passages quoted from the original sources whose significance for Crawford’s thesis might have been drawn out more explicitly. Although each chapter is full of interesting Scottish-American connections either not previously noted or not previously elaborated on, readers are often left to draw their own conclusions. I did not need to be convinced (pp. 454–55) that “the Age of Paine” was a reasonable subtitle for the book, but I would have liked a clear evaluation of the significance of Paine’s influence in the Scottish-American political relationship in his lifetime. That said, we have certainly needed a book on Scotland and America in the age of Paine, drawing together research that deals separately with the transatlantic political connections during the periods of the American or French revolutions and building on the broader work of Andrew Hook and others on cultural connections. There is a great deal to be learned from *Scotland and America in the Age of Paine*.

Emma Macleod, University of Stirling

Murray Pittock, *Scotland: The Global History, 1603 to the Present*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022. Pp. xiv + 485.

Scotland: The Global History opens with a sketch of two Scotlands, which, Murray Pittock argues, existed as a single entity prior to the First World War. The implication is that the two images have since become distinct and are now at odds with one another. The first was “developed and exported in the era of the country’s great Romantic writers” and has since become a brand that can be “summed up in images of bagpipes, mountains, tartan, [and] whisky” (p. 1). This seemingly benign image emerged in the aftermath of Culloden, and although it has proven culturally relevant, it does not offer Pittock a foundation for his global history. The “second” Scotland “provided the finance, technology and innovation that drove the steam age, leading to the vast expansion in global trade and in-country traffic on water and land which began in Scotland with the first passenger steam boat service in Europe. This latter is the Scotland that—it has been claimed—‘Created Our World & Everything in It’” (p.1). Despite the bravado of this quote taken from Arthur Herman’s popular *How the Scots Invented the Modern World* (2001), Pittock’s opening pages convey a palpable anxiety about Scottish histories and Scotland’s future in the aftermath of Brexit. As T. M. Devine and Jenny Wormald observe in their introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Modern Scottish History* (2014), Scottish histories have often been dismissed as narrow, parochial, or picturesque, and “Scottish historiography” has been “imprisoned within a narrative of defective and inadequate development” (p. 10). Recent publications like Devine’s edited collection, *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past* (2015) mark a clear and significant engagement with what Devine and Wormald refer to as an “international historiographical agenda” (p. 11). Pittock embraces this agenda with his title, which advocates for a more cosmopolitan and global perspective of Scotland and its people, but the singularity of its definitive article in *The Global History* gestures to a reluctance or a disturbing disassociation regarding the sources of capital that financed innovation and expanded global trade.

The book is divided into three parts and seven chapters. The first part, “Conflict and Sovereignty,” opens with “A Question of Sovereignty,” a chapter that bypasses the Stuart accession to the English throne. Although

Pittock later refers to this event as representative of the “first true British composite monarchy” (p. 33), most of this chapter focuses on the roles performed by Scottish players in the Thirty Years’ War. This bloody international conflict determined several questions of national sovereignty. The chapter concludes with ratification of the 1707 Union. This “strangely hybrid document, neither quite a law nor quite a treaty” (p. 91), marks the loss of Scotland’s sovereignty.

The second chapter in this part focuses on the rise and fall of the Jacobites. Pittock identifies Scottish Jacobitism as representing a significant oppositional voice to the centralized and imperial form of Britishness that emerged in the eighteenth century. Associated with a “range of national grievances and a desire to restore the Stuart composite monarchy in full, with strong national parliaments and inbuilt protection for Catholicism in Ireland and Episcopalianism in Scotland” (p. 108), Jacobitism, with its exiles in France and its “established court in Rome at the Palazzo del Re” (115), is “an international movement that made use of—indeed developed—international means of association” (p. 118). These exiles served as soldiers and commanders in the armies of France, Sweden, Russia, and Spain. Like other Scots who were either forced or chose to emigrate, this group formed an international network. As Pittock makes clear in the three chapters in the second part of the book, “Empire,” many of these networks can be mapped against the deployments of imperial British troops across the globe or in the complex webs of mercantile trade that linked Ulster plantations, the Darien Scheme, North and South American settlement, and Caribbean slavery to Scots-dominated consortiums based in Liverpool, Bristol, Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, significantly, not to Scottish cities or Scottish ports. Some businesses like Grant, Oswald & Co were heavily invested in the slave trade. Others were involved with the North American fur trade and interacted extensively with the indigenous peoples of North America, creating a demand for tartan and blue bonnets among the Cree.

In these chapters Pittock intertwines his microhistories (p. 196) of Scottish networks into the larger, more familiar global histories of war, empire, and slavery. Pittock’s microhistories emphasize the Scottish ambition to capitalize on new opportunities, to push into untapped markets where there is little competition and even less regulation. A reader might wonder if there is any significant distinction to be made between Scottish and capitalist ambition. Slavery and empire-building were central to the production and dissemination of Scotland’s early global success story, but it is significant that Pittock resists identifying Jacobite soldiers as mercenaries (p. 119); when discussing slavery, he focuses predominantly on the financial successes and the expansive personal and business networks. Ann Laura Stoler’s term, “Colonial Aphasia” (*Public Culture*, 2011)—meaning “loss of access and active dissociation” (p. 125)—appropriately describes the disassociation that occurs here and throughout the book in discussions of slavery, war, and empire. In his microhistories, Pittock renders visible the unseen forces of Adam Smith’s “invisible hand” in the complex networks that linked kinship, commerce, and political influence to self-interest. These connections spanned the globe and enabled Scots to move with greater ease through Europe, across the Atlantic to the Americas, and, further afield to Africa and India.

Pittock’s microhistories of global networks function in this part as a counterweight to the romance and tragedy of Scottish history popularized in Sir Walter Scott’s poetry and novels and more recently in the *Outlander* series. Scott, Robert Burns, James Macpherson, and to a lesser degree, Byron, in conjunction with the artists Paul Sandby and J. M. W. Turner, “branded” Scotland as “strongly oriented . . . to celebrate a heroic past” (p. 211). Scottish Romanticism, Pittock argues, enabled the transformation of Scotland into a tourist destination: a place confined to and defined by its production of picturesque and sublime landscapes. This history or “image,” as Pittock might refer to it, has eclipsed Scotland’s global history, downplayed its political influence, and created a narrative wherein Scotland is a dependent nation that accepts its loss of independence. As part of his attempt to rebrand this popular image, Pittock argues that the Jacobite Risings of 1715 and 1745, Scotland’s defeat at Culloden, and Scotland’s prolonged occupation by British troops created two significant changes in “Scotland’s global presence.” These events incorporated “Scotland, particularly ‘Highland’ Scotland, into Britain’s global military presence” and made possible the “projection of Romantic Scotland as [the country’s] global brand” (p. 153).

The final part of the book—“Finding a Role”—considers how Scotland and the Scottish people have changed with the dissolution of the British Empire, the World Wars, and the monetary devaluation of 1967 (p. 352). Pittock is attentive to political polls and surveys in these chapters. Initially, this focus is disconcerting; however, as he begins to direct more attention to “stereotyping, cliché, mythology and invention,” he makes a case for how these elements “are central to [a country’s] marketing to internal and external audiences.” “It is the job of the historian,” Pittock writes, “both to hold them to account and to understand the role their appeal plays in the brand image of the country concerned elsewhere in the world: . . . national histories are always improved by understanding their relational qualities and inner dynamic rather than through the crude jingo of exceptionalism” (p. 402).

The chapters of this book are impressively researched. The book offers an engaging narrative, but the impression it leaves on the reader is sometimes jarring, as when Pittock, in a discussion of the Treaty of Westphalia (p. 30–31), includes references to Henry Kissinger and Vietnam that would be better placed in footnotes. Additionally, the sheer number of microhistories can prove overwhelming to the reader, especially when the purpose is not made clear. Finally, I suspect many readers resist associating history with marketing and political strategies: polls, brands, stereotypes, and clichés. But Pittock makes an important point when he insists that historians reflect on how histories are made and for whom they are created. Scotland and some Scottish people profited immensely

from the Empire, and this same class of people capitalized on emancipation, reinvesting that money in the Industrial Revolution (see Nicholas Draper's essay, "Scotland and Colonial Slave Ownership" in *Recovering Scotland's Slavery Past*). Scottish historians like Devine and Pittock have initiated the process of reexamining and questioning the social and political costs of Scotland's global networks. Pittock is forthcoming about Scotland's investments in the institution of slavery, but his image of global Scots is like the picturesque depictions of bagpipes and tartans created during the Romantic period; both make it too easy to disassociate from the troubling realities that inform Scotland's identity and history.

Dana Van Kooy, Michigan Technological University

Kelsey Jackson Williams, Jane Stevenson, and William Zachs, *A History and Catalogue of the Lindsay Library, 1570–1792: The Story of 'some bonie little bookes'*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2022. Pp. xxiv + 513.

This is not the first book to focus on the Lindsay Library at Balcarres House, in the East Neuk of Fife. Nicholas Barker did so in *Bibliotheca Lindesiana* (1977), but he focused on the formation of the library in the nineteenth century, as put together by Alexander, 25th Earl of Crawford and 8th Earl of Balcarres (1812–80) and his son Ludovic, 26th Earl of Crawford and 9th Earl of Balcarres (1847–1913). The history of the Lindsay Library in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was limited to a few pages. The present work addresses that shortcoming by covering the beginnings of the Lindsay Library and its development up to the early eighteenth century, when it ceased to be a major intellectual force.

The first two chapters give a history of the Lindsay Library and its owners, from the brothers Sir David Lindsay, Lord Edzell (1551?–1610) and John Lindsay, Lord Menmuir (1552–98) to the latter's great-grandson, Colin, 3rd Earl of Balcarres (1652–1722). Not all the Lindsays were great book collectors. Alexander, 1st Earl of Balcarres (1618–59) had little chance to add to the library; indeed, his loyalty to Charles II almost brought about its destruction when it had to be dispersed in a hurry, and many of the books known to have been at Balcarres before the Civil War are still unlocated. But other family members did add to the library, and a remarkable picture of engagement with religion, politics, and intellectual life in early modern Scotland emerges through the books the family owned.

Alongside the practical books to aid in the management of his estate, Sir David owned many religious works, evidence that "amiable dialogue between members of different confessions was wholly possible in late sixteenth-century Angus" (p. 15). John Lindsay formed a large collection of letters relating to the history of Scotland, which may have been relevant to contemporary politics (he was a minister of State under James VI) rather than of purely antiquarian interest. His son David, 1st Lord Lindsay of Balcarres (1587–1641) had an interest not only in classical literature, theology, and history but also in practical science, including alchemy, mathematics, and astronomy. He had a number of manuscript texts in his library (which the authors point out were considered books in the seventeenth century), some of which are also found in the collection of George Erskine of Invercherry (c.1567–1646). Erskine was also an enthusiast of alchemy, and the overlap of texts between the libraries suggests that the two men were sharing and discussing the texts. Similarly, the absence of key mathematical texts in Lord Lindsay's library may indicate that he consulted such works in the libraries of like-minded friends and family. These intellectual interests of the most active collector of the Lindsay family "put him in close proximity to some of the more notable scientists of his day" (p. 60). Colin stocked the library with works relevant to his position as Privy Counsellor and Treasury Commissioner, but it was also during his period that a change in literary taste can be seen. Many works on poetry and drama in French (rather than Latin) appeared, as well as works of prose fiction, the precursor to the novel—a change that may also have been influenced by Colin's wife, Margaret. Colin spent time traveling on the Continent as an exiled Jacobite, and it was during his time in Utrecht that, according to his son James, he associated with men of the early Enlightenment.

Chapter 2 focuses on Colin, marking the first time he has received attention as a book collector and man of letters. It is not hard to see why, for "a mere ten books" (p. 78) are all that remain of his in the present library. The Lindsay Library is no longer in situ, having been sold in 1792. Only 87 volumes of the original library can currently be found at Balcarres, with another 86 in public and private collections around the world. The reconstruction of the library as a whole—from (incomplete or damaged) booklists among the family papers and the 1792 sales catalogue—is really the crux of the book. Without the doggedness of Bill Zachs in tracking down the 1792 sales catalogue (a fascinating story told on pp. 114–18), the known works of the library would have amounted to just under 500 volumes, rather than the present 1,763. And Colin's books would have remained at 10, rather than the 306 that the authors conjecture could have belonged to him, allowing them to argue that Colin added to the library "some of the most intellectually important works of his age" (p. 112).

This work is not about a static library under one owner. Rather, books come and go under many Lindsay owners. The point is reiterated in chapter 3, when the authors attempt to reconstruct the Lindsay Library and undertake analysis of its books, including marks of ownership. Should readers wish to break down the library by particular owner, they would need to undertake their own research. But that in large part is what this book is about: the tools are provided for readers to do their own analysis of the library. About half the book consists of the catalogue (chapter 4), put together from the extant books, the 1792 sales catalogue, and the booklists. Entries provide as

much bibliographical information as is known, and the frustration of the authors in occasionally having minimal information can be felt. The eight booklists are all transcribed in Appendix A, while the 1792 sales catalogue is reproduced in facsimile in Appendix B (frustratingly with its rectos on the verso, and vice versa). For those interested in the Lindsay Library volumes still in Balcarres House today, a shelf list is given in Appendix C, while an index of former and subsequent owners (barring public institutions) appears in Appendix D.

There are a few printing errors that more careful editing could have avoided. For example, a useful tool for the reader is the bolded reference number in the text that corresponds to the number of the book in the catalogue, but this number is frequently incorrect. Flaws often appear in the available evidence itself, though the authors are frank about assumptions they have made. Nevertheless, this book offers a fascinating insight into the history of the Lindsay Library and raises questions about Scottish intellectual culture in the early modern period. It serves a dual purpose by both shedding new light on an understudied Scottish library and being a “clarion call” to find missing Lindsay books. Since so much has been done with so few books, it is exciting to think how much more could be achieved if (when?) more Lindsay books come to light.

Briony Harding, University of St. Andrews Libraries and Museums

Phil Dodds, *The Geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh*. Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, in association with the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, 2022. Studies in the Eighteenth Century. Pp. xiv + 366.

This book, based on a doctoral thesis, explores how people in Edinburgh viewed their city and their world, and how geographical ideas from Edinburgh spread to the rest of Scotland and beyond. Using as its initial springboard the bookselling records of one bookshop in late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Edinburgh, Phil Dodds explores the abstract and practical concept of geography as represented in the publications people were buying and reading, as well as in the production processes of those publications.

The bookselling records that run through the book—those of Charles Elliot in the National Library of Scotland and Bell & Bradfute in the Edinburgh City Archives—have not yet been digitized. It is exciting to see new research based on these rich, underused records, although the book focuses on a single subset of these records: the sales of geographical titles, such as maps, books of geography, surveys, and voyages and travels. I would have liked to see more explanation about the author’s definition and identification of geographical titles, especially what was included and what was omitted, and whether the geographical subjects were strongly delineated in the research or if a looser approach was taken.

The book is structured in four parts, each comprising four chapters. The first part looks at the development of Edinburgh’s New Town, focusing on how it was represented in maps and plans over time, and how these maps were used to influence its design and growth and to construct its perception as an Enlightenment capital. It is a suitable starting point for a book that spreads out from Edinburgh, both in terms of content and influence. However, it can be frustrating to read that a single copy of a city map or atlas was sold but not know the significance of its total quantity of sales, regarding not only the subset of geography works but also the bookshop sales as a whole.

The second part moves into surveying and how people—particularly people writing about geographical topics—quantified places and topics in geographical publications. The key text discussed is the *Old Statistical Account* (1791–99), with examples drawn from near Edinburgh and the Scottish Borders. Significantly, this part also starts to develop the concept of ideas and their transmission between Edinburgh and the rest of Scotland. The focus here is largely on production, and it gives a vivid insight into the writing and publishing process. However, the final chapter of this part moves to readership, studied particularly through people subscribing to the *Statistical Account*. There is also an insightful discussion of farmers and their use of books, including through libraries in the Borders.

The third part spreads the focus to the whole of Scotland, with discussion of voyages and travels across the country. Covering voyages and travels is important because this was one of the most popular genres of books read by Scots at this time. Much attention is paid to the production of relevant books, particularly Thomas Pennant’s *A Tour in Scotland* (1769 and later) and books by Robert Heron and Sarah Murray. The needs of readers are also considered. This part concludes with a look at the trade sale of travel books from Bell & Bradfute’s Edinburgh bookshop to other booksellers throughout Scotland. Several welcome tables outline the sales patterns of geographical books, including numbers, geographical areas of the commercial buyers, and geographical subjects of the works that are represented.

The final part treats education and the spread of ideas and approaches between Edinburgh and the rest of the world, including issues of empire and colonialism. This part uses a close study of individual or family groups to consider which books they were buying and reading over time and how these patterns related to their changing life circumstances, including, in some cases, overseas service. Individuals discussed here include teacher and author Alexander Adam and politician Francis Horner. In addition to bookseller records, this part draws on library borrowing records from Edinburgh High School as well as surviving diaries and memoirs. One chapter examines how the compilers of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* sourced geographical information via this one Edinburgh bookshop. This idea of gathering and spreading geographical knowledge in print is then extended worldwide in the final main chapter of the book, which examines the global spread of geographical ideas and philosophies, facilitat-

ed by Edinburgh-trained medical men and their professional societies. Examples discussed here include the physician and opium merchant William Jardine in China.

The issue of focusing on a subset of a larger topic was a concern for this reader throughout the book. Reliably identifying just the geographical works sold in the bookshop is not only a question of methodology and sources, as already mentioned, but also one that defines how we understand what people read and what we can infer about their mindsets. For example, can we properly understand the geographical books that someone was reading about a political issue without knowing the other texts they read?

The question of working with subsets also applies to understanding quantities of titles sold. How significant is it that a single copy was sold of a particular map or atlas? This reader wished constantly for extra contextualization with more numbers, although the many numbers in chapter 12 were greatly appreciated. Likewise, the individual readers discussed—particularly the individual and family examples in the fourth part—represent a subset of Edinburgh society. How widely can we draw conclusions from them? And what of the geographical world view of less wealthy types in the city at the same time? Do the bookselling records contain any clues about their geographical interests that could merit further discussion?

Nevertheless, the book provides valuable new insights into Scottish intellectual life, in Edinburgh especially, and the ways in which Scots viewed and influenced the geographical world in which they lived. The structured approach works well, starting with the development of the New Town, then extending the focus to the rest of Scotland, and then worldwide. *The Geographies of Enlightenment Edinburgh* will be of interest not only to historical geographers and book historians but also to urban historians and intellectual historians.

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Iain Gordon Brown, *Auld Greekie: Edinburgh as the Athens of the North*. Gloucestershire: Fonthill, 2022. Pp. 320.

In this impressive gathering of Edinburgh's eighteenth- and nineteenth-century heritage—the first book-length study of Edinburgh since Murray Pittock's *Enlightenment in a Smart City* (2016)—Iain Gordon Brown provides the most significant textual and visual study to date of Edinburgh's alter-ego: the “Athens of the North.” Scholars have often made use of this epithet in historical sketches of Scotland's capital city, but surprisingly few have taken the topic head-on. Recent efforts include Matteo Zaccarini, “The Athens of The North? Scotland and the National Struggle for The Parthenon, Its Marbles, And Its Identity” in *Aevum* (2018) and Kirsten Carter McKee, “The Genius Loci of The Athens of The North: The Cultural Significance of Edinburgh's Calton Hill” in *Garden History* (2015). Other scoping studies—such as the Blackwell *Companion to the Classical Tradition* (2010) edited by Craig W. Kallendorf—give Edinburgh its due place in the neoclassical world.

Auld Greekie, a clever play on Edinburgh's erstwhile nickname “Auld Reekie,” is a study of the city's Greek aesthetics, and how the residents and travelers responded to these over several generations. In the dust jacket it is noted that “a very broad range of evidence is drawn upon, the story having not only topographical, artistic and architectural dimensions, but also social, cerebral and philosophical ones.” It is therefore a very ambitious book, looking to guide the reader through many specialist fields and tell a compelling story about Edinburgh's “Athenian” image.

The book opens with a prologue that introduces a manuscript by George Sibbald (*fl.* 1816–18) titled “Observations on Egypt, Syria and Greece Made during a Three Years Cruise in HMS Myrmidon.” Sibbald's “laboured but nonetheless remarkable comparison of the topography of Athens with that of Edinburgh” (p. 19) was one of the chief sources of inspiration for Brown's study. There follow seven themed chapters, a set of full-color plates boasting 119 illustrations, an epilogue, an extensive set of endnotes, a bibliography, and an index. The work is filled with a wealth of textual evidence that becomes, at times, rather dizzying. But the whole point of this book, it seems, is to bring together all the available material and to become a sort of storehouse for the topic under investigation. The work is even styled to reduce the authorial voice, quite often for lengthy passages, giving precedence instead to the primary material. This methodology makes *Auld Greekie* an informative study, but the (often) top-heavy source texts can be taxing on the reader. With so many people and sources to consider, each chapter is broken into smaller sections by lines of asterisks. A glance at the contents page will show that the chapter titles are also subtitled with extracted quotations, adding to the work's idiosyncratic intensity. But why should a study of Edinburgh as the “Athens of the North” not be intense, especially if it positions itself at the heart of several disciplines, and balances them well?

The main thematic chapters reveal links in their titles. Chapter 2 (“The Northern Athens in the Eye”) deals with topographical history; chapter 3 (“The Modern Athens in the Mind”) focuses on the cultural and philosophical connections between Edinburgh and the ancient world, via figures such as the poet Allan Ramsay as well as societies and institutions of the Enlightenment; and chapter 4 (“The Athens of the North in Stone”) considers the architectural developments that lend themselves to Athenian fame. Chapters 5 (“The Athens' from Within”) and 6 (“New Athens from Without”) are also clearly linked. These chapters investigate the discourse and literature of people—such as Sir Walter Scott, who gained a reputation as the “Greek blockhead” (p. 139)—living and working in Edinburgh, and those who visited the city during its glory years as the Athens of the North, such as Charles

Nodier (p. 178).

Chapters 7 (“Athenian Edinburgh in British Satire”) and 8 (“The Anti-Greeks of Modern Athens”) are less obviously linked by title, though they represent an important shift in the book, from source-gathering and sketching to application and analysis. These chapters guide the reader through the “wave of satire” that “swept Edinburgh in 1820” and the growing appetite to abandon neoclassicism and develop a “home-grown national heritage in architectural design” (p. 208). Central to this approach, and indeed to many of the case studies in the book, is the National Monument of Scotland (Charles Cockerell and William Playfair, 1822–29) on Calton Hill, modeled on the Parthenon in Athens. In the plates especially, *Auld Greekie* showcases the early designs, sketches, and imagined completion of this unfinished landmark. There are also key illustrations and discussions of The Royal High School (Thomas Hamilton, 1825–29), which Brown captions “the finest building” in “Modern Athens” (Fig. 67). Indeed, the color plates provide a sort of compressed micro-reading in themselves, with each page titled, ranging from the earliest buildings to a bronze relief on Alexander Stoddart’s 2016 statue of Playfair showing “Edina and Athena” (Fig. 119).

Although *Auld Greekie* is intense and at times heavy-going in its narrative, the scholarly range and rigor are impressive. Brown has probed every angle in the pursuit of Edinburgh’s perceived, and contentious, Athenian credentials. It is, at its core, not just a study of a city but of a particular period in a city’s development, and how its legacy was molded. Brown looks at key figures of the Enlightenment and Romantic periods in Scotland, drawing them into the fold of Scotland’s imagined metropolis. Without doubt, *Auld Greekie* will provide the answer to any question regarding Edinburgh and its phase as the Athens of the North.

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The Correspondence of James Boswell and Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo. Edited by Richard B. Sher. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2022. The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell: Research Edition (Correspondence: Volume 10). Pp. cxxix + 431.

This, the tenth correspondence volume in the Research Edition of the Yale Boswell Editions, rivals or exceeds any of its predecessors in importance and value. Its achievements are manifold and, in many instances, magnificent. Edited by Richard B. Sher, *Corr. 10* (as it will be known to Boswellians) constitutes a detailed introduction to the life and social relevance of Sir William Forbes of Pitsligo (1739–1806), the volume’s second protagonist. After the death of his father when he was four, William was raised in genteel poverty by his mother and four guardians. Despite this and other financial and professional obstacles, he eventually attained financial success as a banker, later accompanied by a new landed title and an offer of an Irish peerage from William Pitt (declined). His largesse as a benefactor of numerous public charities, as well as his genuine allegiance to religion and virtue, endeared him to his fellow countrymen. Forbes additionally enjoyed numerous friendships with eighteenth-century luminaries, including James Beattie (whose life he wrote), Bennet Langton, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Thomas Barnard, and Samuel Johnson. Forbes was a major cultural figure in his day, and accordingly, Sir Walter Scott wrote of him in *Marmion*, “Far may we search, before we find / A heart so manly and so kind!” (quoted on pp. 90–92 n. 4; see also pp. lxx–lxx, 120–21 n. 4.)

Present-day readers and researchers will be more interested in Forbes’s friendship with James Boswell. The pair shared many commonalities. Both were socially gregarious and fluent conversationalists; both were adept in the epistolary arts, and both were writers—Boswell one of genius, Forbes in a minor and at times cumbersome fashion. Both thrived simultaneously in both their Scottish milieu and the brilliant social and cultural capital of Great Britain, London. Both were absorbed by their hereditary status and sought to improve and expand their properties, Boswell at Auchinleck and Forbes in the Edinburgh New Town and elsewhere. Both married within a year of each other, and both lost their wives to premature death. The account of Margaret Boswell being “seised [*sic*] with a very severe fit of spitting of blood,” and Margaret’s congratulation upon Lady Forbes’s “Safe Delivery” from a miscarriage (pp. 25, 36), testify at once to the closeness of the two families and to the presence of illness and adversity in eighteenth-century daily life. Indeed, the story of the correspondence and friendship of Boswell and Forbes is enmeshed within the story of their two families. These ties were further cemented by a shared communion with what Forbes called “English Episcopal” religion in Scotland. (For a detailed discussion of religious issues, see pp. cxvi–cxxi.) As an important part of the book’s apparatus, Sher provides a detailed chronology of Forbes and Boswell (pp. xxxvi–lviii) that ably serves as a biographical précis of their friendship.

As Sher notes in his comprehensive introduction, this book is unique in several ways. As the first cataloguer of the Fettercairn House treasures, Claude Abbott, remarked, the correspondence is “as complete as one could very well hope it would be” (quoted on p. lxii). Missing (“not reported”) and illegible letters are rare. Hence, *Corr. 10* features an epistolary repository “which exists today very nearly as it did in the eighteenth-century” (p. lxii). This attests to the value Boswell and Forbes placed on their mutual letters and the closeness of their friendship. Their correspondence is usefully supplemented by other letters, summaries, and documents, chiefly from the Beinecke Library at Yale and the Fettercairn Papers in the National Library of Scotland. Consequently, many of the footnotes in this edition contain what amount to brief essays on various matters of import.

For example, the note on the evolving relationship of Boswell with his stepmother, from chilly to support-

ive, forms a condensed essay (pp. 161–62 n. 13). Likewise, two adjacent notes, consisting of nearly four columns of small print, track the whereabouts of Forbes and Boswell during a 1792 visit to London. Here is a brief exemplary extract from a letter from Forbes to his wife in Edinburgh: “Boswell had agreed that he should come and breakfast with me this morning [12 Feb.] and go somewhere to Church together. We fixed on Chapel Royal at Whitehall . . . whither we went and heard an exceeding good Sermon . . . after Service was over, we examined the last sad scenes of the mortal existence of the ill-fated King Charles the first; particularly the passage by which that virtuous and much-injured Prince was conducted to the Block” (pp. 254–55 nn. 4–5, quoting n. 4).

Annotation is always a matter of individual scholarly taste, in both length and content; however, Sher necessarily follows the institutional protocols established by the Yale Boswell Editions decades ago. So here no room for debate exists. Nevertheless, I find the Research Edition’s editorial conventions both helpful and enjoyable. In addition to Boswell, Forbes, and the *habitués* of their world, the notes open up for the reader the social and literary universe of the late eighteenth century. For example, the annotation to Forbes’s letter to his wife on the funeral of Sir Joshua Reynolds on 3 March 1792 offers a brief description of that event from the *Gentleman’s Magazine* plus reprinting the funeral invitation, while another note offers Forbes’s thumbnail assessment of Reynolds, from his biography of Beattie: “I must equally pay my grateful acknowledgments for the uninterrupted friendship with which he [‘that great artist and, and excellent man’] honoured me, as well as for an introduction to the notice of some distinguished characters, to whom I should not otherwise have had the means of being known” (pp. 241–54 and nn. 33–34, quoting n. 34). Another note discloses an amusing contemporary description of “Lanky” Langton, one of Johnson’s earliest friends: “a very tall, meagre, long-visaged man, much resembling a stork standing on one leg” (p. 251 n. 37).

Not infrequently, when surveying a rich collection such as this, one comes across a nugget or two that captures the imagination though quite ancillary to the main textual presentation. This happened to me as I learned more about Boswell’s second daughter, Euphemia, or “Phemy” (1774–1837). Sher records that Phemy “sometimes had strained relations” with her father. She eventually moved to London to make a life for herself as a composer and dramatist, was often in debt (assisted at times by Forbes), and was “committed, in 1816, to an asylum at Islington” by her brothers (*Corr. 10*, pp. xxix–xxx). I could not help but conjecture about the possibilities and obstacles facing a woman denied her voice within the patriarchal world of late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Britain.

In addition to the annotation, *Corr. 10* is endowed with considerable apparatus. These include a list of correspondence and correspondents, an account of editorial procedures, cue titles and abbreviations (which add snapshot bios of the principals), four appendices, and a detailed index. Appendix 1 is a genealogy of Forbes’s family, dating back to the sixteenth century. The second appendix is an account of Forbes’s courtship of his future wife, Elizabeth Hay, drawn from a reminiscence penned shortly after her death. The fourth appendix details the participation of Boswell (among others) in the “newspaper war” over Sir Joshua Reynolds’s abdication and eventual restoration as President of the Royal Academy (1790), including a calendar of newspaper and periodical extracts detailing the controversy.

The third and lengthiest of the appendices investigates the contretemps over Boswell’s depiction of a dispute between Samuel Johnson and Alexander Fraser Tytler (1747–1813) over the authenticity of Fingal: “Young Mr. Tytler briskly stepped forward, and said, “*Fingal* is certainly genuine; for I have heard a great part of it repeated in the original.”—Dr. Johnson indignantly asked him, “Sir, do you understand the original?” Tytler. “No, Sir.” Johnson.—“Why, then, we see to what this testimony comes:—thus it is.”—He afterwards said to me, “Did you observe the wonderful confidence with which young Tytler advanced with his front ready brased?” (*Corr. 10*, pp. 333–34, quoted from the first edition of Boswell’s *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*). In the next paragraph, Boswell exacerbates the exchange very much to Tytler’s disadvantage. Boswell’s insertion of “brased” (not found in the original journal, as published in the 1963 edition) sharpens the dig; whether Johnson said it or not, his dictionary defines “braise” as “2: To harden into impudence.” Tytler, unsurprisingly, took offense, and a bustle of letters and conversations—both directly and through mediators, including Forbes—ensued. Sher’s forensically exacting analysis escorts the reader through the complicated convolutions of the affair. The upshot? Boswell softened the wording for the second edition of the *Tour*, and the two men mutually apologized and never spoke or wrote to one another again. Boswell emerges from this affair as cunning, deceptive, and at times even malicious, while Tytler, despite a furious initial outburst, conducted himself honorably.

Another unique feature identified by Sher is how the Boswell-Forbes correspondence allows unparalleled access to the last decade of Boswell’s life: “Relatively little surviving correspondence with close friends dates from the last decade of Boswell’s life, when Boswell was living mainly in London. . . . During that crucial period [from 1785 to 1795], Boswell kept his journal less faithfully and thoroughly Ironically, the period when Boswell achieved his greatest fame, as well as notoriety, is the most poorly documented time of his adult life” (*Corr. 10*, pp. lxiii–liv). During this time—particularly after Johnson’s death in 1784—Forbes served as a kind of mentor to Boswell. He attempted to set him on a secure financial footing with budgeting plans and bank loans; he comforted him, first after the death of Johnson, and then after the death of Boswell’s wife in 1789. He served Boswell as a sounding board for his writings: the journals, “The Hypochondriack,” the *Tour*, the *Life*, and more. Especially

noteworthy in this book is the full account of the Round Robin letter seeking to dissuade Johnson from writing Goldsmith's epitaph in Latin (including three plates, only one of which was published in the *Life*) and a previously unpublished draft of a letter from Forbes to Johnson.

Finally, much of the correspondence deserves to be appreciated *qua* correspondence—that is, as a literary genre. Note, for example, the variations on the trope of apologizing for a tardy response. Both Boswell and Forbes deploy this trope several times, but perhaps never with more concise elegance than in this sentence by Forbes: “I am perfectly ashamed, My Dear Sir, that I should always have occasion to begin my letters with an apology on account of their delay; for two reasons: first, because the delay is inexcusable; and second, the apology looks as if I thought them of more value than they really are” (*Corr. 10*, p. 148).

Sher's own prose—in both the various apparatus and annotation—possesses the seasoned, confident ease and lucidity of a great scholar at the height of his powers. Its crisp authority makes for engrossing reading quite apart from the text of the correspondence itself. Under the austere and rigorous editorial standards and hands-on assistance of Gordon Turnbull (to whom this volume is dedicated), as well as with James J. Caudle's and Andrew Heisel's informed input, Sher's meticulous, discerning, and accurate editorship is top-drawer. A glance at the winsomely attractive Preface and Acknowledgements page alerts the reader to the many others who helped during the book's three-decade gestation. But in the end, it remains Sher's baby.

In sum, Boswell scholars will wish to purchase this book or direct their university libraries to do so. Hopefully, the Boswell Edition will be completed by Edinburgh University Press, even though Yale University Press will no longer co-publish the volumes. When, or if, that happens, it will encapsulate an intact yet nigh inexhaustible, infinitely fascinating world, “*Exhibiting [as Boswell put it in the title of the *Life of Johnson*] a View of Literature and Literary Men in Great-Britain, for Near Half a Century.*” As we, with guarded optimism, move forward on this path, *Corr. 10* will serve as a worthy model for future volumes.

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George Caffentzis, *Civilizing Money: Hume, His Monetary Project, and the Scottish Enlightenment*. Foreword by Peter Linebaugh. London: Pluto Press, 2021. Pp. xxxii + 256.

With the publication of *Civilizing Money*, George Caffentzis has completed his masterful trilogy on the early modern philosophy of money. As Caffentzis details in his autobiographical preface, the inception of this project goes back to the 1970s. The first installment, *Clipped Coins, Abused Words, and Civil Government: John Locke's Philosophy of Money* (1989), pioneered a new approach to the analysis of the philosophy of money. By situating John Locke's arguments in the famous Recoinage Debates of the 1690s in his epistemology and moral philosophy, Caffentzis reveals the deep philosophical underpinnings of Locke's views on money and thereby offers the reader a novel way of understanding the politics of Locke's position. George Berkeley, the subject of Caffentzis's second book, *Exciting the Industry of Mankind: George Berkeley's Philosophy of Money* (2000), also used the philosophy of money to generate proposals for how to solve a deep social crisis. Contrary to Locke, who advocated for full-bodied money, Berkeley, Caffentzis shows, insisted that paper money held the solution to Ireland's troubles. Not only did paper money have the power to ignite industry among the poor, it could also ensure that absentee landowners were unable to spend the revenues from the land abroad.

Before exploring Caffentzis's reading of David Hume's proposal for using money to pacify the rebellious Scottish Highlanders, I want to bring attention to the final chapter of *Civilizing Money*. Here Caffentzis lays out his approach to the philosophy of money. In reflecting on the roles that philosophers have played in society over the last few thousand years, Caffentzis notes that all too often philosophers have been supporters of slavery, capital punishment, and Primitive Accumulation. Philosophers might talk endlessly about justice, liberty, and fairness, but when it comes down to it, Caffentzis argues, they rarely transcend the oppression that has been normalized by the society and age in which they live. “The *actual* record of philosophy's lack of support for human liberation in general from ancient to modern times is shameful and scandalous” (p. 214). Caffentzis goes on to quote Marx and Engels, arguing that “the class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production” (p. 217). Marx and Engels thus thought of the history of philosophy as a compendium of apologetic ideologies. They are of course in large part correct in this opinion.

Caffentzis, however, offers another way of reading the history of philosophy. Instead of thinking about philosophical ideas as the Owl of Minerva, surveying the battlefield at the end of the battle, Caffentzis sees philosophy as a set of active strategies designed to help the ruling elite handle certain predicaments or crises in the class composition. More than just ideological veils, ideas can also serve as strategic tools to develop solutions to societal crises, gaining and losing traction with elites in proportion to their strategic usefulness. In the early modern period many of the most famous philosophers of the western canon provided tools that were useful for the management of class relations during the age of Primitive Accumulation, when the social, political, and economic preconditions for capitalism were forged and contested. As Caffentzis shows, these strategies included: how to defend the currency against clipping and counterfeiting carried out by the multitude; how to find ways to entice the Irish working class to become more industrious; and how to civilize the rebellious population in the Scottish Highlands. As the social historian Peter Linebaugh points out in the foreword, “theirs was the philosophy of the Anglo-Atlantic capi-

talist class” (p. xii).

The Hume we encounter in Caffentzis’s work is a philosopher convinced that capitalism was a force for good. He insisted that if the moral economy and the body politic of the ancient regime were replaced by a societal structure organized around private property rights, markets, and money, people would be propelled into developing new habits, customs, and practices centered around diligent industry, commercial transactions, and the refinement of the arts and sciences. This would not only generate economic growth and higher standards of living but also, Hume assured his readers, better government, more virtuous people, and a more convivial society. This quixotic (or perhaps nightmarish) account of how capitalism would gradually turn everyone into a member of the middle class offered a compelling grand narrative that emboldened merchants, scientists, land improvers, and politicians as they continued their ongoing assault on the Scottish Highlanders’ way of life.

The reality was of course very different from Hume’s vision of progress. Many people, particularly among the lower sorts, fiercely resisted the Primitive Accumulation; they refused to accept the institutions of property, markets, and money and refused to let their lives be taken over by industry, commerce, and science motivated by profits. While Hume, for the most part suggested that the emergence of capitalism would be a smooth and voluntary process, he acknowledged that state violence had been carried out in the service of Primitive Accumulation. In his six-volume *History of England*, Hume praised Henry VIII for establishing “a more regular police” and “stricter administration” of private property. He estimated that “72,000 criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount nearly to 2,000 a year” (*History of England*, Liberty Press edn., 3:329). He also recognized that some of the people living on the land suffered as a consequence of the enclosures, but because they forced them to become more “industrious and frugal,” he argued that the introduction of private property would ultimately benefit the English peasantry. It was, Hume insisted, one of the few ways in which it was possible to make people “shake off their former habits of indolence” (*ibid.*, 3:370). Those who resisted the enclosures, such as Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers, he labeled “religious fanatics.” He praised the civil magistrate for “very justly” putting “these sublime theorists on the same footing with common robbers” (*Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, Clarendon edn., ed. Tom L. Beauchamp, p. 20). Hume was also opposed to any regulations of the market to alleviate the plight of the poor. He wrote that “in years of scarcity, if it be not extreme, the poor labour more and really live better, than in years of great plenty, when they indulge themselves in idleness and riot” (*Essays Moral, Political, and Literary*, ed. Eugene F. Miller, p. 635). While Hume did not comment specifically on the efforts of Locke and Isaac Newton to defend the currency against counterfeiters by hanging the perpetrators, his declaration of support for Henry I’s execution of some fifty counterfeiters suggests that he was in favor of the draconian policies of the 1690s (*History of England*, 1:277).

Hume seems to have been of the opinion that the Primitive Accumulation was nearing completion in England but not in the rest of the empire, whether the tropics or the Scottish Highlands. Although Hume was opposed to slavery and colonization, he notoriously expressed disparaging views about non-whites. He grounded his white-supremacist views in the claim that people in the tropics had yet to develop a sophisticated culture of consumption and therefore had no need for private property. Without property rights there would be no markets or money, and as a result there would not be any progress through industry, commerce, and science. Primitive Accumulation—the formation of a small wealthy industrious middle class and a large class of poor workers—was thus necessary, Hume opined, in order for people in the tropics to become “civilized,” refined, and prosperous.

The Scottish Highlands was another region in desperate need of Primitive Accumulation. As Caffentzis shows, the Highlanders posed a constant threat, not only during the 1715 and 1745 Jacobite rising. To pacify and subjugate them, slaughter, extirpation, transportation, and exile were not enough. The Highlanders needed to be “civilized.” Key to this process was that social relations were properly monetized. Hume complained that similar to people living in the tropics, the Highland population’s lack of money meant that they “confounded” their “wants with those of nature” and were “content with the produce of their own fields” (*Essays*, p. 291). Money had to be thoroughly circulated throughout society for people to engage in industry, exchange, and accumulation. In the absence of money, it was impossible for capitalism to function properly. Without money there would be no exchange and without exchange there would be no industry. Similar to Locke and Berkeley, Hume saw industry as particularly crucial to the new social order. Industry took up the bulk of each person’s day and shaped the trajectory of their lives. It fostered regularity and discipline, or as Hume phrased it, industry “prevents the growth of unnatural [appetites], which commonly spring up, when nourished by ease and idleness” (*Essays*, p. 270).

As part of the argument of *Civilizing Money*, Caffentzis explores one of the main eighteenth-century monetary controversies: should money be comprised of precious metals (gold or silver) or could paper notes function as well. Here Caffentzis makes a brilliant intervention. Contrary to many scholars who argue that Hume thought money had to be made up of precious metals because only gold and silver could be trusted, Caffentzis argues that the reason Hume preferred a metallic currency was because he did not trust that the state or a national bank could keep the currency scarce enough to maintain price stability. This was particularly problematic in the Scottish Highlands, as there simply were not enough civilized and prudent people who could properly manage a flexible money supply. Hume believed they would fall victim to popular demand to multiply the currency whenever a crisis struck, with devastating effects for the commercial sector and international trade. So, in his mind, to maintain the disci-

pline of Primitive Accumulation, money had to be comprised of precious metals or, at a minimum, paper money had to be strictly backed by specie. As Caffentzis puts it, “the control of money in the hands of the uncivilized in order to civilize them would defeat the very intent of Hume’s program” (p. 123). Caffentzis concludes in a wonderfully succinct manner that the “problem with paper-currency is not that it violates some deep ontological” principle, but rather that the people in charge cannot be trusted to properly handle the power of money (p. 121).

Caffentzis’s analysis of Hume’s monetary thinking, similar to his readings of Locke and Berkeley, is situated skillfully in Hume’s overall philosophical project, the broader Scottish Enlightenment, and the social conditions of the Primitive Accumulation process. The reader is treated to a rich and rigorous discussion of all these features, which enlists all of Caffentzis’s unique skills as a philosopher, historian, and radical theorist. His ability to make abstract philosophical concepts relevant to class politics is second to none, and his acumen in capturing big ideas in succinct phrases continues from his previous two books.

Civilizing Money ends by asking whether philosophy is capable, despite being the mastermind of so many “strategies of oppression” over the past centuries, to serve as “a source of strategies for liberation as well” (p. 219). Quoting the great black feminist Audre Lorde, “You can’t take apart the master’s house with the master’s tools,” Caffentzis insists that *some* tools are needed in the struggle against capitalism and imperialism, and they might very well still be found within philosophy. Indeed, if a philosophy of liberation could be developed, it might destroy the very institutional framework that has sustained and defined philosophy. “Hence, the dilemma of a philosophy of oppression: its professional success would lead to its demise, but its complete banishment from the institutions of philosophy (especially the universities) would also mean the abandonment of a tremendous intellectual wealth and reach. It is on the horns of this dilemma that the philosophers struggling against oppression must dance (or be impaled)” (p. 220). These kinds of evocative poetic sentences, not unlike Marx’s way of expressing himself in the first volume of *Capital* (part 8), inspire readers of Caffentzis’s books to always discover something new and to rethink what they knew from before. His trilogy is a gift to radical politics, the history of the Enlightenment, and the philosophy of money, and it will continue to be read as long as capitalism survives.

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Ray Perman, *James Hutton: The Genius of Time*. Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2022. Pp. ix + 290.

Ray Perman, a journalist for thirty years in London and Edinburgh, has written a biography of James Hutton that aims to introduce Hutton to a public still unfamiliar with him and to elevate Hutton’s profile alongside better-known figures of the Scottish Enlightenment. The author has gathered much existing research and several new letters. The twenty-three chapters are written in a lucid style, supplemented by a timeline, glossaries of geological and scientific terms, an eight-page bibliography, twenty-one pages of notes, twelve pages of color illustrations, and an index.

The picture presented here is familiar from other popular accounts of Hutton’s life and work: that Hutton can justifiably be regarded as the father of modern geology and was a highly gifted polymath but was prevented by the obscurity of his writing from receiving due recognition during his lifetime. Instead, recognition for his geological theory came slowly, and indirectly, through the reformulation of his ideas by John Playfair in *Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth* (1802) and the revival and development of those ideas by Charles Lyell in *Principles of Geology* (1830). *Genius of Time* reviews the known biographical information about Hutton, including his geological and agricultural pursuits and writings, with chapters on his manufacturing venture for sal ammoniac (ammonium chloride), his studies on light and heat, and his treatise on metaphysics. The result is an engaging account of Hutton and his intellectual milieu, which will hopefully stimulate public interest in Hutton and the Enlightenment.

Regarding matters of scholarly interest, however, *Genius of Time* is disappointing. It does not present an overall thesis on significant questions that have been raised in the Hutton literature, such as how his geological theory may have been developed and how his geology relates to other aspects of his thought or to the broader aims of the Scottish Enlightenment. The book touches on some of these questions, but the approach is journalistic, not academic.

When Perman departs from well-traveled ground to suggest new interpretations, the results are not always helpful or well-founded. The idea of a vast age of the earth was startling to his contemporaries, but it is misleading to refer to this as Hutton’s concept of “infinite time” (p. 134), since Hutton was at pains to distinguish an “indefinite” period of time for the history of the earth—in John McPhee’s phrase, “deep time”—from an “infinite” period of time, which he rejected. The book refers several times to Hutton’s interest in the “origin” or “formation” of the world (pp. 33, 117), but Hutton avoided speculation about that issue. Everyone will agree that Hutton’s religious views were “deistic,” and that his extensive references to design and final causes imply that he had a “designer” somehow in mind. But the precise nature of his religious views is murky, and the author overstates his case by writing that “Hutton was careful to cite God as the instigator” of creation (p. 130), since the word “God” does not appear in Hutton’s *Theory of the Earth*. A very surprising claim is made (without citation) that the text of Hutton’s original geological presentation, as read to the Royal Society of Edinburgh in 1785, was identical with the version published in 1788 (p. 133); as far as I know, no record exists of what was actually read in 1785, while there

is much evidence that the version published in 1788 was significantly revised to deter religious objections.

Factual errors sometimes make the biography unreliable. Some relate to geology: Fingal's Cave is formed from basalt, not granite (p. 86); an "unconformity" indicates a gap in the geological record, not the fact that where strata are found angled by geological upheaval, the lower strata are the oldest (p. 158); Buffon published his calculation that the earth was over seventy thousand years old not in the 1749 edition of his *Histoire Naturelle* (p. 33) but in supplements to that work in 1774 and 1778. In his metaphysics, Hutton asserted not that "figures, magnitudes and proportions" are innate ideas (p. 181) but that they are acquired by the use of our faculties; like Locke, Hutton presumed that we do not have innate ideas at all. Several mistakes concern Hutton's manufacture of sal ammoniac. The book's claim that we know the manufacturing process from publication of an "eye-witness account" (p. 61) repeats a confusion embedded in the secondary source on which it relies. (The language quoted is instead a description of the Egyptian manufacturing process, taken from an 1821 dictionary of chemistry, which considerable evidence indicates was not followed by Hutton.) The text suggests that Hutton might have heard of the manufacturing process as a student of the great French chemistry teacher, Guillaume-François Rouelle (p. 60), citing a French-language transcription of Rouelle's lectures (prepared by the French researcher Jean Gaudant, who is uncredited); but the language cited refers to the manufacture not of sal ammoniac but of another substance, alum.

The references are also problematic, as the author often cites primary sources to which he seems to have been led by secondary sources that are not always properly credited. For example, the section covering Hutton's work on the Forth and Clyde canal (pp. 69ff.) is based on research by the late Jean Jones, whose paper on the subject is directly cited only once, on a minor point (p. 73 n. 14).

Perman has done a workmanlike job of collecting information on Hutton from many sources and presenting it in a readable narrative. While *Genius of Time* should find a ready reception in the general readership, those with a serious interest in Hutton will want more than it delivers.

Gregory Todd, University of Edinburgh

Scottish Enlightenment Theories of Social and Cultural Development. Special issue of *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, Volume 19, Issue 3 (September 2021).

This special issue, edited by Rebecca Copenhaver, is focused on theories of social and cultural development in the Scottish Enlightenment. The first article, by Manuel Fasko, is on Mary Shepherd's view of the different capacities of understanding in children. Fasko divides them into three kinds: minds afflicted with "idiocy," inferior understanding, and sound understanding. The use of "idiocy" is unfortunate because it suggests some normative deficiencies in the children, but Fasko explains that this is unintentional on Shepherd's part and arose from a medical context. The intention of this classification is to provide teachers or caregivers with a way to understand how to deal with children of different capacities. An ability to discern the "causal principle," that nothing begins without a cause, is basic to Shepherd, and it is nicely discussed here. The primary factor deciding the classification of the children seems to be linked to the capacity to reason, which appears unduly restrictive, especially for children.

In the second article, curiously titled "Dual Minds," Catherine Dromelet provides useful background on Hume's relationship to earlier French thought, particularly Bayle and Montaigne, who are referred to as the French Pyrrhonian heritage. The problem faced by all these thinkers relates the instability and variability of the results of free thinking to the need for stability if social life is to continue. Something in addition to intellectual arguments is needed to stabilize society, but what? Montaigne used custom and faith as stabilizers. What could one use if one did not believe in religion? Dromelet seems to believe that Hume was not really irreligious. It's a contested question, but the dilemma remains. If one is atheistic and wishes to think without restraint on all issues, how does society remain stable?

In the third article, Deborah Boyle discusses the principles of the human mind in the thought of Elizabeth Hamilton and Hamilton's objections to Adam Smith's version of sympathy. The account of sympathy, perhaps one of the most overworked words in the period 1760–1820, is preceded by a valuable description, from Samuel Fleischacker, of the differences between Hume and Smith. Hume considers sympathy to arise, willy-nilly, much as a contagion; Smith, on the other hand, requires us to imagine ourselves in the position of the other person, so to speak, to "project" ourselves. Hamilton disagrees with Smith in stating that the imaginative projection of ourselves is needed for sympathy. Although this can happen, it is not the primary form in which sympathy effectively functions. A certain intensity is required for sympathy to be an active principle of our actions. This intensity is acquired, largely, or most effectively, through experience. Hamilton introduces a selfish principle, which is to be distinguished from both selfishness and self-love. The selfish principle acts unconsciously upon us and makes us identify with others, typically those above ourselves. Having already used Smith's observation that we tend to identify more with those superior to us, it is not clear why Hamilton needed the extra concept. To counteract the selfish principle, Hamilton needs caregiving for children, guidance that both sexes are capable of providing. It is a curious reflection on social mores that Hamilton considers gratitude toward benefactors to be a brute fact of nature.

The fourth article is by Darrell Ooi on Hume's rhetorical strategy in dealing with the problem of evil. In

an early fragment Hume rejected the use of emotive language, but later in life he used it extensively. Did Hume's own views evolve over time, the evolutionary interpretation? The second, rhetorical, interpretation considers the emotive descriptions to be merely a way of engaging the reader. The third interpretation finds Hume ready to use rhetoric to support an argument based on reason; this is the coherence interpretation. Ooi himself seems to prefer the coherence interpretation in a carefully stated conclusion. The article is well written but leaves open the question of the first principles we have to reason from. How do we reach these first principles? Is there any way to reason ourselves into a first principle, or is that a contradiction? First principles must necessarily be obtained from a source other than reason—is this rhetoric?

The fifth article, by Todd Buras, asks two questions about Thomas Reid's treatment of religion. First, is the evidence for God immediate or mediate? Second, how integral is the belief in God to Reid's system? Buras makes the important point that Reid went beyond ideas and used all the senses in looking for the grounds on which we accept beliefs. As Reid says, "this belief, sir, is none of my manufacture; it came from the mind of nature." The conclusion appears to be that faith in God was both mediate and immediate. The integrality of faith within Reid's system is harder to assess. According to Buras, it seems clear that faith in God is crucial at several points in Reid's system. In making an indirect reference to Berkeley in one footnote and assuming that Reid is responding to Samuel Clarke in another, Buras made me wonder if Reid was simply not well read in the earlier philosophical debates.

All these articles make useful contributions, but how well do they represent the theme of the special issue? The focus here is narrow, on theories of education, psychology, and philosophical theology, and there is not much coverage of Scottish Enlightenment theories of social and cultural development as that topic is usually understood. Perhaps additional special issues devoted to this topic could both sharpen the conceptual focus and broaden the range of coverage?

Salim Rashid, University of Illinois

Gordon Graham, *Scottish Philosophy after the Enlightenment*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2022. Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy. Pp. xvii + 254.

Gordon Graham's book is a valuable contribution for those interested in or curious about the fate of Scottish philosophy after the time of David Hume, Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid. The book contains an "Autobiographical Prologue" and ten independent essays: chapters 2–5 on four canonical Scottish philosophers (Thomas Carlyle, Sir William Hamilton, James F. Ferrier, Alexander Bain), the next three chapters on important themes in nineteenth-century Scottish thought (German philosophy and Hegelianism, progress, religion), and the final chapters on three less-prominent Scottish thinkers (Alexander Campbell Fraser, Andrew Seth Pringle-Pattison, John MacMurray), as well as a "Note" on Mrs. Oliphant. As the title suggests, Graham considers a wide cultural movement stemming from eighteenth-century Scottish philosophy and developing over the following two centuries.

Graham's main goal is to give a well-balanced interpretation of nineteenth-century Scottish philosophy and to assess the value and impact of philosophers who are mostly neglected today. He is aware that it is extremely difficult to grasp the identity of Scottish philosophy and provides examples of tentative definitions, such as the reaction to the threat of "empirical scepticism" and of a "utilitarian system of morals" (p. 21) and the defense of "three fundamental positions, namely theism, metaphysical realism and libertarianism of the will" (p. 149). George Davie's idea of "Democratic Intellect" recurs frequently throughout the book.

Graham explains his account of Scottish philosophy as an "intellectual trajectory" (p. 13), a path spanning nearly two centuries and connecting philosophers who lived in different historical contexts and contributed to Scottish thought in different ways. Accordingly, the Scottish "school" is described not as a homogeneous group but as a series of figures who had material and intellectual connections, mostly because they were scholars, teachers, or pupils in Scottish universities. The idea of an intellectual trajectory allows Graham to place Scottish philosophers in their contexts and to show the importance and legitimacy of considering philosophers commonly regarded as minor figures. Even if their works are not studied or perhaps read anymore, they had a substantial intellectual impact in their own time, and their ideas are fundamental for understanding the transformations in culture and mentality.

One subject examined by Graham is Thomas Carlyle, who has a controversial "intellectual classification" (p. 97) because of his interest in both philosophy and literary criticism. Although it is true that Carlyle was not only a philosopher, given his role in introducing German literature into Britain and his familiarity with French history, his aim—as Graham explains—was mostly philosophical: Carlyle criticized the eighteenth-century Scottish notion of "new rhetoric" (p. 100), pursued by George Turnbull, Hume, Reid, and Hugh Blair for both political purposes (adequate representation of Scotland in the Westminster Parliament) and philosophical reasons (correct investigation of truth against sophistical use of language). The "new rhetoric" was widely praised and encouraged in the eighteenth century but was forcefully rejected by Carlyle because he thought it was an effort to find "the truth about humanity beneath and behind its cultural clothing" (p. 106). On the contrary, according to Carlyle, any truth is to be placed in its historical context and related to its own cultural—mostly literary—roots. This is the origin of Carlyle's puzzling position between literature and philosophy, which was the result of his attempt to re-

place eighteenth-century naturalism with a new historical account of human nature, mostly borrowed from literary texts.

There are other interesting innovations and insights in Graham's trajectory of Scottish philosophy. The book shows that the Scottish philosophers' notion of progress came from Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, a work that "effectively shaped Scottish philosophy for almost 150 years" (p. 129). Hamilton, Hutcheson Stirling, and Seth Pringle-Pattison, who rejected most of Hume's ideas, were nevertheless seriously committed to expanding the "science of man" as Hume describes it in the introduction to the *Treatise*. For this reason, they approached new philosophies, such as German Idealism, or recent scientific developments, such as experimental psychology. The supposed eclecticism of nineteenth-century Scottish philosophy was therefore a consequence of the general pursuit of real and tangible progress in the philosophy of mind. On the contrary, Bain, who traditionally sided with Hume, was less successful in pursuing the original Humean plan, since, despite his knowledge of the nervous system, he "did not add much more to the Humean enterprise than fresh, more 'scientific' examples" (p. 94).

Hume's legacy also recurs in the discussion of Scottish reactions to Darwinism. Although most Scottish philosophers were sincere Christians, Darwinism was widely accepted, even if it endangered theism and paved the way for atheism. Scottish philosophers were fighting the anti-theistic attitude mostly expressed by Philo in Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, but, at the same time, they "enthusiastically embraced Darwinian biology in their continuing defence of theism" (p. 150) because the new biology helped to eliminate any residues of (Humean) mechanics from the philosophy of mind. Darwin's reintroduction of the Greek concept of *telos* seemed to lend some support to the design argument and the existence of God.

The role of Hume in nineteenth-century Scottish thought is substantially revised by Graham's analysis. In contrast to the standard view of Hume's philosophy in opposition to Reid and his followers, Graham considers Humean philosophy as a "stimulus" for the development of Scottish philosophy (p. 75), especially metaphysics and philosophy of mind. The nineteenth-century attitude toward Hume's legacy was therefore complex and nuanced, and Graham describes how new ideas or discoveries used, reshaped, contested, or adapted Hume's philosophy of mind in changing times. Hume emerges no longer as an enemy (of religion, of common sense, or of realism) but as part of Scottish identity because of his power to raise questions that were still worth answering with new and updated arguments.

Scottish Philosophy after the Enlightenment is written with a frankness and irony that are not common in the scholarship on nineteenth-century philosophy. Perhaps its greatest contribution is to inspire "intellectual trajectories" that can shed new light on nineteenth-century culture, such as the impact of Scottish philosophy on British politics and the connections with scientific discoveries and literary genres. Finally, this book expands our knowledge and understanding of the enduring consequences of the "long" eighteenth century.

Cristina Paoletti, Independent Scholar

IN MEMORIAM: HIROSHI MIZUTA (1919–2023)

Hiroshi Mizuta, Professor Emeritus at Nagoya University and a member of the Japan Academy, died on 3 February 2023, at the age of 103. For Japanese scholars of Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment born after the Second World War, including myself, Hiroshi Mizuta had long been a living legend, full of amazing vitality, generosity, and kindness.

Mizuta was born in Tokyo on 3 September 1919. His father, Kyotaro Mizuta, was a scholar of classical Japanese literature, and Mizuta grew up surrounded by many books from his youth, including numerous translations of Western classics of literature and philosophy. Although he graduated from a prestigious high school, whose graduates usually went on to Tokyo Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo) to become future elites, Mizuta chose to enter Tokyo University of Commerce (now Hitotsubashi University), renowned for its practical learning to nurture future business leaders. He studied political economy and intellectual history in the seminar of Zenya Takashima (1904–90), a leading prewar Adam Smith scholar. Mizuta studied Hobbes's *Leviathan* under his guidance and began translating Smith's lectures on jurisprudence (the so-called *Glasgow Lectures*). His translation would be published soon after the Second World War as a joint Japanese translation with Takashima. After graduation in 1941, Mizuta briefly worked at the East Asia Research Institute and joined the Military Administration Office in Java to conduct research on rural conditions. At the Dutch Law College Library in Batavia, Mizuta came across a copy of Franz Borkenau's *Der Übergang vom Feudalen zum Bürgerlichen Weltbild* (1934), of which he made an entire typewritten copy that he later brought home. As Mizuta later recollected, it was the first Japanese encounter with the Frankfurt School.

After the war ended in August 1945, Mizuta spent eight months as a POW in Sulawesi Island, where he had stayed as an interpreter for the Japanese military. After returning home, he became a special research student at his alma mater. In 1949 he got a position as an assistant professor at Nagoya University, a former science- and engineering-oriented imperial institution. Although it would later produce two Nobel Prize winners in physics, Mizuta found it lamentably poor in its humanities and social sciences library holdings. As a result, he felt the need



to build up his private collection from scratch. Over the past sixty years, Mizuta's tireless hunt for Western classic books has been vigorously pursued, and the resulting Mizuta Library of Rare Books in the History of European Social Thought, purchased by Nagoya University Library in 2010, now contains more than seven thousand volumes. The full content of the library catalogue is available online from the Nagoya University Library website. Mizuta spent the entire proceeds from the sale of his library on funding the Nagoya University Mizuta Award for promising young scholars, which has produced eleven recipients to date.

Mizuta wanted a book not because it was famous or generally regarded as a classic but because he wanted to study it. His approach to books was not a simple product of antiquarian interest; rather, he built his library with the sharp eye of an intellectual historian. He published about thirty books and nearly as many translations of Western classics and scholarly books. He co-authored or edited about twenty-five books. His major works in English include *Adam Smith's Library. A Supplement to Bonar's Catalogue with a Checklist of the Whole Library* (1967); *Enlightenment and Beyond: Political Economy Comes to Japan* (1988); *Adam Smith: International Perspectives* (1993); *Adam Smith's Library. A Catalogue* (2000); and *Adam Smith: Critical Responses*, 6 vols. (2000). It is hoped that some of his scholarly works that are now available only in Japanese now will be translated into English.

Mizuta saw himself as a Marxist or, as he later called himself, "a radical democrat." His lifelong search for the origin and nature of modern intellectual history was consistently focused on the making of modern individualism along the path of the Hobbes-Smith-Marx tradition. His close friends included Piero Sraffa, Ronald Meek, and Eric Hobsbawm, who were men of scholarly distinction as well as clear ideological positions. Mizuta was not a man of the study. He was actively involved in civic political movements throughout his life, instanced by his successful campaign in 1981 against the projected Nagoya Olympic Games. However, like the writings of his close friends cited above, his scholarly works have a strong appeal to those who do not share his ideological position.

Last, but far from least, in 2001 Mizuta became the fourth recipient of the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award, and he was very proud of that honor. For many years he regularly attended ECSSS conferences in Scotland, Europe, and North America, and on the occasion of his receiving the Lifetime Achievement Award at the joint ECSSS and International Adam Smith Society conference in Arlington, Virginia, a large contingent of Japanese scholars were in attendance to pay their respects to this great man.

Tatsuya Sakamoto, Waseda University

Editor's Note: Excerpts from the speech delivered by Ian Simpson Ross when he presented the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Hiroshi Mizuta on 11 June 2001 can be found in the Spring 2002 issue of this newsletter, pp. 12–15 (<https://ecsss.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/No.-16-SPRING-2002-18th-Century-Scotland.pdf>).

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2022–31 Dec. 2022

Bank of Scotland Chequing Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2022: £24,558.49

Income: +£438 (dues, book orders, and donations)

Expenses: –£3371.43 (Liverpool conference: £1186.20 [student travel bursaries: £801.20; Executive Board dinner meeting/award & gifts: £385]; Ottawa conference: £1874.17 [Executive Secretary: £1374.17; awards and gifts: £111.06]; membership database conversion: £500; website management: £200)

Balance 31 Dec. 2022: £21,625.06

Bank of America Checking Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2022: \$30,275.13

Income: +\$7007.07 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal: \$1614; transfer from PayPal: \$3908.06; ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship (minus processing fee): \$1485.01)

Expenses: –\$3535.63 (website fees [Sitelock for security]: \$400; NJ nonprofit organization annual registration fee: \$55.50; ASECS contribution plus ECSSS donations transferred to Daiches-Manning Fund: \$2671.13; student conference bursary: \$268; check returned: \$140; service fee: \$1)

Balance 31 Dec. 2022: \$33,746.57

PayPal.com Account

Balance 1 Jan. 2022: \$2014.49 + £23.92 (corrected)

Net Income (after PayPal fees): +\$3078.37 + £78.76 (dues, book orders, and donations)

Withdrawals: –\$3979.06 (\$3908.06 transfer to Bank of America checking account. \$71 book order refund)

Balance 31 Dec. 2022: \$1113.80 + £102.68

Total Assets as of 31 Dec. 2022 [vs. 31 Dec. 2021]: £21,727.74 [£24,558.49] + \$34,860.37 [\$32,289.62]

ECSSS/ASECS Daiches-Manning Fellowship at IASH, Fund at University of Edinburgh as of 31 Dec. 2022 [vs. 31 Dec. 2021]: £57,671 [£68,239]

THE FIRST SEVEN PRESIDENTS OF ECSSS

Since its foundation in 1986, the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society has had many wonderful conferences in the UK, Europe, and North America. One of the best occurred in Utrecht twenty-five years ago, on the theme of



“Scotland, the Netherlands, and the Atlantic World.” It was jointly sponsored by the Werkgroep 18e eeuw (the Dutch Society for 18th-Century Studies) and graciously hosted by the University of Utrecht. The conference opened with a plenary lecture by Margaret Jacob. Another plenary lecture was delivered by Wijnand Mijnhardt, the conference organizer. A third plenary lecture, on James Boswell and Belle van Zuylen, was given by Cecil Courtney at Zuylen Castle, from which the guests returned by canal boat.

The climax of the conference occurred on the final day, Saturday, 7 July 1998. At the ECSSS business meeting held in the late afternoon, Sandy Stewart was elected the society’s seventh president. As all the previous six presidents of the society were also in attendance, after the AGM I snapped this photo-

graph of them at a cocktail party preceding the conference dinner. Ian Simpson Ross, the founding president of ECSSS (literature, 1986–88) and co-founder of the society with me and several others in April 1986, is at the far right. To Ian’s right are Roger Emerson (history, 1988–90), Andrew Hook (literature, 1990–92), John Robertson (history, 1992–94), Susan Manning (literature, 1994–96), Jim Moore (political science, 1996–98), and president-elect Sandy Stewart (philosophy, 1998–2000). All of them contributed greatly to building ECSSS, and working closely with them during the society’s early years was a great pleasure. As it happens, four future presidents of the society were also in attendance at the Utrecht conference: Ned Landsman (history, 2002–04), John Cairns (law, 2006–08), Mark Spencer (history, 2009–12), and Catherine Jones (literature, 2014–16). Also present were two of the society’s early vice presidents: Roger Fechner and Katherine Holcomb. Rarely, if ever, have so many of the society’s past, present, and future presidents and vice presidents been together at one conference.

The dinner that concluded the conference that evening was remarkable in several respects. It took place at the lovely Huize Molenaar in Korte Nieuwstraat, while the Dutch team was playing Brazil in the semifinals of the World Cup. It was a lovely meal, capping off a splendid conference. After dinner Michael Fry, one of the society’s more flamboyant members, delivered a series of toasts dressed in tartan trews and waistcoat. The first two toasts, to ECSSS and to John Calvin (as a link between Scotland and The Netherlands), went down well enough, and the fourth, to the Dutch footballers (who were in the process of losing a heartbreaker on penalty kicks) brought cheers, as did the last toast, to the long-suffering Tartan Army of Scottish football fans. But Michael’s third toast, to Mammon, was more controversial. Its full meaning only became clear the next week, when the toastmaster (a non-academic) published his newspaper column in Glasgow, explaining that his aim from the outset had to be “to get a bunch of academics to drink to Mammon”—shorthand for “a market of academic privilege and patronage, all the more venal for being closed and protected” (*The Herald*, 15 July 1998). Perhaps a toast to our gracious Dutch hosts would have been more appropriate! So ended one of the society’s more memorable conferences.

Rick Sher, Editor

RECENT ARTICLES BY ECSSS MEMBERS

Kendra ASHER, “Was David Hume a Racist? Interpreting Hume’s Infamous Footnote” (Part I and Part II), *Economic Affairs* 42.2 and 42.3 (2022): 225–39, 477–99. [Note: see also James F. Fieser, “A Response to Kendra Asher,” 500–504.]

Kendra ASHER – see Daniel B. Klein

Ellen L. BEARD, “*Fuinn air an inntinn*: A Case Study in the Composition of Eighteenth-Century Gaelic Song” *Scottish Studies* 39: 28–57. <https://doi.org/10.2218/ss.v39.7158>. [on songs by Rob Donn Mackay].

Ellen L. BEARD, “When Tartan Was Not Fake: The Disclothing Act in Gaelic Song,” *The Bottle Imp*, Supp. 8B, <https://www.thebottleimp.org.uk/supplements>.

Rhona BROWN, “James Currie and John Ramsay of Ochertyre: New Manuscripts,” *Burns Chronicle* 131.2 (2022): 217–24.

Gerard CARRUTHERS and Ralph MCLEAN, “Did Burns Send Cannon to France in 1792? A New Theory of the Narrative,” *Burns Chronicle* 131.2 (2022): 139–55.

Greg CLINGHAM, “The Archive of Lady Anne Barnard, 1750–1825,” *Tulsa Studies in Women’s Literature* 40.2 (2021): 373–85.

Leith DAVIS, “Inscripting Rebellion: The Newdigate Manuscript Newsletters, Printed Newspapers and the Cultural Memory of the 1715 Rising,” *Parliamentary History* 41.1 (2022): 150–66.

- Leith DAVIS, "Material Memories of Darien: Letters, Lieux de Mémoire, and the Company of Scotland," *The Bottle Imp*, Supplement 8A (Spring 2022) <https://www.thebottleimp.org.uk/2022/06/material-memories-of-darien-letters-lieux-de-memoire-and-the-company-of-scotland/>
- Leith DAVIS, "Introduction: 'New Perspectives on 'The Lyon in Mourning'" and (with others) "'Female Rebels': Highlighting Women's Voices in Robert Forbes's 'The Lyon in Mourning,'" *International Review of Scottish Studies* 47 (2022): 1–22, 77–92. In Jacobite Special Issue edited by Leith Davis. <https://www.irss.uoguelph.ca/index.php/irss/issue/view/462>
- Ian DUNCAN, "Scott's Ghost-Seeing," *Gothic Studies* (special issue on "Haunted Scotland"), 24.1 (2022): 44–56.
- Ian DUNCAN, "Extreme Pastoral: James Hogg and Other Animals," *Studies in Hogg and his World* 29–30 (2021–22): 3–24.
- Michael EDSON, "Manuscript Notations and Culture Memory," *Studies in Eighteenth-Century Culture* 50 (2021): 171–84.
- Michael EDSON, "Satire as Gossip: Lady Anne Hamilton's *The Epics of the Ton*," in *British Women Satirists in the Long Eighteenth Century*, ed. Amanda Hiner and Elizabeth Tasker Davis (Cambridge University Press, 2022), 207–25.
- Clarisse GODARD DEMAREST, "Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg's Entry into Edinburgh, 1819," *History Scotland* 20.1 (2020): 8–10.
- Clarisse GODARD DEMAREST, "Churches, City and National Identity in Mid-19th Century Edinburgh," *Angles: New Perspectives on the Anglophone World* 11 (2020) <https://journals.openedition.org/angles/2302>
- Clarisse GODARD DEMAREST, "Napoléon et le mythe d'Ossian," *Revue Écossaise*, no. 1 (2022), 1–6.
- Max GROBER, "Hume and the Royal African," *Hume Studies* 47.2 (2022): 285–309.
- James A. HARRIS, "Précis of *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*" and "Reply to My Critics," *DJHHume*, 3–5, 37–45.
- James A. HARRIS, "How to Write a History of Philosophy? The Case of Eighteenth-Century Britain," *British Journal for the History of Philosophy* 30.6 (2022): 1013–32.
- Catherine JONES, "Hume as Man of Letters: Comments on Harris's *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*," *DJHHume*, 7–16.
- Daniel B. Klein and Kendra H. ASHER, "Adam Smith's Unmerited Censure: Revisiting a Satirical 1764 Pamphlet on Slavery," *American Political Thought* 11.1 (2022): 48–72.
- Emanuele LEVI MORTERA, "Natura, natura umana e finalismo nella scuola scozzese del senso commune," *Esercizi filosofici* 17.1 (2022): 58–71. <https://www.openstarts.units.it/handle/10077/33865>
- Felicity LOUGHLIN, "Scotland's Last Blasphemy Trials: Popular Unbelief and Its Opponents, 1819–1844," *English Historical Review* 137.586 (2022): 794–822.
- Wendy MCGLASHAN, "John Kay's *The Craft in Danger* (1817): Graphic Satire and Natural History in Nineteenth-Century Edinburgh," *Archives of Natural History* 49.1 (2022): 175–88.
- Wendy MCGLASHAN, "Exit, Pursued by John Kay: The Staging of Graphic Satire in Late Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh," *British Art Studies*, no. 23 (2022) <https://doi.org/10.17658/issn.2058-5462/issue-23/wmcglashan>
- Wendy MCGLASHAN, "John Kay's Watercolor Drawing *John Campbell* (1782)," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 57 (2022): 57–66.
- Ralph MCLEAN, "'The Lyon in Mourning' at the National Library of Scotland," *International Review of Scottish Studies* 47 (2022): 58–71. In Jacobite Special Issue edited by Leith Davis. <https://www.irss.uoguelph.ca/index.php/irss/issue/view/462>
- Ralph MCLEAN – see Gerard CARRUTHERS
- Stephen MULLEN, "Henry Dundas: A 'Great Delayer' of the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," *Scottish Historical Review* 100.2 (2021): 218–48.
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Key to the Abbreviations

DJHHume = "Discussion of James Harris, *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*," *Hume Studies* 45.1–2 (2019).

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