// EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

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PRINCETON CONFERENCE A GO!

At press time in May, ECSSS is about to hold a joint conference at Princeton Theological Seminary with the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, from 30 May to 2 June. The program and other information are available at the conference website: https://app.certain.com/profile/3394978. The Spring 2025 issue will contain an account of the conference.

THE 2025 CONFERENCE IN STIRLING!

Next year's ECSSS conference will be held at the University of Stirling, Scotland, from 17 to 20 June 2025. The theme will be "Scots and the Environment." The conference will feature plenary talks by Richard Oram (U. of Stirling) on "We Need to Talk About 'Improvement': An Environmental History Perspective on 'Improvement Era' Scotland"; Noelle Duckman Gallagher (U. of Manchester), recently a Daiches-Manning Fellow, on "Disease and the Environment in the Art of Isaac Cruikshank (1764–1811)"; and Gerard Lee McKeever (U. of Edinburgh) on "Hame and the Unheimlich: Eighteenth-Century Scotland's Uncanny Environments." We are hoping to have an excursion to Innerpeffray Library (founded 1680) or the Leighton Library (founded 1687), Dunblane, as well as a gin-tasting, an evening of Scottish street ballads for street and drawing-room, and a walking tour of historic Stirling.

Call for Papers. Proposals for 90-minute panels or roundtables and 15–20-minute individual papers on any aspect of the conference theme or on 18th-century Scotland more broadly, along with a one-page cv for each speaker, should be sent to the program organizers, Emma Macleod (e.v.macleod@stir.ac.uk) and Katie Halsey (katherine.halsey@stir.ac.uk), by 15 November 2024.

ADAM SMITH & MORE IN ST. ANDREWS

The 300th birthdays of Adam Smith, Adam Ferguson, and John Witherspoon took center stage last 18–21 July at the joint conference of ECSSS, the International Adam Smith Society, and the Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy, hosted by the Institute of Intellectual History of St. Andrews University. Smith got the lion's share of attention. Among the ECSSS members who spoke about him were John Cairns, Toni Carey, Remy Debes, Jean-François Dunyach, Moira Hansen, Eugene Heath, Rosaleen Keefe, Shinji Nohara, David Raynor, Craig Smith, Mikko Tolonen, Philip Tonner, and Jeng Guo Chen, who delivered the closing plenary lecture. Gideon Mailer gave a plenary talk on "Witherspoon at 300," and Emma Macleod considered Witherspoon in relation to Ayrshire religion. Mike Kugler spoke on Adam Ferguson at 300. An opening plenary by Nigel Leask addressed another of the conference's themes, the 250th anniversary of Boswell and Johnson's Scottish tour, and Jim Caudle also spoke on that subject. Many more ECSSS members gave papers on other topics, including Brad Bow and Michael Brown on the Scottish Enlightenment and American racial politics; JoEllen DeLucia on Elizabeth Hamilton; Anna Plassart on Scottish views of the first partition of Poland; Tanner Ogle and David Parrish on Scottish Jacobitism and America; Alasdair Raffe on the 1744 heresy trial of Rev. William Leechman; Gregory Tirenin on Scottish emigrants and Anglicanism in colonial Virginia (see his article in this issue); Paul Tonks on Scottish thought and unintended consequences in America; Ellen Beard on the diary of Rev. Murdoch Macdonald; Zubin Meer on William Richardson's Shakespeare criticism; Reva Wolf on portraits of William St. Clair of Roslin and freemasonry; and Ronald Crawford on issues of rank and privilege in the murder trial of Mungo Campbell and the sedition trial of Thomas Muir. A break in the conferencing was provided by an excursion to Adam Smith's birthplace in Kirkcaldy and the fishing village of Anstruther. We are grateful to James Harris and the IIH for putting on such a fine show!

JOHN ROBERTSON HONORED

At the conference banquet on the last evening of the St. Andrews conference, ECSSS president Michael Brown presented the society's Lifetime Achievement Award to John Robertson, Emeritus Professor of the History of Political Thought at Cambridge University. In areas as varied as the militia controversy, political economy, Hume studies, Scotland and Italy, and the meaning of The Enlightenment, John has made huge contributions to scholarship on Scotland and Europe in

the eighteenth century. In addition, John served as president of ECSSS from 1992 to 1994 and was a Board member for many years, and he has nurtured the careers of many younger scholars. Congratulations John!

THE 2023 AGM

At the 2023 ECSSS AGM, presided over by Michael Brown, Craig Smith announced that the proposed by-laws revisions would be put before the members in time to vote on them at the 2024 AGM in Princeton. Executive secretary Moira Hansen led the discussion of the society's conference plans, including its 40th annual conference with ASECS in Philadelphia, 7–11 April 2026, for which the Board will form a subcommittee. A proposal from Jean-François Dunyach to host the society's 2027 conference at the Sorbonne in Paris (where the society had a wonderful conference in 2013) was warmly received. It was also decided to sponsor an ECSSS panel at the 2027 Enlightenment Congress at Zaragoza, Spain.

ECSSS AT ASECS AND CSECS

As an affiliated society of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ASECS) and the Canadian Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (CSECS), ECSSS is usually well represented at the annual conferences of those societies. At the CSECS congress in Montreal on 18–21 October 2023, Leith Davis and Pam Perkins participated in a round table on shaping Jacobitism in the long 18th century. Among other ECSSS members who gave papers at the congress were Adam Budd, David Hou, Elizabeth Kraft, Zubin Meer, Kathryn Ready, and Tara Wallace.

At the ASECS meeting in Toronto in early April 2024, ECSSS sponsored an excellent panel on "Editing and Digitizing Scottish Texts." Organized and chaired by ECSSS vice president JoEllen Delucia, it featured Pam Perkins, Juliet Shields, Nikita Willeford Kastrinos, Leith Davis, Ashley Shifflett McBrayne, Kevin James, and Melissa McAfee. Elsewhere, Corey Andrews spoke on Robert Burns's views of the Union of 1707, and ECSSS president Michael Brown gave a paper on "1707 and the Politics of Exclusion" and participated in a workshop on the ASECS journal *Eighteenth-Century Studies*.

4th WORLD CONGRESS OF SCOTTISH LITS

The fourth World Congress of Scottish Literatures, to be held at U. of Nottingham this summer from 3 to 7 July, will feature a keynote lecture by Rhona Brown titled "'Is Allan risen frae the deid?': Editing Eighteenth-Century Scots Poetry." Other ECSSS members scheduled to take part include Gioia Angeletti, Kirsteen McCue, Steve Newman, and Patrick Scott.

POCOCK CELEBRATIONS IN 2024

The death of J.G.A. Pocock last year (see John Robertson's obituary in this issue) touched off symposia in the UK and USA.

5 March, Johns Hopkins U.: "John Pocock's Life, Legacy, and Languages of Historical and Political Thought." Speakers included Colin Kidd, John Robertson, and keynote speaker Quentin Skinner.

9 March, St. Andrews U., Institute of Intellectual History: "J.G.A. Pocock (1924–2023): A Centenary Colloquium." Speakers and chairs included Colin Kidd, Emma Macleod, Valerie Wallace, John Robertson, and Thomas Ahnert.

15 March, Trinity College, Cambridge U. Keynote speaker: John Robertson.

20–21 May, Harvard U.: "Pocockian Moments: A Symposium on the Centenary of J.G.A. Pocock." Keynote speaker: Richard Whatmore.

STUDIES IN SCOTTISH LITERATURE NEWS

Starting in January 2025, with volume 51, *Studies in Scottish Literature* will have a new publisher, Edinburgh University Press, and a "new" editor, Tony Jarrells of the University of South Carolina, who has been coeditor since 2012. The association with EUP will upgrade production standards, increase professional recognition of *SSL* articles through better integration with indexing and search retrieval opportunities, and position the journal for future developments in scholarly communication. Tony's editorship maintains the journal link with the University of South Carolina and the Roy Collection, alongside a broader-based editorial team and an updated international advisory board. While *SSL* will continue both print and digital publication, most current use is online, with over half-a-million free full-text article downloads in the past twelve years. *SSL*'s (quite modest) endowment is helping cushion the costs of the transition, but the end of unpaid in-house production will mean paying for digital access to new articles; happily, many libraries already subscribe to other EUP journals, and some universities pay open-access charges for faculty contributors.

Patrick Scott, University of South Carolina

SCOTIA SEEKS CONTRIBUTORS

Scotia: Interdisciplinary Journal of Scottish Studies is an international publication for scholars interested in Scottish studies. It appears annually, sponsored by Old Dominion U. We publish peer-reviewed articles on all areas of Scottish studies, from history to politics, art and architecture, literature, philosophy, travel, sociology and archeology. We are also interested in papers derived from panel sessions at recent academic conferences. Submissions are typically 8000 words and should be submitted via email as Word attachments. *Scotia* also publishes 500–800-word reviews of recent books on Scottish topics and 3000–5000-word review essays that consider several books on a particular subject. Those interested in reviewing should contact the editor with relevant information on interests and expertise as well as proposals for items suitable for review. Authors of recent books on Scottish topics are encouraged to contact their publishers about submit-

ting review copies. For all inquiries, contact the editor, William S. Rodner, at wsrodner@odu.edu.

The current issue (vol. 45) features an article on Robert Fergusson by ECSSS member Rosaleen Keefe (see the list of articles by members in the back of this issue). To receive it and register your annual subscription, please send a check for US$10.00, payable to Old Dominion University, to William S. Rodner, Editor, *Scotia*, Department of History, Old Dominion University, Norfolk, VA 23529 USA.

HUME STUDIES IS FIFTY!

The editors of *Hume Studies,* Elizabeth Radcliffe and Mark Spencer, are planning a special 50th Anniversary Issue, to be published as *Hume Studies* 50.1 (April 2025), which they are pleased to bring to the attention of ECSSS members. Along with publishing articles that have passed through the standard review process, the issue will include invited retrospective essays. As well, for another of the issue's features, they are asking readers to submit a paragraph or two of no more than 250 words, answering the following: "Of all of the articles that have been published in *Hume Studies* over the past 50 years, which one is most noteworthy to you? Why so?" As the editors plan to publish selected responses, please state whether you would like your response published anonymously. Please submit responses by 15 October 2024 to: HumeStudies50@gmail.com.

BURNS CENTRE HONORED

The Centre for Robert Burns Studies at the U. of Glasgow has been awarded a Queen's Anniversary Prize, presented at a ceremony at Buckingham Palace last February. The prize is given every other year, after a rigorous review by the Royal Anniversary Trust, to celebrate excellence, innovation, and public benefit in work by UK colleges and universities. The Centre was chosen chiefly on account of the extraordinary achievements of its Editing and Curating Burns for the 21st Century. We feel special pride because from the origins of the Centre in 2007 its leaders (not to mention many of its research associates and Board members) have been ECSSS members, including founder Gerard Carruthers and early co-director Kirsteen McCue, and the team that took over from them in 2022: co-directors Rhona Brown and Pauline Mackay and associate director Ronnie Young. Along with Nigel Leask and Murray Pittock, these individuals have also been the principal editors of the remarkable new edition of Burns's works and correspondence that continues to appear, and that has been so favorably reviewed in our pages thus far. Congratulations to the Burns Centre on this well-deserved honor!

WORKS OF ROBERT FERGUSSON

Congratulations to Rhona Brown of the U. of Glasgow on her directorship of The Collected Works of Robert Fergusson: Reconstructing Textual and Cultural Legacies. One goal of the project is to produce a new scholarly edition of Fergusson's works, grounded more fully in the contemporary periodical context that Rhona has explored in previous research. The key to that context is Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine*, where most of Fergusson's poetry first appeared. With Leverhulme funding from 2023 to 2025, and support from the Centre for Robert Burns Studies, the project will produce a new edition of Fergusson's works in 2026, published by Edinburgh University Press. In addition, the project aims to commemorate Fergusson's legacies with events in 2024 (the 400th anniversary of the poet's death) and 2025.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

New member **Pamela Ahern** is a PhD candidate in history at U. of Delaware working on the Marian debate in 18th-century Scotland… **Rachel Bani** is now assistant professor of musicology at Converse U. in South Carolina…new member **Miyu Bao** is a PhD candidate in philosophy at U. of Alberta working on David Hume's ethics…new member **Colin Bathgate** is a PhD student at U. of Edinburgh working on property law and theory…**Christopher Berry**'s *Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment* was recently published in a Japanese translation with a new introduction; Chris gave a series of lectures on Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment at Fudan U. in Shanghai in June 2023, and the following month a two-part interview with him appeared in the *Shanghai Book Review*…**David Brown** retired from National Records of Scotland in 2022 but continues to research the world of Henry Dundas in late 18th-century Scotland…**Rhona Brown** has been promoted to professor of Scottish literature at Glasgow U.…**Adam Budd** is now director of graduate studies in the Edinburgh U. History Dept. and secretary of education at the Royal Historical Society…**John Cairns** had a sabbatical leave to finish his book on slavery in 18th-century Scotland… **Elad Carmel** spent 2023–24 as a postdoctoral researcher in gender studies at the U. of Jyväskylä in Finland; on 23 Feb. 2024 his book on Thomas Hobbes was launched at IASH, where Elad was in residence as the Daiches-Manning Fellow in 2023… **Gerard Carruthers** and **Moira Hansen** are co-editing the *Encyclopaedia of Scottish Literature* for Wiley Blackwell, complementing Gerry's recently published *Companion to Scottish Literature* from the same publisher, which was launched on 16 Apr. 2024 at Glasgow U.'s Centre for Scottish & Celtic Studies. …**Greg Clingham** has been elected president of the East Central branch of ASECS…**Ronald Crawford** has been awarded a DLitt degree from U. of Strathclyde for making "an original and distinguished contribution to learning"…**Leith Davis** has been appointed an Honorary Fellow by the Association for Scottish Literature and has received a fellowship from Friends of the U. of Aberdeen Library…on 6 Aug. **Tamás Demeter** will speak on recent work on Hume on mind and knowledge in a Hume Society workshop at the World Congress of Philosophy in Rome…while edit-

ing the *Cambridge History of Scottish Literature*, **Ian Duncan** is also editing the *Cambridge Companion to Walter Scott*…in 2023 **Jean-François Dunyach** published *Histoire de l'Écosse* as well as the second edition of his 2021 work *Histoire de la Grande-Bretagne*…in June 2022 **Rémy Duthille** of U. Bordeaux Montaigne passed his "habilitation à diriger des recherches" at the Sorbonne (**Jean-François Dunyach** was a member of the jury) on the topic "Politique radicale et sociabilité en Grande-Bretagne, 1688–1848"…new member **Dylan Fowler** is a PhD student in history at Open U. working on the Roman Catholic priest Thomas Innes…new member **Noelle Gallagher**, senior lecturer in literature at U. of Manchester, was in residence at IASH from Sept. through Nov. 2023 as the Daiches-Manning Fellow, working on "oats and Scottishness in 18th-century print culture"…**Clarisse Godard Desmarest** has been promoted to full professor at U. of Picardie in Amiens; her recent co-edited works include *Nation and Nationalism in Scotland* (vol. 21 of *Revue LISA*), *Cities in Scotland* (vol. 16 in *Angles*), and *Writing Scottishness: Literature and the Shaping of Scottish National Identities* (2023)…new member **Giovanni Grandi** of the U. of British Columbia has published widely on Thomas Reid…new member **Robert Irvine** is reader in Scottish literature at Edinburgh U.…**Eloise Grey**'s 2022 article in *Historical Reflections* (see list of articles by members in this issue) was runner-up for the Royal Historical Society's David Berry Prize…**Sören Hammerschmidt** of Maricopa Community Colleges in Phoenix has joined the Board of Directors of the Western Society for 18th-Century Studies and also serves as its secretary…**Regina Hewitt** has retired from the English Dept. at U. of South Florida and will take up residence in South Carolina… new member **David Hou** received his PhD in English from McMaster U. this spring with a dissertation on nautical themes in 18th-century literature, including chapters on William Falconer, Tobias Smollett, and James Thomson…new member **Sabrina Juillet Garzón**, senior lecturer in history and dean of the Faculty of Humanities at U. Sorbonne Paris Nord, has published widely on identity affirmation in Scotland after the Union of the Crowns…new member **Karly Kehoe** of Saint Mary's U. in Nova Scotia works on settler colonialism in the north Atlantic…**Tom Kennedy**, now Emeritus both as dean and professor of philosophy and religion at Berry College in Georgia, has relocated to Grand Rapids, Michigan…**Matthew Lee** completed his PhD at U. of Aberdeen in 2022 with a thesis on Caribbean slavery in the Scottish Consciousness…in April **Felicity Loughlin** spoke at the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society on "Booksellers, Blasphemy & Belief in 19th-Century Scotland" …**Pauline Mackay** is head of subject for Scottish literature at Glasgow U. through May 2025…**Wendy McGlashan** has been awarded the 2023 Leah Leneman Essay Prize by Women's History Scotland for her essay on "Print Culture, Performance, and the Quixotic Pursuit of the Domestic Feminine Ideal"…after retiring from the English Dept. at Florida Atlantic U. this spring, **Carol McGuirk** will relocate to South Easton, Massachusetts...**Robin Mills** has been appointed honorary research fellow at the Institute of Intellectual History at St. Andrews U.…new member **Sean Moore**, professor of English at U. of New Hampshire, was a Fleeman Fellow at St. Andrews U., working on a book on the British Secret Service and the Scottish and Irish book trades in the long 18th century…new member **Ursula Mulcahy** is a retired surgeon (and fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons Edinburgh) who earned a PhD in philosophy at U. of Durham with a thesis on William Cullen and does research on surgeons in 18th- and 19th-century Scotland...**Shinji Nohara** will spend a sabbatical leave at Glasgow U., working with **Craig Smith** on Adam Smith editions and investigating moral philosophy lecture notes that survive in Scottish universities…new member **Robert Null** is an independent scholar interested in John Witherspoon and the interplay between Enlightenment and religion…new member **Anna Plassart**, a scholar of Scottish social and political thought best known for her book *The Scottish Enlightenment and the French Revolution*, is senior lecturer in history at the Open U.…new member **David Parrish**, associate professor of humanities at College of the Ozarks, works on 18th-century Britain and the Atlantic world...distinguished Japanese scholar **Tatsuya Sakamoto**, professor Emeritus at Keio U. since 2019, has taken retirement from Waseda U.…**Terry Seymour** has published *Edmond Malone's Tempest Theory*, on an 1808 pamphlet that Malone published about Shakespeare's last play…on 10 July **Rick Sher** will deliver the 2024 Kenneth Karmiole Lecture on the History of the Book at the Rare Book School, U. of Virginia...**Craig Smith**, now professor of the history of political thought, gave a public lecture on the Scottish Enlightenment at Glasgow U. on 25 May 2023...**Mark Spencer**, co-editor of the journal *Hume Studies*, gave a lecture on 30 May 2023 on Hume's *History of England* at the Institute of Christianity and Culture, International Christian U. in Tokyo…new member **Domhnall Uilleam Stiùbhart**, senior lecturer at U. of the Highlands and Islands, publishes on the Scottish Gaelic Enlightenment and other Highland subjects…on 12 Dec. 2023 **Paul Tonks** and **Leith Davis** participated in a roundtable, sponsored by the Centre for Scottish & Celtic Studies at Glasgow U., on developing global connections for Celtic and Scottish studies…new member **Philip Tonner** is senior lecturer in the School of Education at Glasgow U.…**Tara Wallace** is now professor of English Emerita at George Washington U.…in Sept. 2023 **Valerie Wallace** spoke at the Institute of Intellectual History at St. Andrews U. on the 18th-century Chinese immigrant to Scotland William Macao…new member **Alexander Werth**, Patterson Professor of Biology at Hampden-Sydney College in Virginia, is interested in the impact of Scottish Enlightenment scholars on American universities.

Scottish Emigrants and the Transformation of Anglicanism in Colonial Virginia

By Gregory Tirenin, Boston University

As the conflict between Britain and its colonies moved from relatively peaceful political action to violence, a clear distinction emerged among colonial Anglicans. The vast majority of Anglicans located in the northeastern colonies believed that violent resistance to duly constituted authority was in all cases gravely sinful and rejected the Revolution, often putting their lives at risk in the process. However, in southern colonies like Virginia, where the Church of England was established by law, the great majority of clergy and laity supported the Revolution. It therefore follows, paradoxically, that where Anglicanism was legally established, churchmen rejected orthodox political theology, and where the Church of England did not enjoy the privileges of establishment, its members endeavored against all odds to follow traditional Anglican teachings concerning political obedience. While the divergence in political tradition between northern and southern Anglicans is well established, this article focuses on a particular facet of this revolutionary schism that has not been thoroughly examined: the century-long infiltration of non-Anglican Scots into the Church of England ministry in colonial Virginia.

While Anglicans represented the first successful long-term colonists at Jamestown in 1607, other early settlements such as Massachusetts Bay were peopled either by radical Puritan separatists or Congregationalists who rejected episcopal authority and *Common Prayer* liturgy. Despite the legal privileges granted to the Anglican Church in many colonies, the reality reflected a very different religious composition than the Church's advocates hoped for. What J.C.D. Clark has called the "Anglican dream" of replicating the general parochial harmony of the Church of England soon descended into an Anglican nightmare of denominational diversity across the colonies, coupled with a weak establishment in the areas that it existed (Clark, *The Language of Liberty*, 1994, pp. 190–216).

Although Virginia had legally established the Church of England in 1619, by 1660 there were only eight churches and eight priests ministering to a population of 22,020. The situation improved with the restoration of Charles II, and by 1680 there were 48 parishes and 34 priests (James B. Bell, "North America," *The Oxford History of Anglicanism*, vol. 2, ed. Jeremy Gregory, 2017, p. 161). Crucially, an American episcopate was not established during this juncture. By the accession of James II in 1685, the appointment of a colonial bishop became unlikely, since James's Catholicism would have brought immediate disrepute to such a plan. In 1688 the Glorious Revolution ushered in a monarch who was not the most ardent advocate of episcopacy, as the Scottish Episcopalians soon learned when King William disestablished them in favor of the Presbyterians. Indeed, there would be no episcopate in colonial America, due not only to imperial lethargy but also to enormous opposition within the colonies on the part of Protestant Dissenters, who viewed such plans as an effort to reduce their freedoms and replicate the English confessional state (Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre,* 1962). With no hope of a bishop to perform ordinations, the supply of colonial priests was dismal. Throughout the 1690s northern colonies found it almost impossible to support any Anglican clergy.

By the end of the seventeenth century, it seemed that the Anglican mission was failing everywhere outside of Virginia. However, the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG) in 1701 changed the course of colonial Anglicanism and provided a lifeline to American churchmen. The SPG was the largest missionary organization in the British Atlantic world (Travis Glasson, *Mastering Christianity: Missionary Anglicanism and Slavery in the Atlantic World*, 2011, p. 1). During the eighteenth century it sent hundreds of clergymen to America, circulated literature, built schools, and lobbied civil authorities. The starkest contrast between SPG dominated northeastern Anglicanism and the southern parochial church would become apparent during the American Revolution, when the clergy and laity of those regions adopted staunchly opposing views regarding the permissibility of revolution. I will focus on Virginia because it was the only colony (along with Maryland) where adherents to the Church of England possessed a true majority.

There was one key caveat to the impressive offerings of the SPG: as missionaries, they typically did not operate in colonies where the church already benefited from legal establishment. Therefore, Virginia was ineligible to benefit from this influx of highly orthodox clergy. To understand the divergence of political theology between northern and southern Anglicans during the American Revolution, it is important to grasp the extent to which southern Anglicans, who ironically benefited from state confessionalism, altered their church's doctrines on a variety of topics, including political obedience.

All manner of Anglicans "from radical Puritans to Laudians" came to America during the seventeenth century (Michael Winship, "North America to 1662," in *Oxford History of Anglicanism*, vol. 1, ed. Anthony Milton, 2017, p. 267). While the initial spectrum of Anglican churchmanship is unsurprising, the distance from England and lack of episcopal oversight led the Church in Virginia to evolve in a manner that went beyond a mere reflection of the various parties within the Church of England. During the late seventeenth and early eighteenth cen-

turies, Virginia experienced an enormous influx of Scottish clergymen into its church, fundamentally altering both its outward character and substantive religious practices. This proliferation of Scots can be largely attributed to Rev. James Blair's tenure as church commissioner. In 1679 Blair was ordained as a minister in the Church of Scotland, then split between Presbyterian and Episcopalian factions. In 1681, during the Exclusion Crisis, Blair refused to take the oath to the future king, James II, and was subsequently turned out of his ministry. Taking refuge in London, Blair made the acquaintance of Archbishop Henry Compton, who sent him to Henrico, Virginia, where he served for two years before becoming Compton's official commissary in 1689, thus making him responsible for the ecclesiastical management of the colony.

Historians somewhat misleadingly call Blair a "Scottish Episcopalian," often failing to differentiate explicitly between the relatively small number of Scottish Episcopalians who lost their positions in the Exclusion Crisis and the vast majority of Scottish Episcopalians who happily took the oath to the Catholic Stuarts and refused to relinquish that allegiance following the Glorious Revolution. Together with English Jacobite clergy who refused to swear an oath to William and lost their positions in the church, these displaced Anglicans are collectively known as the "Nonjurors." "After 1690 and the disestablishment of the Scottish Episcopal Church," James Bell writes in *Anglicans, Dissenters and Radical Change in Early New England* (2017), increasing numbers of Scots "migrated to posts in America, particularly in Virginia and Maryland" (pp. 161–62). I shall argue that this assertion is only partially correct.

While Blair is remembered as a master administrator and founder of the College of William and Mary, his attachment to episcopacy was marginal at best, and his fifty-four years as commissary were a divisive time. In 1719 a majority of clergy in convention, who already resented Blair over his clerical appointments, launched an official inquiry into the validity of his ordination, claiming that he had been ordained according to Presbyterian rites, which the Church of England did not recognize. Blair claimed that he was ordained by the Bishop of Edinburgh, but he lacked the documentation to prove it. Questions about the validity of his orders persisted for the duration of Blair's career. It was not until 1976 that a document was found by P. G. Scott in Edinburgh confirming the validity of Blair's Anglican orders (Scott, "James Blair and the Scottish Church: A New Source," *William and Mary Quarterly* 33.2 (1976): 300–308).

Despite possessing episcopal holy orders, Blair remained entrenched in the half presbyterian, half episcopalian hybrid system of the pre-1689 Scottish church, which was presbyterian at the parish level and submitted to only the mildest episcopal oversight. As Scott observed, to understand Blair's career as commissary we must be mindful of the fact that he "remained a very Scottish churchman throughout his life" (p. 301). Indeed, John Woolverton argues that Blair based Virginia's vestries, precincts, and yearly meetings on Scotland's kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods (Woolverton, *Colonial Anglicanism in North America*, 1984, p. 147). It must be said that Blair was not theologically Calvinist and was thought by nineteenth-century church historian and Episcopal bishop William Meade to be a "moderate Arminian" (Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, 1891, p. 155).

One priest who resented Blair's Scottish and presbyterian tendencies was Rev. Hugh Jones (1691–1760). After graduating from Oxford in 1716, Jones moved to Williamsburg, Virginia to teach mathematics at the College of William and Mary. However, he soon became disillusioned with the state of the church in Virginia, and after a permanent falling out with Blair, published his tract *The Present State of Virginia* in London, offering several sharp critiques of the state of religious practices in the colony. According to Jones, Virginia was at risk of "Dissentions, Heresy, Schism, and Irreligion" (Jones, *The Present State of Virginia,* 1724, p. 65). He also pointed to a de-clericalization of the church, in which parish clerks often "contrive to be liked as well or better than the Minister," thus blurring the lines between the roles of clergy and laity (p. 69).

Jones was especially irked by the neglect of the liturgy, including the disuse of the vestments such as the surplice. Also concerning to Jones was the reception of Holy Communion by parishioners in their seats, a custom which he specifically claimed was introduced by those who were "inclined to *Presbytery*" and consequently refused to come "to the *Lord's Table* decently upon their Knees" as the *Book of Common Prayer* required. As for the clergy themselves, Jones observed that "Every Minister is a kind of *Independent* in his own Parish." Jones identified this clerical independence not only with religious malaise but also with future heterodoxy among churchmen, arguing that these customs of independence might become especially problematic "when the bad Tenets and Discipline of any *heterodox*, *libertine*, or *fantastical* Persons may plead *Prescription* for their Establishment" (p. 70).

Concern over Blair's administration was not confined to the clergy. As early as the 1690s, Blair was accused by Governor Edmund Andros of having "filled the Church and the College with Scotchmen." In 1710 44 percent of the university-educated clergy in Virginia were educated in Scotland, and in 1770 the figure remained at 36 percent (Peter William Walker, "The Church Militant: The American Loyalist Clergy and the Making of the British Counterrevolution," Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 2016, p. 64). Although historians often assume that these men came from the Scottish Episcopal Church, which had been outlawed since the Glorious Revolution and maintained unbroken loyalty to the Stuarts until 1788, I believe this is extremely unlikely for two main reasons.

First, as a staunch anti-Jacobite, Blair would not have been inclined to employ priests from a church that

was inextricably linked to the Stuart cause and subject to severe penal laws in Scotland. Second, the churchmanship of Scottish Episcopalians was radically different from common practices in Virginia. Between the 1720s and 1760s the Scottish Episcopal Church adopted several liturgical "usages," a series of high church liturgical expressions developed by some Nonjurors that blended Anglican, Catholic, and Eastern Orthodox traditions (Dan Handschy, "Samuel Seabury's Eucharistic Ecclesiology: Ecclesial Implications of a Sacrificial Eucharist," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 85.1 (2016): 6). These usages included mixing water into the wine in the chalice, words of oblation during the consecration, offering the gifts themselves to God, prayers for the dead, and an invocation of the Holy Spirit over the elements of the Eucharist. Not only is there no evidence of such liturgical practices among "Scottish Episcopalians" in Virginia, but there is strong evidence of a general neglect of liturgy across the colony. Furthermore, the Scottish Episcopal Church declined precipitously in membership throughout the eighteenth century, with only 130 priests in 1746, steadily falling to 40 by 1792 (Murray Pittock, *Jacobitism*, 1998, p. 112; John Leonard Roberts, *The Jacobite Wars*, 2002, p. xi). In 1783 the prominent Church of England layman William Stevens remarked that he was unaware an episcopal church still existed in Scotland *at all* (James Allan Park, *Memoirs of William Stevens*, 1812, p. 141). It is virtually impossible that such a small denomination would be able to directly supply such a large portion of Virginia's ministry throughout the eighteenth century.

So where did the ministers come from? Existing evidence concerning the spiritual biographies of these Scottish ministers suggests that they may have possessed no Anglican background at all until they decided to enter the ministry. On 22 September 1774 the front page of the *Virginia Gazette* contained an anonymous letter, addressed "To the Gentlemen of the Vestries of Virginia" from "A Catholic Christian," which urged the vestries of Virginia to hold clerical appointees to a higher standard. The author specifically warned against "adopting the discarded sons of the kirk of Scotland" who were "enjoying a benefice in this province."

The "Catholic Christian" identified two types of Scottish Presbyterian ministers active in Virginia. The first consisted of men who had been denied admission into the Kirk ministry "through insufficiency or immorality" and subsequently moved to England and petitioned for Anglican orders out of economic necessity. The second group was made up of Presbyterians who emigrated to Virginia to serve as private tutors in the homes of gentlemen where they "grow fat, lazy and proud, and losing in point of religion and conscience, as they gain in flesh, apply for holy orders in the church of England." It is tempting to discard these criticisms as grotesquely anti-Scottish or even Wilkesite in nature. However, "Catholic Christian" made clear that he was not writing from such a perspective; he explicitly called Scotland "a nation renowned for learning, industry and frugality" and acknowledged that the Church of Scotland itself was "often applauded for orthodoxy and purity."

Unpublished correspondence in the Fulham Papers in Lambeth Palace Library provides further validation of these concerns. On 31 August 1764 Rev. Isaac William Giberne wrote directly to Archbishop Terrick claiming that many clergymen were "miserably *Ignorant* of the true Faith & Grounds of the Christian *Hope*, & unfit to be *partakers* of the Holy Sacraments of the Lords Supper which they *administer*. Above 3/4ths of the Clergy here I am told are from Scotland, Many of whom came in as Indentured Servants, Schoolmasters &c." Over a decade earlier, on 23 July 1753, the president of the College of William and Mary, Rev. Thomas Dawson, also acknowledged the infiltration of non-Anglican Scots into the ministry. Writing to Terrick's predecessor, Archbishop Sherlock, Dawson informed him, with emphasis, that "most *of these Northern gentlemen are bred Presbyterians, and I fear have seldom so great a Regard to the Church's Interest, as they ought*." He went on to explain that he had trouble determining which (if any) Scots he should send to London for ordination and which he should refuse, saying: "But I presume, when these Gentlemen bring me a Title, & come properly recommended, I cannot refuse them my Letter. I beg *Your Lordship's Directions in this Matter*."

Likewise, further south in Prince Frederick Parish, South Carolina, Rev. Michael Smith wrote to Sherlock on 13 May 1753, remarking that "the Church of England suffers not a little by the numbers of Scotch Gentlemen, Who renounce the principles they have been educated in, & take upon them to preach those they scarce know anything at all of." Smith went on to claim that in addition to their ignorance, these Scottish clergymen exhibited little interest in acquainting themselves with Anglican doctrine once they had secured their positions. Smith's point about the overall disposition of these Scottish priests is crucial. It is not the case that the influx of Scots was a coordinated, Presbyterian attack on the southern church. Yet it is important to recognize that many of these men lacked the highly intentional faith of the SPG missionaries of New England and the mid-Atlantic colonies.

Another way the domination of vestries and influx of clergy with non-Anglican backgrounds probably manifested itself was in the rejection of American episcopacy by southern Anglicans. While the SPG agitated for the creation of an American episcopacy since its founding, its last campaign in 1771 was the most noteworthy because it showed the emerging schism between the SPG and the parochial clergy (and laity) of Virginia. In 1770 an SPG delegation from New York and New Jersey visited Virginia and convinced Commissary James Horrocks to call an assembly of Virginia clergy the next year to "consider the expediency of an application for an American episcopate" (Ray Hiner, "Samuel Henley and Thomas Gwatkin; Partners in Protest," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 37.1 (1968): 40).

However, of the roughly one hundred ministers in the colony, only twelve attended. Among them were

Samuel Henley (1740–1814) and Thomas Gwatkin (1741–1800), two recent arrivals from England who came to Virginia in 1770 to teach at the College of William and Mary. Like the many Presbyterian Scots in the Virginian ministry, both men had served as Dissenting ministers in the 1760s before pursuing Anglican orders (Clark, *Language of Liberty*, p. 342). While their reasons for conforming to the Church of England are unclear, it is evident that their academic careers were substantially advanced as a result, since only members of the church could hold academic positions in England, or indeed Virginia.

Following the decision by eight of the twelve ministers to issue a petition for further consideration of the issue, Henley and Gwatkin issued a public protest against the extension of episcopacy. In 1772 Gwatkin published his objection to an American episcopate in *A Letter to the Clergy of New York and New Jersey*. What is most striking about this tract is the general absence of theological arguments. Without sound religious reasons for Episcopalians to exercise their religion without an episcopacy, Gwatkin relied largely on contemporary political arguments. He objected that an American bishop would weaken the connection between the colonies and Britain, thus weakening the empire and causing anxiety among Dissenters.

However, it was not only American Dissenters who staunchly opposed the episcopate; many Anglicans in Virginia did so as well. One Anglican layman who opposed the extension of episcopacy was Richard Bland, who considered himself a "sincere son of the established church" but believed that episcopacy was "a Relick of Papal Incroachments upon the Common Law" (Clark, *The Language of Liberty,* p. 344). However, when proponents of episcopacy proposed a purely spiritual episcopate with little or no civil power, Gwatkin leveled charges of Jacobitism and suggested that their conciliatory plan was actually inspired by the Nonjurors, who maintained their own episcopal line without any recourse to civil power. If Virginia was truly the home to large numbers of ministers with a Scottish Nonjuring background, would Gwatkin have considered this to be an ingratiating argument? Following Gwatkin and Henley's successful opposition to the episcopacy petition, the House of Burgesses passed a motion which would have sounded more appropriate coming from the Massachusetts Assembly, in which Gwatkin and Henley were applauded for their action against "the pernicious Project of a few mistaken clergymen, for introducing an American Bishop" (Arthur Lyon Cross, *The Anglican Episcopate and the American Colonies*, 1902, p. 235).

At roughly the same time, it became evident that Henley opposed not only American episcopacy but also the Thirty-Nine Articles of Religion and the Holy Trinity itself. On 1 March 1772 he preached a sermon before the House of Burgesses titled *The Distinct Claims of Government and Religion* calling for religious disestablishment. Henley openly dedicated the sermon to the Socinian theologian John Jebb, a known political radical and a member of Benjamin Franklin's Club of Honest Whigs in London. After Henley's sermon, multiple laymen reported hearing him propagate unitarian views (Clark, *Language of Liberty*, p. 345). The fact that Henley, as a recent arrival, did not hesitate to preach to the burgesses in such radical terms and inform them that religion "had no part" in the formation of society demonstrates how detached the clergy, laity, and government of Virginia were from Anglican norms. For both Gwatkin and Henley, however, their heterodoxy did not transfer into revolutionary activity. With the outbreak of violence, both men sought refuge with the governor and eventually returned to England. Their vision of a British Empire sustained entirely without state confessionalism was never realized.

These controversies demonstrate that Virginia's divergence from the rest of the Church of England should not be laid solely at the feet of the Scottish clergymen who infiltrated the church ministry for decades. Their presence in Virginia can largely be attributed to the legacy of the 1707 Act of Union, which gave the Scots full participatory access to all British colonies, including those with an English church establishment. It was only natural that the Act of Union and the previous revolution settlement establishing separate religious establishments in Scotland and England should have messy outcomes in a colonial setting.

Moving forward, the proportions of Scottish clergy who embraced the American Revolution were not dramatically higher than non-Scots. Ultimately, the overall trajectory of this facet of my research suggests that the infiltration of Scottish Presbyterians into the Anglican ministry in Virginia was a symptom of the weak church establishment in that colony rather than its primary cause. Even so, the entrance of large numbers of Presbyterian Scots certainly accelerated the decline of orthodox Anglicanism. However, quantifying the extent and implications of this phenomenon requires further research. At the very least, establishing the fact that most Scottish clergymen in Virginia were likely recent (and very nominal) converts, rather than born and bred "Scottish Episcopalians," lends a bit more clarity to the religious landscape of colonial America.

This article, based on a presentation at the 2023 ECSSS conference in St. Andrews, is drawn from Greg Tirenin's ongoing Boston University PhD dissertation titled "Passive Obedience and Nonresistance in the Age of the American Revolution." Examining the political theology of Anglicans, Catholics, and Quakers, the dissertation argues that the Christian tradition of passive obedience played a significant role in the discourse surrounding American loyalism. Greg's master's dissertation in early modern history at the University of St. Andrews was adapted into an article titled "From Jacobite to Loyalist: The Career and Political Theology of Bishop George Hay," *British Catholic History* 35.3 (2021): 265–93. Greg welcomes all inquiries (gtirenin@bu.edu) and is grateful to ECSSS for the opportunity to share this work.

BOOKS IN REVIEW

Review Essays

Understanding David Hume and the Scottish Enlightenment
By Mark G. Spencer, Brock University

It is a treat that the journal *History of European Ideas* recently published two special issues devoted to topics central to the interests of readers of *Eighteenth-Century Scotland*. It seems reasonable to begin a review of them by listing their contents (especially so since articles from *both* issues were published out of place; in one case in the wrong special issue and, in the other, in a subsequent issue). The contents of the special issues under review are:

Nicholas Phillipson and the Sciences of Humankind in Enlightenment Scotland. Special Issue of *History of European Ideas*, edited by Thomas Ahnert. Volume 48, Issue 1 (2022): 1–65 and Issue 2 (2022): 145-59. Thomas Ahnert, "Editor's Introduction" (pp. 1–2); James A. Harris, "Phillipson's Hume in Phillipson's Scottish Enlightenment" (in 48.2, pp. 145–59); R.J.W. Mills, "Beyond Anglicised Politeness: Addison in Eighteenth-Century Scotland" (pp. 3–22); Ryan Patrick Hanley, "The Human Good and the Science of Man" (pp. 23–32); Sylvana Tomaselli, "The Art of Being in the Eighteenth Century: Adam Smith on Fortune, Luck, and Trust" (pp. 33–44); Silvia Sebastiani, "Monboddo's 'ugly tail': The Question of Evidence in Enlightenment Sciences of Man" (pp. 45–65).

Hume's Thought and Hume's Circle. Special Issue of *History of European Ideas*, edited by Felix Waldmann. Volume 49, Issue 2 (2023): 193–394 and Volume 48, Issue 1 (2022): 78–96. Felix Waldmann, "Introduction to the Special Issue" (pp. 193–99); R.J.W. Mills, "David Hume and the Myth of the 'Warburtonian School'" (pp. 200–223); Ryo Susato, "'*Voilà un siècle de lumières!*': Horace Walpole and the Hume-Rousseau Affair" (pp. 224–42); Max Skjönsberg, "The Hume-Burke Connection Examined" (pp. 243–66); Danielle Charette, "Hume's 'Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth' and Scottish Political Thought of the 1790s" (in 48.1, pp. 78–96); Tim Stuart-Buttle, "The Notorious Dr. Middleton: David Hume and the Ninewells Years" (pp. 267–94); Richard B. Sher, "'Let Margaret Sleep': Putting to Bed the Authorship Controversy over *Sister Peg*" (pp. 295–344); David R. Raynor, "The Authorship of *Sister Peg*" (pp. 345–83); Richard B. Sher, "The Authorship of *Sister Peg* Revisited: A Reply to David Raynor's Response to 'Let Margaret Sleep'" (pp. 384–94).

Since there is no ideal way—in a short review essay—to tackle *all* the disparate and far-ranging content in these fifteen articles, I will focus my attention on the central figure in them: David Hume. Obviously, all the articles in the Hume Issue are relevant here. But Hume also figures to some degree in each of the articles in the issue devoted to celebrating the research contributions of the late Nicholas Phillipson (1937–2018).

There is little wonder that Hume is central to the Phillipson Issue. As its editor Thomas Ahnert (p. 1) and Ryan Hanley (pp. 23–24) remind us, Phillipson's "Science of Man" project connected intimately with Hume's statement in the preface to his first book, *A Treatise of Human Nature* (1739–40), that "all the sciences have a relation, greater or less, to human nature." Hume had figured in different contexts in Phillipson's earlier work, as when he maintained—as R.J.W. Mills argues in his contribution to the commemorative issue—that Hume was inspired by Joseph Addison's "essays on the possibilities of virtuous living in commercial society" (p. 3). It is relevant, as well, that Phillipson wrote the volume on Hume in the "Historians on Historians" series, first published in 1989 and reissued in 2011 in a second, lightly revised edition as *David Hume: The Philosopher as Historian*. That book's premise, Phillipson explained in the first edition's acknowledgments, was that one might present "Hume's now forgotten *History of England* [1754–62] as the climax of an intellectual career rather than an afterthought." As James Harris summarizes succinctly in his contribution, "just as Phillipson's Hume cannot be understood apart from the Scottish Enlightenment, so also Phillipson's Scottish Enlightenment cannot be understood without Hume" (p. 146).

What do these special issues add to our understanding of Hume and his place in the Scottish Enlightenment? I shall begin to flesh out an answer to that question by summarizing the content and conclusions of some of the individual articles, several of which—building on established foundations—take Hume scholarship in new directions.

In the Hume Issue's lead article, Mills urges caution about how we read Hume's reference, in "My Own Life," to the "illiberal petulance, arrogance, and scurrility, which distinguish the Warburtonian school" (p. 206). Mills finds little historical evidence for the existence of such a school that was out to get Hume. He therefore suggests the "school" was as much a Humean fiction, a "myth," as it was a factual assessment of the "confederacy of authors"—as Hume put it elsewhere—ostensibly assembled by William Warburton (Bishop of Gloucester from 1759) and intent on vilifying Hume's character and writings (p. 206). Mills's "deflationary account of the existence of an anti-Hume campaign" (p. 219), encompassing Warburton, Richard Hurd (Bishop of Worcester from 1774), "Estimate" John Brown, poet William Mason, and others, adds to our understanding of *historical* reactions to Hume. But even more so it raises questions about *Hume's* reactions to the reactions to Hume, enhancing our per-

ception of Hume's authorial *persona*.

Not all readers, of course, will agree with all approaches or conclusions in these articles. (Indeed, the Hume Issue harbors its own intense scholarly debate, as we shall see.) Some may wish Mills had engaged more with the speculation—floated by Ernest Campbell Mossner, for instance—that Warburton wrote the early, harsh review of Hume's *Treatise* in *The History of the Works of the Learned*. Others are likely to question Mills's characterization of Thomas Percy's "good-natured exchanges with Hume" (p. 220) when the two corresponded about Hume's dealings, in his *History of England*, with Percy's edition of the *Household Book* of Henry Algernon Percy, fifth Earl of Northumberland. Elsewhere, I've offered an alternative view of that correspondence (see "Hume's Last Book Review? A New Attribution," *Hume Studies*, 44.1 [2018 (2021)]: 52–64).

Ryo Susato's contribution explores Hume's correspondence with Horace Walpole, another who sometimes was critical of Hume's thought. Commencing in 1758, that correspondence included, Susato demonstrates, more topics than the Hume-Rousseau controversy of 1766, on which past scholars concentrated. He finds that the correspondence, in its later years, centered largely on Hume's *History of England*, a work which played into Walpole's *Historic Doubts* (1771). Susato's survey reveals an overriding similarity between the two thinkers as they navigated an expanding eighteenth-century "public sphere": "both Walpole and Hume, as authors, were witness to the same and ongoing social phenomenon, *lumières*, struggling to find a spot for themselves to stand" (p. 236). Along the way, Susato sheds light on Hume's understanding of "progress" and—to quote from a 1766 Hume letter to Walpole—"the great difference in point of morals between uncultivated and civilized ages" (p. 231).

The well-trodden territory of Hume's close personal and intellectual relationship with Adam Smith is evident in these articles. In *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life* (2010), Phillipson went so far as to describe Smith as "the perfect Humean" (p. 152), writes Harris. One of the "defining features of Phillipson's Smith," submits Hanley, "is his debts to and affinities with Hume" (p. 25). Extending Phillipson's "pioneering insights," Hanley shows that "improvement" remained essential to Smith's understanding of the individual's ethical development. In other words, Smith's "late-in-life return" to *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759) "can be seen as a fulfilment rather than an abandonment of the ambitious project for which he harboured such high hopes, and which Nick Phillipson did so much to enable us to understand and appreciate" (p. 31). For Sylvana Tomaselli—discussing Smith's chapter on "Wages and Profits" in the *Wealth of Nations* (1776)—it is an adage in Hume's *History of England* that garnered Smith's attention: "It is a familiar rule in all business, that every man should be payed, in proportion to the trust reposed to him, and to the power, which he enjoys" (p. 35). Others tease out Humean echoes in the writings of additional eighteenth-century writers.

Max Skjönsberg "examines the connection, personal and intellectual" (p. 243) between Hume and Edmund Burke, leaving behind the "liberal-conservative spectrum" (p. 262) that enticed past commentators, such as Donald W. Livingston and John B. Stewart. Skjönsberg draws on a multitude of sources, including Frederick A. Dreyer's *Burke's Politics: A Study in Whig Orthodoxy* (1979), which recommends we ask not about what Burke "believed" but "the narrower question . . . what it was that he expressly argued" (p. 5). In Burke's arguments, Skjönsberg finds "scattered references and allusions [to Hume] in different works over a long period of time," indicating that "Burke had read and continued to read widely and carefully across Hume's *oeuvre*" (p. 250). But more telling of the complete story are the notable *differences* in approach and opinion between Hume and Burke. "Burke's religious commitments" markedly "set him apart from Hume, who often treated religion with irony and derision" (p. 253), Skjönsberg advises. In the end, even skeptical readers will grant Skjönsberg's "speculation" that Hume "would have had little time" for Burke's metaphysical commitments to "ancient constitutionalism" or "the primaeval contract of eternal society" (p. 263).

Tim Stuart-Buttle's sprightly article focuses on the influence on Hume of "a now-obscure" (p. 289) Anglican clergyman, Conyers Middleton. "Middleton deserves more than a footnote in Hume's intellectual biography" (p. 271), Stuart-Buttle argues, for reading Middleton led Hume "to reconsider how he might more successfully engage the leading figures within an English intellectual culture" (p. 270). Stuart-Buttle convincingly provides reasons for thinking that Middleton's *Life of Cicero* (1742), in particular, influenced Hume's productive years at Ninewells, from April 1749 to July 1751—touching both the "manner" and "matter" of Hume's thought. He speculates that Middleton may even have inspired Hume's "solution to the problem of 'false' religion": "a rigorously Erastian settlement in church and state, which placed an ecclesiastical establishment of salaried clergy under the vigilant superintendence of the civil magistrate" (p. 289).

Other contributors—Danielle Charette for instance—look to Hume's impact in the late and post-Enlightenment. Charette, in her original and important article, shows how Hume's political thought, especially as contained in his "Idea of a Perfect Commonwealth" (1752), held sway not only with American "Founding Fathers"—such as James Madison, as others have demonstrated—but also with Scottish reformers living well into the nineteenth century. For John Millar, Dugald Stewart, James Mackintosh, and other Scottish Whig supporters of the French Revolution, Charette contends, Hume's filtering of James Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* (1656) offered a useful plan. It showed "how legislators might adapt and improve" their understandings of constitutional forms "to suit the evolution of commercial governments." So, "Even at their most reformist," these Scottish Whigs "could not leave Hume's politics behind" (p. 90).

These special issues, we begin to see, illuminate several aspects of Hume's life and thought and their wid-

er contexts and circles. Notably, they do so from quite differing perspectives, showing the robust health of Hume and Scottish Enlightenment studies in the 2020s. The contributors are an international, multidisciplinary, and often interdisciplinary group. They write from Australia, Canada, England, France, Japan, Scotland, and the United States, representing departments, schools, and faculties of history, philosophy, economics, and political science, as well as a Committee on Social Thought, an Institute for the Humanities and Social Sciences, and the realm of Independent Scholars. Some approach their topics from the perspectives of Hume's influence or the afterlife of his writings, others by investigating people and thinkers who had an impact on Hume or his thought.

As Felix Waldmann explains in his introduction to the Hume Issue, this breadth of coverage was neither incidental nor accidental. It was an intended result of a collection "concerned with the relationship between Hume's propositions and the socio-intellectual context in which those propositions were created" (p. 193). "What bears re-emphasis," Waldmann writes, "is that the task of reconstructing Hume's intellectual context, and the task of reconstructing the relationship between Hume's thought and his circle, are not incompatible or opposed. Indeed, the intention of this special issue is to illuminate how the tasks can be carried out in tandem" (p. 193). Fittingly, articles in the Phillipson Issue dovetail with those intentions. After all, Phillipson's scholarly career straddled the domains of the "social historian" and the "intellectual historian," as Harris writes (p. 146). So, for instance, Silvia Sebastiani interprets the eccentric James Burnett, Lord Monboddo by seeing his enlightened research into the human species—*homines caudati* (tailed men) and all—in the context of his life as an enlightened lawyer and judge.

In the Hume Issue, several different approaches to the history of ideas come together in attempts to answer a particular question: who wrote *Sister Peg*? Indeed, almost half the issue—about 100 pages—goes to three articles on that topic. Here is some context for the exchange. In 1982 David Raynor published an edition of an anonymous pamphlet satirizing the opponents of an unsuccessful bill establishing a Scottish militia, *The History of the Proceedings in the Case of Margaret, Commonly Called Peg, Only Lawful Sister to John Bull, Esq* (1760), which he attributed to Hume. Until then, it had routinely been attributed—largely based on testimony in the *Autobiography* of Rev. Alexander Carlyle—to Hume's friend, the Scottish philosopher and historian Adam Ferguson. But Raynor's attribution was, and remains, contested. In the original reviews, for instance, H. T. Dickinson, Duncan Forbes, and Robert McRae were convinced by Raynor's attribution; Roger L. Emerson, John Robertson, and Richard B. Sher were not.

Sher now offers an article-length reply to Raynor's attribution and "attempts to resolve the authorship controversy" (p. 296) once and for all. He does so by drawing on evidence from a variety of sources: publishing history; Ferguson's handwritten corrections to a copy of *Sister Peg* (now known as "the Abbotsford copy"), a gift from Ferguson's family to Sir Walter Scott in 1817; eighteenth-century attributions to Ferguson by James Boswell and Sir John Dalrymple; and a newly discovered Ferguson letter from 1809. He directs us as well to new studies, such as the stylometric analysis of Mark J. Hill and Mikko Tolonen, "A Computational Investigation into the Authorship of *Sister Peg*," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 54 (2021): 861–85. Sher's conclusion: "There is no credible evidence that Hume was the author of *Sister Peg*" (p. 334). Instead, he writes, "All the evidence that has emerged since . . . 1982 indicates that Ferguson was the sole author" (p. 335).

In the very next article, however, Raynor counters that he finds Sher's arguments to be unsuccessful. Raynor parses British eighteenth-century debates about professional armies and citizen militias to set a deeper context for understanding *Sister Peg*. He then compares *Sister Peg* to Dr. John Arbuthnot's *The History of John Bull* (1712)—a work on which it was based—before directly addressing the question "Who wrote *Sister Peg*?" and concluding with a discussion of Ferguson's "substantial emendations" in the Abbotsford copy showing, he writes, that they "are almost certainly non-authorial changes" (p. 370). Raynor's account concludes by quoting an enigmatic line that Ferguson penned to Hume, in 1767—"All is well here & what your malice wanted to represent as mischief done by me has turned out no mischief at all"—suggesting it speaks to Ferguson's having "so skilfully, so honourably, and for so long . . . screened" (p. 376) Hume's authorship of *Sister Peg*. Raynor's reply to Sher plays out in Raynor's text, but even more so in his endnotes, where he claims that he "casts doubt" on Sher's arguments (pp. 376 n. 7, 377 n. 25, 377 n. 43) and finds instances where Sher "misunderstands Hume's meaning" (p. 378 n. 49) or otherwise misreads or overlooks sources (more than a dozen endnotes could be cited).

What to make of all of this? As Waldmann judiciously asserts in his introduction, regardless of who wrote *Sister Peg*, "our understanding of the episode is enriched enormously" (p. 195). Another thing is certain too: Sher is unduly optimistic to suggest that we might "Let Margaret Sleep" (quoting a phrase in Ferguson's 1809 letter to Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woodhouselee) by "putting to bed the authorship controversy over *Sister Peg*." For, as we have seen, the very next piece in the Hume Issue is Raynor's reply to Sher! And the item after that, you ask? It is Sher's "The Authorship of *Sister Peg* Revisited." Or—in true eighteenth-century, pamphlet-war style—what we might call Sher's reply to Raynor's reply to Sher's reply to Raynor, in which Sher submits that Raynor's article "relies almost entirely on circumstantial evidence, unsubstantiated hypotheses, and subjective analysis" (p. 384). Will that be the last word? One suspects not.

This reviewer highly recommends these new contributions to an old question. Some may find both duelers better at marshaling evidence supporting their own case than at accounting for the evidence that the other argues decisively undermines that case. For those inclined to weigh the evidence themselves, a virtue of the special issue is that it summarizes so much of the germane past scholarship. Another virtue is that it reproduces so many of the

relevant primary documents: several of Ferguson's emendations in the Abbotsford copy; selections from eighteenth-century newspapers, including contemporary reviews; Ferguson's 1809 letter to Woodhouselee; a letter from Dalrymple to Lord North; correspondence between Hume and William Strahan; and, finally, Hume's letter to Carlyle of 3 February 1761, in which Hume claimed authorship of *Sister Peg*: "I had compos'd that trifling Performance." Indeed, *much* rides on how one interprets that single Hume letter, which both authors quote extensively (pp. 301, 356). How to make sense of it? It's not an easy letter to unpack. Was Hume being straightforward and frank? Was he having lighthearted fun? A little of both? Like much that Hume wrote, it is very difficult to say with certainty—his writings are nuanced, replete with veiled allusions, double meanings, and clouded references. Hume was a master of subtle irony, and sometimes he could be hilariously funny. All of that muddies interpretations in this case. *Sister Peg*'s authorship may remain an open question, but future researchers are offered many fresh points of departure.

Both special issues showcase the rich, generative scholarship that results when approaches and knowledge—as well as questions and debates—build during research careers and even from one generation to the next. In his Trevelyan Lecture, published as *What is History?* (1961), E. H. Carr famously defined the historical enterprise as "a continuous interaction between the historian and his facts, an unending dialogue between the present and the past" (p. 30). That memorable articulation nicely captures much, but it may discount the role of scholarly intermediators in the historiographical process. The overlapping fields of Hume studies and Scottish Enlightenment studies have formidable and deep-seated historiographies. Roger L. Emerson has, for instance, markedly shaped my own developing understanding of Hume and his place in the Scottish Enlightenment. I am tempted to consider Emerson, Phillipson, David Fate Norton (1937–2014), M. A. Stewart (1938–2021), James Moore, and others of their distinguished generation of Hume and Scottish Enlightenment scholars as lasting intermediators. This scholarly family—and the list could easily be expanded to include numerous precursors and successors, many of whose names appear in these special issues—has moved Hume and Scottish Enlightenment scholarship forward in solid and permanent ways. But family members frequently did not (and *do not*!) see eye-to-eye in their approaches and could (and *do*!) have lasting and deep disagreements about their conclusions. Part-and-parcel of the differences is, of course, that there is no complete or definitive understanding of Hume or of his place in the Scottish Enlightenment. That too comes across in these special issues. So does the fact that Hume's place was richer and encompassed more fascinating circles than had hitherto been appreciated. Thankfully, Hume's thought and its contexts are also sufficiently multifaceted and complex—even stubbornly obscured—so that there is little risk of our exhausting the possibilities of understanding them any time soon, or of failing to leave plenty of work to posterity.

Other Reviews

Samuel K. Fisher, ***The Gaelic and Indian Origins of the American Revolution: Diversity and Empire in the British Atlantic, 1688–1783***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2022. Pp. xv + 319.

There is no shortage of books debating the origins of the American Revolution. With such abundance, it might seem as though there is little left to say about the topic, but Samuel Fisher's recent book offers a compelling contribution to the discussion. Fisher's book attempts to make sense of American colonists' views of tyranny and the resulting war of independence by situating them within a broader century-long contest debating two "competing understandings of how empires ought to deal with diversity," which he classifies as "inclusive empire and exclusionary patriotism" (p. 6). Fisher conceives of inclusive empire as one in which the imperial government played a key role in managing questions of diversity, while he defines exclusionary patriots as those who advocated for local autonomy, often at the expense of those deemed beyond the limits of Britishness.

The book is structured around four chronological periods. The first part examines the origins of the "exclusionary constitution," arguing that the revolution of 1688 contributed to the development of a particularly exclusive view of imperial diversity. According to Fisher, Irish Protestants, Scottish Presbyterians, and colonists in North America viewed James II and VII's attempts to improve the conditions of Irish Catholics and Scottish Gaels and build steadier relationships with native peoples in North America as acts of tyranny. They believed that such groups were merely tools employed by James to impose his will on Protestant, Anglophone subjects. Thus, the successful revolution against James II and VII in England, Scotland, Ireland, and the Colonies marked a repudiation of his attempts to establish an inclusive empire.

In the second part, titled "Atlantic '45," Fisher shows how Gaelic and Indian peoples fought against this exclusionary patriotism in various ways, including both working within the British system and/or allying with the French during times of acute crisis. The War of Austrian Succession, for instance, provided Jacobites and Indians with opportunities to exploit the "French connection" and "envision a relationship with the Empire other than outright resistance or abject submission" (p. 86). Even though the Jacobite rising failed, and despite the fact that little or no resistance occurred in Ireland, the threats posed by Jacobite and Indian engagement with France forced the British government to rethink its relationship with different constituencies within the empire.

Parts III and IV are the strongest sections of the book. In Part III, Fisher expertly shows how the "Atlantic '45" led to imperial reforms and how the expediency of empire led to a divergence of outcomes in the different

areas under investigation. For example, in chapter 8 Fisher notes how the recruitment of Scottish Highland regiments contrasts with the continued exclusion of Irish Catholics and the contradictory promises made to Native Americans (p. 158). Any attempts at inclusion provoked intense debates about the nature of empire. Such debates became more pronounced following British victory in the Seven Years' War. In chapter 9 Fisher shows how these debates had transatlantic resonance, noting that the English provocateur John Wilkes's anti-Scottish diatribes were echoed in colonists' anti-Indian attitudes (p. 175). Similarly, he demonstrates the connections between the Whiteboy uprisings in Ireland and Pontiac's war in Ohio country, suggesting that both were illustrative of ongoing conflicts within the empire "about the merits of inclusion and exclusionary approaches to diversity" (p. 197).

Part IV finally arrives at the American Revolution, which Fisher argues is only "one part of this larger struggle between exclusionary patriots and champions of inclusive empire" (p. 213). According to Fisher, it was only after colonists lost the struggle about the nature of the British empire that they made the decision to separate. Even as they pursued independence, the exclusionary patriots depicted themselves as heirs of the Glorious Revolution. In that sense, the book is as much a study of the development of patriot historical memory as of conceptions of empire and continuity in history.

Overall, parts I and II, which are foundational to Fisher's argument, effectively establish important background information, but given the sophistication of analysis in parts III and IV, some serious issues in parts I and II are surprising, and it is difficult to know if these issues result from poor editing, lazy nomenclature, or genuine misunderstanding. Readers of this periodical might find some issues especially irksome. For example, the regnal title James II is used instead of the more accurate James II and VII even when the focus is the Scottish kingdom (p. 26). At times Fisher is so keen to emphasize exclusionary patriotism that he veers into mischaracterization. When discussing Scottish resistance to the malt tax, Fisher notes how resistance was both Lowland and Highland, which made it difficult to "equate the religious identities of individuals with their loyalty or disloyalty to *English government*" (p. 61, emphasis mine). Additionally, there is a problematic conflation of Scottish Gaels and Jacobitism throughout, which might cause some historians of Jacobitism fits. Despite acknowledging that there were Whig Highlanders and Jacobite Lowlanders, in a discussion of the outbreak of the '45 Fisher notes that Charles Edward Stuart landed in October 1745 hoping to recover the thrones lost by his grandfather and "counted on the help of France and the Highland clans" to do so. He then goes on to say "the Gaels did not disappoint" (p. 65). This occasionally informs the way he reads sources. For example, in a discussion of how George Clinton, the governor of New York in 1746, communicated the British government's retaliation against the Jacobites to his Iroquois audience, Fisher writes: "The Gaels, he explained, 'were all cut to pieces or made prisoners.'" The problem with Fisher's wording here is that the source cited never refers to "the Gaels" or even Highlanders. Instead, it refers to a "considerable Number of his Majesties Subjects who lived in remote Parts of the Country," which could be read as Scotland and northern England more generally (*The Letters and Papers of Cadwallader Colden*, 1918–37, 3:250).

Despite these issues, Fisher's book effectively weaves together often disparate stories and offers a compelling reassessment of a century-long debate about empire. As is true of many books, it will inform and provoke in equal measure but will most certainly contribute to our understanding of the eighteenth-century British empire.

David Parrish, College of the Ozarks

S. Karly Kehoe, Chris Dalglish, and Annie Tindley, eds., ***Scottish Highlands and the Atlantic World: Social Networks and Identities***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. Histories of the Scottish Atlantic. Pp. xiv + 214.

Cameron Alam, ***Anangokaa***. Charleston, WV: Blackwater Press, 2023. Pp. 322.

Scottish Highlands and the Atlantic World is an admirable and important contribution to a growing body of work on the transatlantic connections between Scotland and the Americas, particularly those concerning the Highlands. The outsize Scottish participation in the British Atlantic system is now well-documented, and the Highlands in particular have been the subject of much recent scrutiny. The present study deepens our understanding of this participation, building on recent historiography that seeks to revise an earlier picture of Highlanders as helpless victims of dispossession and displacement. We now know that Highlanders were often active participants in securing their own survival, and that they often leveraged whatever economic and social means they possessed to seek a better life in the Americas. Along with this has come an important body of work that has reckoned with the significant role Highland Scots played in the displacement and dispossession of native peoples, and in Caribbean enslavement. The present study represents a continuation of these trends, examining the ways in which Highlanders were both victims and benefactors of the British Atlantic system, while adding new and compelling details to this understanding. Offering a wide-ranging perspective not limited to one region (Nova Scotia, the Caribbean) or a single historical phenomenon (clearances, the slave trade), the volume takes advantage of a recent turn in transnational or transregional historiography of the British Empire toward a focus on social networks, "the sinews," as the editors describe them, "through which people, goods and ideas moved—or were obstructed—between the Scottish Highlands and the rest of the Atlantic world" (p. 8). Dividing these into two types, "networks of empowerment and oppression," the volume neatly brings two overlapping strands of Highland experience together in a single study, while shedding new light on how social networks operated in various contexts in the British Atlantic.

The book's eight chapters are organized around three key themes taken up in succession: land, language and culture, and networks of empowerment and oppression. In the first section, Annie Tindlay looks at the intended and unintended consequences of the desire among upper echelons of Highland society to acquire land leases and to assist in emigration, principally to Atlantic Canada. Dissatisfaction with the system of land allocation, which had put a large portion of Prince Edward Island's arable land in the hands of an elite few, for example, led to the 1864 formation of a Tenant League, which called for rent strikes and resisting sheriff officers. Tindlay reveals striking parallels between land reform movements and landowner reaction in both the colonies and the Highlands, which demonstrate the transnational character of conflict over land in the period. Karly Kehoe looks at the displacement and appropriation of Mi'kmaq people in Cape Breton and how Highland land settlement ultimately was used as a tool of colonial advancement at their expense. She notes, for example, that squatters occupied half of Cape Breton land by the mid-nineteenth century and that petitions to the Crown on the part of tribal leaders, complaining of settler encroachment on Mi'kmaq land, fell largely on deaf ears. A key aspect of Kehoe's research is that it seeks to make an intervention in the memory of present-day communities on Cape Breton, which is critical, in her words, to building "sustainable communities" (p. 43).

Stuart Dunmore commences the section on language and culture, bringing us up to the present day to compare the rationales and decision-making of "new" Gaelic speakers in Scotland and Canada. While governments in both places emphasize the importance of Gaelic language teaching as a way of revitalizing the language, their approaches are dissimilar, reflecting their differing cultural and linguistic histories. Offering a fascinating foray into the language politics of both settings, Dunmore also points out that, unlike their counterparts in Scotland, new speakers in Nova Scotia "seem generally more eager to embrace their heritage identities as Gaels" (p. 59). Sheila M. Kidd traces the expansion of the Gaelic periodical press and its role in fostering transatlantic literary networks. Highlighting notable figures in this history, Kidd shows how embryonic transatlantic literary networks established in the first half of the nineteenth century expanded in the middle decades through the work of Glasgow publishers. In turn, periodicals and newspapers continued this expansion, and by the later decades of the century periodicals could lay claim to being a prominent, and transatlantic, medium for the maintenance of Gaelic literature and culture. Matthew Dziennik looks at songs and writings of Gaels serving in the British army to reexamine the longstanding assumption that North America was deemed a land of opportunity, an alternative to the hardships and dispossession Gaels faced back home. Dziennik reveals a more uncertain and ambiguous attitude toward the Americas in these writings, which was disseminated through military networks (p. 93). What emerges from this output is a general acceptance of violence as integral to the participation of Gaels in the Atlantic world and a "vehement derision and hatred" directed at their enemies, whom many of these writers saw as unworthy of respect or sympathy (p. 102).

The last section begins with two chapters on Highland/Caribbean networks. David Alston opens with a case study of Highland complicity in the slave trade, drawn from the archival memoir and correspondence of Christy (Christian) Robertson, born into a well-to-do Highland family. Though Robertson never left British shores, Alston uncovers a pattern of family and social connections that tied her and her family fortune to the British system of plantation and enslavement. Complicit in the system's operation of an "apparatus of terror," Christy and her family nevertheless "sought to construct a view of themselves which did not diminish their sense of self-worth" as they sought to bridge the gap "between what they had done, or failed to do, and the values which they believed defined them" (p. 147). Stephen Mullen provides an in-depth examination of the minutes and membership and guest rolls of the Glasgow Gaelic Club, between its establishment in 1780 and the end of Caribbean slavey in 1838, which makes visible a "Highland–Caribbean nexus in Glasgow with high-level connections stretching across the British Atlantic world" (p. 152). As the club became a prominent social gathering place for Glasgow's West Indian commercial elite with ties to the Highlands, Mullen shows how the club helped shape a network of intercommunication and intermingling, in which the Scottish Highlands "were only ever one or two steps from the Caribbean" (p. 169). Don Nerbas concludes the section by tracing the fortunes of nineteenth-century Gaelic settler families in Cape Breton, who left rural areas for the newly opened coal fields. Contrary to the common image of immigrants trading a bucolic life in the countryside for a dirty hardscrabble one in the coal fields, Nerbas argues the reality was more complex. The papers of William Macdonald, a prominent businessman and conservative politician in the mining region around Glace Bay, paint a picture of close-knit rural connections transferred to new urban settings but also a gradual process of assimilation and integration into well-to-do English-speaking society. This led to a distinct middle-class embrace of a Highland past, "divorced from local context and distanced from the working-class culture of the coal towns" (p. 191).

In her epilogue, Dara Price widens the frame to highlight two key takeaways of the volume: the complexity of colonial identity, affirmed by the picture of oppression/benefit drawn in its pages, and the need to expand our definitions of the historical "archive." Price echoes the hope expressed by the editors that the volume will lead to further research that is not only historically grounded but that also "assists contemporary societies and peoples to consider their current and future directions" (p. 4).

Of related interest is Cameron Alam's debut novel, an account of Highland life in the British Atlantic in 1804, as experienced through the eyes of 14-year-old Flora MacCallum. The novel takes at a particularly dramatic moment in the history of the Highland diaspora. The Gaelic-speaking Lord Selkirk was somewhat of an anomaly in

his time: a Scottish landowning aristocrat attuned to the plight of dispossessed Highlanders. Nevertheless, Selkirk saw the problem as one of political economy, not injustice. Rather than secure land tenure in the Highlands, his solution was resettlement in Canada, in special enclaves established under his personal auspices. *Anangokaa* provides a rich and deeply intimate portrayal of one of Selkirk's more disastrous settlement schemes, Baldoon, which ultimately foundered. The story commences with the death of both Flora's parents and younger sister to fever, and her older brother becoming head of the family. This inaugurates the central story arc, as the brother's kindness and general tolerance leads him to form a friendship with local Ojibwe people, which brings Flora into contact with Niigaani, the son of a tribal leader. The novel recounts the growing intimacy between the two, as they spend increasing time alone together, learning about each other and the worlds they each inhabit. Their relationship becomes the focus of Flora's story and ultimately leads to the novel's climax.

Alam provides a compelling narration of the powerful yet conflicted feelings of her protagonist. This is a story of a young girl's journey of self-discovery as much as it is a story of pioneer hardship, and the narrative spends much of its time tracing Flora's inner life, drawing a convincing portrait of the psychology and worldview of a young girl from the Highlands. On the other hand, though the Anishinaabe perspective is depicted here with more depth and respectfulness than has certainly been the case historically, Niigaani's inner life in many ways remains closed off, a blank slate. Lacking the complexity of thought and emotion granted to Flora's character, Niigaani bears perhaps more than a trace of the noble savage; he remains, at the end, stoic and inscrutable.

Interestingly, the novel began as a genealogical investigation into the author's ancestry. In this way, Flora's story of the journey of self-awareness in the New World is, perhaps, also her creator's.

Kenneth McNeil, Eastern Connecticut State University

Emma Bond and Michael Morris, eds., ***Scotland's Transnational Heritage: Legacies of Empire and Slavery***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. Pp. xvi + 242.

Scotland's Transnational Heritage seeks to highlight the "legacies of empire, trade and slavery present in Scotland's heritage landscape" as well as to draw attention to the diverse ways in which those legacies are being represented and reworked. As noted in the introduction, the book does not aim to be comprehensive; rather, the editors have created "a snapshot of current activity in the field of re-activating and re-interpreting key sites and aspects of Scotland's transnational past" (p. 16). The work originated from a 2019–20 Royal Society of Edinburgh-funded project called "Transnational Scotland: Reconnecting Heritage Stories through Museum Object Collections." The essays included in the volume, by academics, museum curators, and creative practitioners, cover a variety of topics and are aimed at a diverse audience.

While the chapters in *Scotland's Transnational Heritage* focus largely on nineteenth-century colonial activities and twenty-first-century engagements with the legacies of colonialism, there is also much to interest eighteenth-century scholars. After all, the ideology supporting colonial beliefs was articulated in complex ways within the discourse of eighteenth-century thought and, as is emphasized in the volume, grappling with the legacy of colonialism also means understanding the "multiple discontinuities, displacements and entanglements" that connect the past and present.

The interconnection between the creative and the critical in the volume is evident from the beginning. A forward on "Fostering Recognition under the Luxury of Amnesia" by artist, researcher, and curator Alberta Whittle is followed an introductory chapter by Emma Bond that is structured around three pieces from the 2019 exhibit *Transparency* by Whittle and fellow artist Hardeep Pandhal. Commenting on the way in which the exhibit pieces focus on Scottish and transnational locations, the materiality of colonial commerce, and the layering of time and memory, Bond also articulates the volume's use of the concept of the transnational as a means of accessing "different scales of activity (such as local, national, and global)" (p. 2). A transnational lens, she suggests, allows for "thinking through the ways in which histories of women and other underrepresented groups fit into our understanding of networks of commerce and exchange that cross national borders, but also how very local spheres of activity fit within broader transnational imaginaries" (p. 2).

Although a wide variety of methodologies as well as narrative voices are featured in the chapters of the book, the heterogeneity of the material is arguably one of its strengths, as it speaks to the complex nature of transnational entanglements. Chapter 3, "Textiles in Transition: Linen, Jute and the Dundee Region's Transnational Networks, c.1740–1880," adopts an academic historical perspective, as Sally Tuckett and Christopher A. Whatley examine the development of Dundee's eighteenth-century cheap linen industry into the nineteenth-century phenomenon of "Juteopolis." Michael Morris's "Avowing Slavery in the Visual Arts" (chapter 13) also speaks from a more traditional, albeit cross-disciplinary academic perspective, examining four contemporary artistic engagements with Scottish history: the *Scottish Diaspora Tapestry* (2014), the short film *1745—An Untold Story of Slavery* (2017), Adura Onashile's immersive app and walking tour of Glasgow, *Ghosts* (2021) (which includes notices for "Runaway Slaves"), and Graham Fagen's *The Slave's Lament* (which focuses on Robert Burns's "ambiguous relationship with the abolition movement of the 1780s and 1790s" [p. 202]).

Other chapters oscillate between history, curation, creative process, and contemporary witnessing. Chapter 2, Teleica Kirkland's "Tartan: Its Journey through the African Diaspora," describes the curation of an exhibit the author undertook for the Costume Institute of the African Diaspora (CIAD) in 2014, showing how tartan style

patterns introduced by Scottish Highland Regiments and officials involved in the East India Company were adopted and adapted by groups in Africa, India, and the Americas. In chapter 6, "The East India Company and Scotland: Tracing the Recovery and Reappraisal of a Transnational Corporation," Bashabi Fraser relates her own experiences trying to create new labels for specific items in the V&A Museum in Dundee to a wider examination of Scotland's role in the history of the East India Company. Chapter 8, "Paisley's Empire: Representation, Collection and Display," focuses on the role of the Paisley Museum and Art Gallery in supporting the project of empire, including representing non-British cultures to a local Scottish population. Sarah Laurenson's "The Matter of Slavery at National Museums Scotland" (chapter 7) and Meredith More and Rosie Spooner's "Telling a Fuller Story: Scottish Design, Empire and Transnational Heritage at V&A Dundee" (chapter 9) also concern heritage institutions, as they describe attempts to bring a more complex transnational perspective to specific items in museums (an Empire tea set and architectural drawings for an Anglican cathedral in Khartoum, respectively).

Other chapters address more direct creative and critical engagements with the general public. In "Some Things can't be Unknown—Sharing History with My Neighbours" (chapter 4), Angus-based photographer Jeni Reid describes her "Undiscovered Angus" project: distributing postcards of the region inscribed with the names of enslaved peoples for whom Angus residents claimed compensation after the 1832 Abolition of slavery. In "Reflections on Leading Black History Walking Tours (Edinburgh)" (chapter 5), Lisa Williams describes her experiences connecting present-day tourists with Scotland's slavery past. Mona Bozdog's "Storywalking as Transnational Method: From Juteopolis to Sugaropolis" (chapter 10) draws on the experience of *Generation ZX(X)*, a "multi-media, mixed-reality event" in 2018 which used "hybrid video game/performance design methods" to engage with "lived experience and oral herstories of specific sites" (p. 157) in Dundee. Moving from embodied experience to the virtual world, Nicôle Meehan's "Digital Museum Objects and Transnational Histories" (chapter 11) argues that the circulation of digitized objects in museum collections "offers new opportunities for developing more democratised approaches to display and interpretation of transnational museum collections" (p. 172). "Decolonising University Histories: Reflections on Research into African, Asian and Caribbean Students at Edinburgh" offers still another approach to decolonizing Scotland's imperial connections, as it recounts the experiences of the UncoverED collective (a "team of twelve undergraduate and postgraduate researchers" at the University of Edinburgh) as they attempted to bring to light the "long, unacknowledged history of African, Asian and Caribbean students at the University of Edinburgh." As the team discovered, "Students from the Caribbean first came to Edinburgh in the 1740s, and the first African and Asian students arrived in the 1850s; money from the British empire financed university institutions; and innumerable alumni went to work in the empire after graduation" (pp. 186–87).

The volume ends with an afterword that reaches over to the Pacific Northwest of North America. "Building Solidarity" by Nisga'a scholar Amy Parent/Noxs Ts'aawit with William Moore/Sim'oogit Duuḵ tells the story of the re-matriation of the House of Ni'isjoohl memorial pole stolen by Canadian ethnographer Marius Barbeau in 1929 and sold to National Museums Scotland. After a delegation of Nisga'a visited the National Museums Scotland in August 2022, the pole was returned to the Nass Valley in British Columbia in September 2023. This story offers a positive vision for the kind of reconciliation efforts possible following the harmful legacy of colonialism.

Scotland's Transnational Heritage offers a series of compelling reflections on the cultural memories, occlusions, and disavowals that have constituted Scotland's global story. It addresses ways of enacting decolonization not only through intellectual analyses but also through embodied interventions. This is a timely book that aims to reach a wide and diverse audience in order to change the way Scotland's past is understood in the present and in the future.

Leith Davis, Simon Fraser University

William Donaldson, ***The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity***, revised digital edition (MIT Libraries, 2023): https://jacobite-song.pubpub.org/.

First published in 1988, William Donaldson's *The Jacobite Song: Political Myth and National Identity* has been recently reissued in an open-access online edition by MIT Libraries. In the decades since the original publication, the landscape of Jacobite studies has seen significant interest and expansion across growing disciplinary areas such as material culture and digital humanities. Donaldson's timely reissue reproduces the original text of the book alongside useful apparatus, including sheet music and free-to-access audio recordings of Jacobite songs from Ewan MacColl and Peggy Seeger's *Songs of Two Rebellions: The Jacobite Wars of 1715 and 1745 in Scotland* (1962). The digital reissue also contains an additional chapter that was omitted from the original publication: "Delving in the Kail-yairdie," on Allan Cunningham and the *Remains of Nithsdale and Galloway Song* (1810). Easy to navigate, *The Jacobite Song* is populated with convenient search and citation options, downloadable chapters in multiple formats, and even easy-to-link social media sharing. Details have been included in the form of alt-text footnotes and paragraph links, in lieu of page numbers. Combined with the apparatus of recordings and sheet music, these useful details ensure that the reissue makes full use of its digital platform.

Donaldson's book argues that a vast amount of popular song in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, adapted from Jacobite sources or newly penned in the wake of, for example, Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1818), creat-

ed a mythologized representation of "romantic Scotland" in its familiar betartened clobber. Chapters are divided chronologically, providing a rich and erudite overview of the schismatic political and religious tensions apparent in Scotland from around 1688 onward. Donaldson explores how the continual revisions of this history into the nineteenth century contributed to the forging of a new Scottish national identity, with song playing a major role in this process. The introduction to *The Jacobite Song* proposes that "new enthusiasm for popular song was eagerly exploited by the Scots. They . . . developed the concept of 'National Song', launching Scottish culture into the nineteenth century upon a tidal wave of buoyancy and optimism." Along with books like Thomas Crawford's *Society and the Lyric* (1979), *The Jacobite Song* contributed to song studies in Scotland, with an emphasis on Scottish political history. Through engaging storytelling and an impressive breadth of historical and conceptual frameworks, Donaldson captures the enduring appeal of this fascinating historical area.

The book was first reviewed in the 1989 issue of this newsletter by Mary Ellen Brown, who commended Donaldson for exposing "the evolution of meaning and the effects of societal occurrences and cultural goals on definitions of nationhood and national identity" (p. 22). However, Brown argued that *The Jacobite Song* does not engage enough with the actual song culture of the period, and she requested more on the role of performance in the creation of a national consciousness. Murray Pittock's 1990 review of the first edition of *The Jacobite Song* noted that Donaldson's book contributed to "a rapid growth in historical response to the power of the Stuart cause, and its effects on eighteenth-century society" (*Northern Scotland*, 1990, pp. 89–90). But Pittock also demanded nuance and expansion in areas of *The Jacobite Song*, such as deeper inquiry into the use of popular song by the Episcopal clergy as well as lay communities. Pittock also criticized some of the historiography, calling it "old fashioned."

Since the digital edition is a reissue of the original 1988 text, rather than a revised or updated edition, the issues raised by Brown and Pittock remain. However, in the new preface Donaldson reflects on the inception of the first edition: "I was, like everybody in my generation, a product of the dominant Whiggish and Unionist tradition in Scottish historiography which, as I was increasingly discovering, had for centuries confirmed Scotland's apparent acceptance of the Union by simply ignoring evidence to the contrary." While acknowledging that there is still much work to be done, Donaldson offers "an abundance of material, fascinating in its huge extent, complexity, and significance." The digital reissue of *The Jacobite Song*, therefore, provides a place to begin a critical reevaluation of the narrative of Scottish song that pervades the mythical aspects in the construction of Scottish identity. Considering that the original edition arrived a decade before Scottish Devolution, this is a key text for analyzing the arc of Scottish history and the subsequent acceleration toward new lenses of national historical inquiry. We must remember that Donaldson's book preceded studies such as Colin Kidd on the contemporaneous reception of Jacobitism following the reinstitution of the Scottish Parliament (*Scottish Historical Review*, 1998, pp. 58–76); Carol McGuirk on Jacobite song as "portable culture" (*The Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation*, 2006, pp. 253–87); and Murray Pittock on material culture and public memory of Jacobitism, as expressed through its "treacherous objects" (*Material Culture and Sedition, 1688–1760*, 2013, pp. 1–31). In recent years, large-scale projects such as "Networking Jacobites from 1688 to the Present" (led by Leith Davis and Kevin James) and "The Lyon in Mourning" Project (also led by Leith Davis) have brought together multidisciplinary and transnational perspectives, using digital technologies.

To pause and reflect on the scholarship that surrounds and has followed *The Jacobite Song* is vital in reconstituting where "we" are in Scottish studies. At the risk of attempting a temporal discourse on a book that deals with temporal mythologies, I conclude by noting that the conversation continues. Stable, digital resources such as *The Jacobite Song* should be considered constituent parts of the narrative of Scottish identity construction. The original text, with its easy-access and new apparatus, contributes to this ongoing conversation and remains, to quote from Mary Ellen Brown's review, "a fascinating insight into the amorphous category 'Jacobite song.'"

Roslyn Potter, University of Glasgow

David Worthington, ***Rev. James Fraser, 1634–1709: A New Perspective on the Scottish Highlands before Culloden***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. Pp iv + 184.

Rev. James Fraser (1634–1709) was born at Phopachy, five miles west of Kirkhill in the northern Highlands, on the southern shores of the Beauly Firth about nine miles west of Inverness. He went on to serve as minister of Kirkhill from 1661 until his death shortly after the Union. He was a man deeply rooted and deeply involved in the community he served—a minister who, according to the editor of Fraser's "Wardlaw Manuscript," "knew his parishioners and the inhabitants of the surrounding districts by name and headmark" (p. 4). But Fraser's experiences and influence were not confined to his parish or to matters of spiritual leadership, pastoral care, and theology. Deeply ingrained in the northern Highlands, Fraser was not only a dedicated minister but also a well-traveled scholar with remarkable linguistic skills. David Worthington's book redefines the narrative of native scholars needing to migrate for recognition, highlighting Fraser's unique position. It explores Fraser's contributions to natural philosophy, addresses his complex character in context, and reveals his lasting influence as a minister.

Worthington's study offers the most comprehensive and vivid picture of James Fraser to date, and in doing so sheds light on the world he inhabited. Part One provides a narrative and analysis of Fraser's life before entering the ministry in 1661. Fraser was educated at the grammar school at Inverness and King's College Aberdeen, graduating with an MA in 1651. He excelled at school, and had a particular knack for languages, picking up Eng-

lish, Latin, Greek and some Hebrew before entering university (p. 78). Despite government policy and trends elsewhere in the Highlands, Gaelic was not absent from James's classroom: it was crucial for oral communication in majority Gaelic-speaking communities, and simultaneous translation of English texts into Gaelic was actively encouraged (pp. 31–32). Worthington's background as a coastal historian shines brightly when arguing the case for Fraser possessing a "North Sea orientation" characteristic of his region, drawing boys like him east to Inverness for schooling, then to Aberdeen for university, then to the Continent (pp. 35–37).

In 1657 Fraser embarked on a three-year grand tour across Europe, including Utrecht, Prague, Paris, Venice, and a year-long sojourn in Rome. He would later write a memoir recounting his journey, "Triennial Travels," which receives its first in-depth study in chapter 2. It begins by highlighting that European travel was not unusual among the Fraser elite; indeed, by 1657 numerous clan members were already living on the Continent with varying degrees of permanence (p. 51). This preestablished regional-transnational network of kinsfolk shaped Fraser's itinerary and allowed him to travel with relative comfort. When considering the source's authenticity—cross-referencing with similar travel narratives to identify borrowing and exaggeration—Worthington concludes that "Triennial Travels" is "an original, if by no means always accurate, first-hand overview," written in earnest for a small, yet enthusiastic readership, mainly at home (p. 69).

Chapter 3 considers Fraser's attitudes and approaches toward language, reflecting the strikingly multilingual nature of the north Highlands in the seventeenth century. Gaelic was Fraser's first language, but he went on to obtain English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, Italian, German, Slavonic, Hungarian, Bohemian, and Dutch. His multilingualism enabled him to communicate with various people from different linguistic backgrounds during his travels and provided him with social capital and prestige in scholarly circles (p. 91). After Fraser returned from Europe, "polyglossia" remained a feature of his life both at home and in his scholarly correspondence (pp. 95–96). He ministered mainly through Gaelic, converting English language texts into Gaelic for his sermons as a matter of course. But he was also required to speak Scots or English at church court meetings. The minutes of the Presbytery of Inverness and Synod of Moray, written in Scots, record Fraser's ability to "code-switch" effortlessly among Gaelic, Scots, and English, to the envy of his brethren (pp. 77–78, 128).

The second part of the book examines "Fraser's Adult Life as an Early Modern Scottish Highland Scholar." Chapter 4 considers Fraser's contributions to natural philosophy. While situating Fraser within a long lineage and wider contemporary network of Highland scholars, the chapter focuses on Fraser's unique position as a son of the north Highlands who was deeply engaged with, and respected in, scholarly circles, while working in a parish just five miles from his place of birth (p. 104). Fraser's example proves that native scholarship could originate and disseminate from the Highlands itself, rather than depending on the emigration of Highlanders to metropolitan centers to the south (pp. 104–105).

Chapter 5 considers Fraser's legacy as a minister. The introduction to the chapter breaks new ground by examining Fraser's role in the witchcraft hysteria that gripped Kirkhill in 1662. Worthington argues that, while Fraser is by no means as reprehensible as the "witch prickers," historians should not shy away from acknowledging the less appealing aspects of his character, including the societally driven misogyny that enabled the persecution of so many innocent women (pp. 123–24). Nevertheless, in evaluating Fraser's contribution as a minister, Worthington confirms and builds on earlier verdicts of his significance. Fraser oversaw the establishment of Kirkhill's first parish school in 1672. Previously, parents, including Fraser's own, who sought schooling for their children were required to foot the substantial bill of boarding them near the grammar school in Inverness. Fraser's assiduous attendance at meetings of the Presbytery of Inverness and Synod of Moray, evidenced in the relevant church court records, ensured that Kirkhill formed a constituent part of the wider regional church networks and infrastructure with their centers to the east. Indeed, Fraser's stable spiritual and political leadership arguably helped to embed among his parishioners a deep attachment to the Episcopalian Kirk as it was established during the Restoration; despite the large-scale removal of episcopal ministers after 1690, Fraser "did not conform . . . but continued undisturbed" in his charge until his death (pp. 130–31).

The final chapter examines Fraser's legacy as a historian, deconstructing the sources and networks he relied on to compile his manuscripts, particularly his magnum opus, the "Wardlaw Manuscript"—a history and genealogy of Clan Fraser down to 1674. Worthington demonstrates that James took seriously his position as Fraser *seannachaidh*, or family historian. He sought to write with impartiality and incorporated a healthy level of scholarly skepticism. Nevertheless, his history writing acknowledged the value of oral testimony "from the Bards, and nearest nighbours and allyes." This approach contrasted with his contemporary Sir Robert Gordon, who discounted what he referred to as "forged ancient traditions [of] bairds and rymers" (pp. 150–51).

Worthington's portrayal of James Fraser offers a comprehensive view of this multifaceted individual and the world he inhabited. This book also dispels the perception, still far from absent among historians of eighteenth-century Scotland, that the Highlands in the pre-Culloden era should be considered peripheral or isolated from the rest of the world.

Jamie Kelly, Independent Scholar

Michael Hunter, ***Atheists and Atheism before the Enlightenment: The English and Scottish Experience***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023. Pp. vii + 223.

Michael Hunter's *Atheists and Atheism Before the Enlightenment* brings together several groundbreaking articles, supplemented with new material and framing. Hunter traces the expression of irreligious ideas in England and Scotland between the mid-sixteenth and mid-eighteenth centuries. The first chapter, which doubles as the introduction, outlines the book's themes and explains the difficulties of defining and evidencing atheism in this period. The second chapter reproduces Hunter's 1985 article on atheism in England before the Civil War. Hunter references the wide range of heterodoxies that might be subsumed under the mantle of "atheism" and explores how the quintessential atheist became an "ideal type" that served to "[voice] contemporary anxieties by depicting them in polarised form" (p. 22). Despite a lot of clerical handwringing about the moral degradation of society, cases of publicly acknowledged atheism remained exceedingly rare.

The third and fourth chapters are new material. The former responds to Alec Ryrie's *Unbelievers: An Emotional History of Doubt* (2019), which foregrounds the spiritual turmoil of the godly. Ryrie suggests that currents of anger and anxiety about mainstream Christianity converged in Protestant northwestern Europe in the early to mid-seventeenth century, forming a tide of emotional atheism that was justified in philosophical terms in the next century. Hunter disputes this picture, arguing that there is an important distinction between the doubts that committed Christians expressed privately and the public, unashamed assertions that he considers foundational in the history of atheism. He writes that the figures at the center of his study were not wracked with doubt; rather, their work displayed a sense of assurance.

Chapter 4 considers developments after 1660. In the introduction to their important collection *Atheism from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (1992), Hunter and David Wootton declared that the period from c.1680 to 1715 was "a pivotal one in the emergence of atheism" (p. 4). However, this chapter does not describe any seismic cultural shifts. The authorities invoked the specter of atheism when criticizing the religious debates and new sects of the 1640s and 50s, and theologians and philosophers decried the supposedly pernicious influence of "Hobbism." But as was the case before 1640, avowed atheists remained elusive, and the label of "atheism" typically referred to imagined enemies who might exhibit a wide range of unorthodox beliefs or immoral behaviors.

There did finally emerge concrete cases of publicly professed atheism. Chapter 5 reproduces Hunter's 1992 book chapter on Thomas Aikenhead, the Edinburgh student who was executed for blasphemy in 1697. Chapter 6 features Hunter's 2016 and 2021 work on the Edinburgh physician Archibald Pitcairne, who was rumored to be an atheist, and chapter 7 comprises Hunter's edition of *Pitcairneana*, an atheistic text that he has tentatively attributed to Pitcairne. Chapter 8 airs a new essay that is forthcoming elsewhere: an account of Tinkler Ducket, a student who was expelled from Cambridge University for atheism and immortality in 1739.

Hunter's mastery as a scholar is in evidence throughout the book. The individual chapters are painstakingly researched, and the evidence is presented in lucid prose and analyzed incisively. However, the book as a whole left me frustrated. Hunter has previously taken the approach of presenting old articles with new framing in *The Decline of Magic* (2020). I thought the approach worked well in that case. I am less convinced this time. That his scholarship from decades ago remains relevant and important testifies to the author's skill, but it is disappointing that the republished chapters are so little revised. Often the only changes are to the references. Thus, the chapter on Thomas Aikenhead now mentions Michael F. Graham's intricate investigation of the case, *The Blasphemies of Thomas Aikenhead* (2008)—but only once, in a footnote.

The introduction is left to do some heavy lifting, which is perhaps why it has been designated as a chapter in its own right. Hunter alludes to Graham's work here, although only in a couple of sentences. He also briefly describes a pertinent case that he discovered after publishing on Aikenhead: in 1694, an apothecary called Dr. Eliot was hanged in Edinburgh for his role in a poisoning and confessed in his last speech to having ridiculed the scriptures. Figures involved in this prosecution and the publication of Eliot's last speech were later involved in the Aikenhead case. This material belongs in chapter 5. Similarly, the introduction's discussion of the irreverent Christopher Marlowe ought logically to have been incorporated into the second chapter.

The book's piecemeal nature impedes the development of the argument and results in unnecessary repetition. The introduction's useful points about the definition of atheism are reiterated at some length in chapter 2. The overarching argument about assurance disappears for large sections of the book. While the addition of a chapter on developments after 1660 helps with the volume's coverage, it is regrettable that the chronological survey skips the period of civil warfare and the Interregnum, and that the discussion of the period before 1640 excludes Scotland. It is also strange that the volume does not include any detailed discussion of what seems to have been the first openly atheistic work to be printed in Britain, *The Origin of Moral Virtue and Religion Assigned* (1745) ("Assigned" is mistakenly given as "Arraigned" in Hunter's text). Appearing only a few years after the Ducket case, this blistering attack on natural and revealed religion surely merited more than two stray sentences.

The argument about atheists' assurance is not always convincing. Hunter asserts that "in contrast to the godly doubters . . . atheists could not resist trumpeting their views" (p. 178). They spoke or wrote confidently and "actively proselytised in favour of their viewpoint" (p. 188). This does not obviously square with the anonymity of *Pitcairneana*, nor the fact that the text could be read as an exposition, rather than an endorsement, of atheistic ideas. Pitcairne's own views were ambiguous; as Hunter acknowledges, Alasdair Raffe has recently argued that he

should be understood as a heterodox Christian, not an atheist ("Archibald Pitcairne and Scottish Heterodoxy, c. 1688–1713," *The Historical Journal* 60.3 (2017): 633–57). Hunter also suggests that the figures he discusses felt a "sense of inner conviction," such that his book is "a history not of doubt but of certainty" (p. 188). However, several figures who expressed atheistic views later backtracked, Aikenhead among them. Of course, this could have been a pragmatic move: Aikenhead's sincerity was questioned at the time, and Hunter is justifiably dubious. But Hunter's divide between vacillating Christians and resolute atheists still seems too stark. After describing the confidence, iconoclasm, and outspokenness of atheists, Hunter writes that "again and again in this book we have encountered such attitudes" (p. 188), a conclusion that jars with his earlier admissions that we find very few open avowals of atheism.

Nevertheless, Hunter's clearly stated argument is useful. He is doubtless right to contrast public and private expressions of unbelief and to note that the emotional dynamics underpinning Aikenhead's attacks on religion seem different from those at play in godly writers' chronicles of their religious struggles. Doubt and certainty are slippery; in dark moments, devout Protestants could feel utterly convinced that their religion was a delusion, though they might reframe these thoughts as diabolic deceptions a moment later. But more might be made of another distinction Hunter mentions. In the narratives of the suffering godly, dalliances with unbelief generated profound guilt or despair, which contrasts sharply with the apparent ease and self-satisfaction of figures such as Aikenhead.

Overall, this is a valuable book. The chapters are rich and thought-provoking, and the argument is likely to inspire productive debate. Although more could have been done to make the book cohesive and to add fresh contributions to the reprinted scholarship, the importance of the author's insights is undeniable.

Martha McGill, University of Warwick

Stephen Bogle, ***Contract Before the Enlightenment: The Ideas of James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair, 1619–1695***. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2023. Oxford Legal History. Pp. xx + 284.

Stephen Bogle's *Contract before the Enlightenment* focuses on a man who needs no introduction to Scottish lawyers: James Dalrymple, Viscount Stair. Bogle claims that Stair is often considered the "founding father of Scots law" (p. 1), and there is no hyperbole in that statement. Stair's *Institutions of the Law of Scotland* (1681) sits paramount among the jurisdiction's foundational institutional texts, and it has variously been credited as heralding the beginning of modern Scots law, safeguarding the jurisdiction's unique approach to the law of voluntary obligations, and authoritatively setting out the law of promise (one of Scots law's more exceptional features). It is arguably in the Scots law of contract that Stair's influence is felt most keenly, with every core university contract module still involving regular references to him, more than three hundred years after his passing.

Stair's story goes far beyond the law, however, and much of his biography is relevant for those with an interest in the history, culture, and society of seventeenth-century century Scotland. In a life that Bogle dryly describes as "eventful" (p. 5), Stair was involved in or bore witness to many of the great historical events of the century. His fortunes were often affected by the turbulent ups and downs that those of his Calvinist Presbyterian faith suffered during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms: he fought in the Covenanter army in the Bishops' Wars; acted as secretary to the Commission of Breda, which dealt with the restoration of the deposed Charles II; fled to the Netherlands during the oppression of Covenanters in 1681 (after run-ins with future Jacobite hero and Covenantor bogeyman John Claverhouse, aka "Bonnie Dundee" or "Bluidy Clavers"); and returned as part of William of Orange's Glorious Revolution, landing at Torbay on William's flagship in 1688. Through it all, Stair did his best to combine his place as a prominent practicing lawyer and judge with his seemingly unswerving dedication to the Kirk and the National Covenant. The Dalrymple family remained prominent in the historic events at the turn of the eighteenth century, with Stair's son (John Dalrymple, 1st Earl of Stair) heavily involved in both the 1692 massacre of Glencoe and the 1707 Acts of Union.

Bogle's book is not predominantly doctrinal. Its mission statement is to complement doctrinal texts on Stair's legal work by offering "an explanation as to why Stair wrote what he did about the law of contract" (p. 3). Core to the project is examining how, and to what extent, Stair's Calvinist worldview influenced his work—leading to the reception of a Protestant natural law worldview into the law of Scotland.

The opening chapters focus on the contract law environment in mid-seventeenth century Scotland, at the time immediately prior to Stair commencing work on his *Institutions* in the late 1650s. It is clear from these chapters that Stair would have drawn on a rich array of legal sources: existing decisions of the Scottish courts, the works of Continental natural lawyers such as Hugo Grotius, Acts of the Scottish Parliament, works of earlier Scottish legal writers, Canon law, and Roman law (via the *ius commune*). Stair's relationship with Roman law is explored in greater depth in a chapter of its own. Unlike his peers, who treated Roman law as a source to draw liberally from when other sources were deficient, Stair treated it as authoritative only when it could deliver "equity." According to Bogle, Stair's approach (which treated Roman law more as a comparative example of potential equitable solutions in novel cases) "minimized the role of Roman law" (p. 50) and devalued it as a source. That is not to say that Stair was not still heavily influenced by Roman law, of course; Bogle stresses that he continued to operate within a very Roman framework and used Roman terminology, and he submits that Stair's key contract law volume could be said to be "a seventeenth-century Calvinist iteration of the Roman law of contracts" (p. 66). But

Bogle also shows how (and why) Stair went beyond Roman law, justifying the position of Scots contract law on the basis of both theological considerations and political necessity.

Chapter 3 explores what Bogle calls Stair's "new philosophical basis for contract law in Scotland" (p. 67). This method is based on two key elements: equity and utility. The former is centered on a recognizably Christian ethos of doing unto others what you would have done unto you, whereas the latter focuses on a societal goal of achieving the best outcome for the common good. Stair proceeds on the assumption that this balance between equity and utility is the process by which human law is made.

While the minutiae of some of Bogle's detailed legal arguments in chapters 3–8 are perhaps beyond the remit of this review, it is worth at least touching on some of the other legal innovations (often departures from Roman law) that Bogle discusses: Stair's assertion of individual will as the key trigger for the creation of contracts and other obligations (including his desire-resolution-engagement analysis), Stair's willingness to consider unilateral promises binding with no need for acceptance, and Stair's arguments in favor of enforcement of informal agreements. Regarding the latter two points, Bogle gives an in-depth and convincing argument on the influence of Calvinist natural law theory on Stair's approach. In sum, Stair's view was that natural law requires individuals to stand by the deals they make, whether promise or contract, and that this Christian principle should guide law making. Bogle draws comparisons with Stair's own determination (and that of his fellow Presbyterians) not to break the National Covenant of 1638, despite the myriad misfortunes it brought them over the years. After all, this was the most sacred contract of all—between the individual parishioner and God.

The final chapter focuses on the reception of Stair's contract law ideas, via a comparative analysis of Stair's work and the writings of two contemporaries: the jurist George Mackenzie and the moral philosopher Gershom Carmichael. In keeping with Bogle's approach throughout this work, it is an ambitious and enlightening chapter that helps to place Stair in a wider context, both as a jurist and as a moral philosopher.

This volume is a welcome addition to the scholarship of Scots contract law, as well as to the wider fields of Scots law and philosophy. It adds significant depth to our understanding of Stair as a person but also (and more importantly) frames the motivations and drivers behind his approach in writing his *Institutions*. Given the foundational and authoritative status that tome has since taken on, understanding its genesis and the context in which it was written is fundamental to our understanding of the modern Scots law of contract. Bogle's convincing arguments as to the underlying role played by Stair's Calvinist beliefs help us to better appreciate and analyze the law as it stands today.

Roddy Cairns, University of Strathclyde

Mairi MacPherson and Jim MacPherson, ***Macpherson the Historian: History Writing, Empire and Enlightenment in the Works of James Macpherson***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. Pp. viii + 288.

James Macpherson's method and process of writing history have never been explored with more determination and intelligence than in this book by Mairi and Jim MacPherson. Most scholars will know the Macpherson Ossianic legacy and have grudgingly accepted the origins of the poems, especially their fascinating blend of pathos, exoticism, and sensitivity. So, too, the acknowledgment of their influence toward a deeper understanding of Gaelic culture and the emergence of Romantic culture throughout Europe brought about fresh interest during the 1980s and 1990s. Scholars speak of the need for studying how the poems relate to the margins of contrasting oppositional cultures—Gaelic and English—and the result saw the 1996 publication of a modern edition of the poems, edited by Howard Gaskill. Yet a comprehensive analysis has been missing concerning how Macpherson spent most of his writing career. The MacPhersons state unequivocally (and prove convincingly) that James Macpherson "was an Enlightenment historian, who used eighteenth-century ideas about historical narrative, erudition, and philosophy to demonstrate that the Highlands and its people could make valuable contributions to the British imperial project" (p. 2).

Macpherson wrote history under the influence of David Hume, Hugh Blair, William Robertson, and Edward Gibbon, engaging with full confidence in the major historiographical debates involving the British Empire. The MacPhersons present a wide range of historically precise philosophical and cultural explanations for past events predicated on primary sources. They insist on answering *how* Macpherson wrote about the past, and their story depends on employing the same techniques he used in his three modes of writing: poetry, historical prose, and political propaganda. As their introduction makes clear, debates about the Ossianic controversy, political allegiance, even the content of his work remain outside their concern: "this is a study of paratexts and practice . . . measuring how Macpherson writes as a self-conscious historian" (p. 4). Recasting a discussion of his work in this manner requires the reader's sobriety and a revisionist attitude. The authors' impeccable research of the prefaces, dissertations, and other ancillary material reveals his craft.

The MacPhersons construct their study in four chapters, with explanation and documentation of the growing influence of Enlightenment history writing. Especially in chapter 1, they employ a framework similar to J.G.A. Pocock's study of Edward Gibbon's *History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Barbarism and Religion* (1999–2015), where Pocock shows Gibbon responding to Voltaire, Hume, Adam Smith, and Robertson. Macpherson's ideas are similarly situated in the context of historiography on the work of Hume, Blair, and Smith. In explaining the mechanics of Macpherson's history writing, the authors apply separate sections defining narrative

truth, instruction, and philosophy as revealed in the works of Hume, Blair, and Smith. The difference between these historians and Macpherson depends on the emphasis the latter placed on sources, extended analysis, and footnotes, and his later works, *The History of Great Britain* (1775) to *The History and Management of the East-India Company* (1779), echo self-consciously the practices of Robertson and Gibbon. The MacPhersons admit in some areas they sense only faint echoes, sometimes a lack of "forthright tones," and their discussion depends at points on "a shared historiographical universe" (p. 40), but their fresh approach and credibility carry the argument forward.

The heart of the book lies in chapters 2–4, where the MacPhersons explore the Ossian poetry (or collections), the prose histories, and the political writings, with each major title standing on its own as examples of historical narrative, whether in verse or prose. Using stories gathered orally and from various written examples, Macpherson employed these sources for his discussion of the past (as seen in *Fingal* and *Temora*) and revealed the techniques of his early history writing. In chapter 3 the authors reflect on the three principal histories: *An Introduction to the History of Great Britain and Ireland* (1771), *The History of Great Britain,* and *Original Papers: Containing the Secret History of Great Britain* (1775), arguing that Macpherson "consolidated a persistent British and imperial identity . . . using footnoting . . . with a way of writing about the past that is both narrative and philosophical" (pp. 108–109). Modeling his two-volume *History of Great Britain* on Robertson's *History of Scotland* (1759) and *History of America* (1777), Macpherson, like Robertson, consulted primary sources extensively in the archives. Claiming truth/authenticity as his main goal, he is careful "to extricate truth" (p. 113) and establish himself "as a reputable historian" (p. 134). The MacPhersons will not enter the old Ossian authenticity debate and how it may have colored the histories: "Whether or not we believe Macpherson's claims to justness, the fact remains that these claims set the tone for *The History of Great Britain*. [Macpherson] signals to the public that he is writing as a scholarly historian" (p. 138).

Chapter 4 examines his political/government writing, especially two key pamphlets and his last book, *The History and Management of the East India Company*. Macpherson's defense of imperial policy and response to the impending American Revolution in the two shorter pieces—*The Rights of Great Britain Asserted against the Claims of America* (1776) and *A Short History of the Opposition during the Last Session* (1779)—offer the liveliest prose and, once again, excellent manipulation of source material. The authors embrace the drama, examining how Macpherson accomplished a balancing act of "defending the British government's decision to wage war against the Americans and to justify the subsequent conduct of the war" (p. 173). His chosen weapons were "fidelity to the principle of truth" (p. 203) and "reliance on primary source material" (p. 204) in destroying the colonists' claims for impartiality and fairness. The chapter concludes with a brief coda spelling out what Macpherson achieved in his history writing: "a continuation . . . from his earlier work, rooted in the Highlands . . . as a Gael, [seeing] Highlanders as part of the broader political project of the British imperial state" (p. 228).

The MacPhersons' documentation of sources is impressive, notably in the extensive use of primary and secondary sources in footnotes—more than 700 footnotes within the three central chapters. Their bibliography and index reflect an intense effort at gathering the essential sources and ensuring that future scholars will have a highly creditable resource. All academic libraries must add this book to their collection for those studying eighteenth-century history and thought, Scotland's cultural and intellectual past, and eighteenth-century British literature.

Paul J. deGategno, Penn State Brandywine

Julian Baggini, ***The Great Guide: What David Hume Can Teach Us about Being Human and Living Well***. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2021. Pp. 319.

Given the subtitle of Julian Baggini's study, readers might well expect, if not an outright self-help book, at least a book of advice on the supposed "good life" from a self-proclaimed expert, the kind produced in recent years by former test-pilots and life-style influencers. In fact, while the book does include features of such popular books, it also provides a solid introduction for the general reader to the life and career of the man Baggini praises as "arguably the greatest philosopher in history" (p. 252).

The acknowledgments page tells us that the book began through an agreement with the mass-market South Korean publishing firm Books21, which might account for some of its popularity-seeking features. Baggini (the name is pronounced with a soft *g*) is an independent scholar, and one hardly blames him for wanting to, or agreeing to, make his book attractive to a broad audience. But not all these features sit well with even a moderately skeptical reader. Particularly unfortunate is the choice to highlight in italicized bold type sententiae and sentiments that Baggini feels are particularly useful for moral or intellectual improvement. Some of these are quotations taken from Hume's writing, celebrated as it is for its elegance and concision; others are rendered in the author's own words. These supposed touchstones are then collected and printed together at the back of the book, in a section titled "Humean Maxims and Aphorisms." Most of them are so general or familiar as to be of questionable use (e.g., "our tendency to overrate our own virtues leads us to overlook our own vices" (p. 99)), and the very effort to isolate and emphasize them sounds smug and pedantic. I can't speak for a Korean readership, but I doubt whether many modern American readers drawn to learn about Hume will welcome such tutelage.

Those who can overlook these overtly didactic elements will find a useful summary of the events of Hume's life and well-informed presentations of Hume's major writings and influential arguments, including discussions of free will, causation, miracles, and so forth, requiring little or no preliminary knowledge of the topics. I

was especially pleased to find a summary of recent speculation by Alison Gopnik that Hume's deconstruction of personal identity may have been influenced by Buddhist thought, thanks to his conversations with well-traveled Jesuits he came to know while living in France.

How does it differ from other recent introductions to Hume and his world, beyond its dubious self-help apparatus? It is certainly more personal than a standard academic monograph. In the course of telling the story of Hume's life, Baggini includes anecdotes of his own visits to the places Hume lived and worked, including the sites where he resided on his extended stays in France and the locations of his homes in Scotland. These short travel sequences suggest that Baggini would make a genial traveling companion who, like his subject, enjoys a good meal and a bottle of wine, though they don't add to our understanding of Hume's work.

More substantially, Baggini's presentation of Hume's work shows an engaging affection for his subject. He mounts defenses of Hume's controversial qualities and opinions, most notably when he attempts to mitigate Hume's claims of the racial superiority of whites in the infamous footnote to the essay "On National Characters." Baggini, whose works include a volume on atheism in Oxford University Press's *A Very Short Introduction* series, also draws a distinction between his own active disbelief in God and religion generally and Hume's softer agnosticism, which redounds to Hume's sociability and humanity, and shows an admirable degree of disinterest on the author's part. Baggini's ample footnotes reveal his heavy reliance on previous scholarship, especially Ernest Mossner's seminal 1954 biography, as well as more recent studies by James Harris and Annette Baier. These debts are well documented in the footnotes which, in conjunction with a list of Further Reading, will show interested readers where to find further information. It is Baggini himself, his easy-going prose and sympathetic viewpoint, that makes this book stand out.

James Barszcz, Independent Scholar

Constantine Christos Vassiliou, ***Moderate Liberalism and the Scottish Enlightenment: Montesquieu, Hume, Smith and Ferguson***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. Edinburgh Studies in Comparative Political Theory and Intellectual History. Pp. xvi + 203.

This thoughtful and readable book offers a sequence of comparative analyses of the political thought of Montesquieu and his major Scottish interlocutors: David Hume, Adam Smith, and Adam Ferguson. It is really a book about what is required, politically and socially, for a commercial society to work. As Constantine Christos Vassiliou notes at the outset, the book focuses on two major themes that have remained underexplored in the great eighteenth-century debate about the politics of commercial society. The first theme is financial crisis—and what Vassiliou calls "high finance"—and the first two chapters offer helpful contextualist discussions of the political fallout from the Mississippi Bubble in France, John Law's financial system, and the South Sea Bubble in Britain. The second theme concerns the Franco-Scottish debate about the role of nobility in modern commercial societies and the connected themes of honor, hierarchy, and the distinction of ranks. The wider purpose of the book, set out in the introduction and conclusion, is to show why Montesquieu's and the Scots' rival conceptions of moderate government provide valuable intellectual resources for restoring the "liberal" foundations of liberal, capitalist democracies that are currently being overwhelmed by oligarchical or populist challenges. Whether eighteenth-century political theories can really perform this service for the contemporary world is open to question, but the argument is developed somewhat more robustly, and indeed eloquently, than is usual in intellectual histories and Scottish Enlightenment studies.

Each chapter rests on a thorough command of the relevant primary material and offers conceptually illuminating scholarship. It needs to be said, however, that the book's title is slightly misleading. *Moderate Liberalism and the Scottish Enlightenment* is very largely a book about Montesquieu, the major figure who supplies the focus and framework for the book as a whole, and who dominates its pages. While the ideas of Hume and Smith make brief appearances in the second chapter, the reader has to wait until the second half of the book for a more substantial treatment of either. The third chapter, an interesting comparison of Montesquieu with James Harrington, is not directly about the Scots either. Sustained examination of Smith and Ferguson appears only in the final, and rather short, seventh chapter. This is not to criticize the book's underlying argument, but simply to note that the book's emphasis is Montesquieu first, Scottish Enlightenment second. It is not a comprehensive account of Montesquieu's place in Scottish Enlightenment thought.

The principal theme of Vassiliou's first two chapters is, as indicated, the financial turbulence experienced in France as a result of the debts incurred during the War of the Spanish Succession and, more broadly, the rise of a "paper money economy" in early eighteenth-century Europe. Montesquieu's critique of John Law's notorious financial "System" is carefully and thoroughly reconstructed. As Vassiliou shows, Montesquieu perceived Law's System as a novel kind of financially driven despotism, born out of a combination of debt-fueled military expenditure and the deceptive financial innovations created to deal with it. At this juncture Vassiliou brings in Smith's own, rather briefer, treatment of Law and the South Sea Bubble. It is suggested that Law himself may have been an archetype of the famous "man of system" that Smith excoriated in the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Moreover, Smith's own criticisms of the South Sea Company monopoly ran deeper than Montesquieu's.

The book's central chapters (4–6) compare Montesquieu's and Hume's assessments of moderate government, commerce, and honor. These are the most incisive sections of the book, and they repay careful reading. The

key argument developed here is that Montesquieu and Hume diverged quite substantially in their assessments of the type of ranks required to sustain moderate government in commercial societies. For Montesquieu, modern liberty demanded a non-commercial nobility based on true honor and military service. This in turn explains why Ferguson found Montesquieu so congenial to his purposes. Vassiliou significantly deepens our understanding of Montesquieu's conception of honor, rejecting the familiar depiction of Montesquieu as a kind of Mandevillian theorist of false honor, i.e., redirected vanity or self-love. What Montesquieu wanted was a type of aristocratic but public-spirited honor, shorn of its impulse to domination. For Hume, by contrast, commercial societies stood in little need of such aristocratic *moeurs* and non-commercial hierarchies. While Hume's thinking was far from parochial, his British focus meant that he was more confident about the political consequences of the nobility's historic decline and reposed more faith in the stability of commercial mores.

On this reading, Smith is revealed as an heir of Hume, and Ferguson as an heir of Montesquieu. Vassiliou is clearly correct that Hume and Smith had little positive to say about Europe's old nobilities in sustaining moderate liberty. Having said this, I would be inclined to question one aspect of the interpretation advanced here. Vassiliou repeatedly suggests that Hume, and later Smith, believed that commerce alone was an adequate basis for moderate government. That is, while Montesquieu and Ferguson sought non-commercial sources of stability in modern states, Hume was optimistic "that commerce alone yielded the public passions necessary for supporting free, moderate government" (p. 93 and *passim*.) This claim, however, seems to downplay the importance that both Hume and Smith attached to politics, and especially to the intricate role of authority, government, and the "science of the legislator," essential to making commercial societies work. It also seems to downplay Smith's disquiet at some of the more pathological expressions of commercial society, such as a purely wealth-based system of rank and inequality. The importance that both Hume and Smith attached to political authority—the sphere of the state—is therefore somewhat underdiscussed in this book, but it surely needs to be part of our reckoning with the Scottish Enlightenment's versions of "moderate liberalism."

Iain McDaniel, University of Sussex

Adam Ferguson's Later Writings: New Letters and an Essay on the French Revolution. Edited by Ian Stewart and Max Skjönsberg. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy. Pp. x + 247.

Adam Ferguson is something of an oddity in the landscape of Scottish Enlightenment studies. Unlike his friends David Hume and Adam Smith, he was not a self-consciously disruptive writer whose contributions broke decisively with mainstream discourse. While Scottish Enlightenment writers are often celebrated as intrinsically modern thinkers who looked ahead to a future shaped by empiricist approaches to trade, politics, and knowledge, Ferguson has long been portrayed as the "Scottish Cato": a writer who looked back to the ancient republican past, and who consistently aimed to remind his contemporaries of the importance of moral integrity and civic virtue, especially in a world increasingly shaped by global and imperial commerce.

Ferguson's influence and legacy initially suffered from this portrayal—at least in Britain. On the Continent, readers continued to cite his *Essay on the History of Civil Society* (1767) and its critique of the damaging tendencies of commercial society. This was largely due to Karl Marx's acknowledgement of the work, and later to the emergence of the discipline of sociology, which recognized Ferguson as a precursor to sociological analyses of human interaction, social order, and political change. It is, therefore, somewhat late in the game that historians have come back to Ferguson. Interest in his thought and writings has increased hugely since Scottish Enlightenment scholarship was first revived in the second half of the twentieth century, and Ferguson might well be—as stated in the first lines of the volume here reviewed—"the greatest beneficiary of the cottage industrialisation of Scottish Enlightenment studies" over the past decades (p. 3).

What then was so remarkable about Ferguson, and why should we care about a newly (re)discovered cache of manuscript writings? Ian Stewart and Max Skjönsberg's important volume answers both questions. Ferguson, they remind us, lived a long and active life. When he published the *Essay*, he was forty-four years old and had already been a professor at the University of Edinburgh for eight years. But most of his life still lay ahead of him: he died in 1816 at age ninety-two, having lived through the American Revolution, the French Revolution, two decades of near-uninterrupted war, and Napoleon's downfall at Waterloo. Toward the end of his university career he also published a popular *History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (1783), and later a revised version of his lectures, *Principles of Moral and Political Science* (1792).

One of the successful achievements of the volume is to shift our focus to Ferguson's second act, showcasing the dizzying breadth of his activities *after* the success of his *Essay*. Presumably, this is what the subtitle means to convey: Ferguson's "later writings" as included in the volume encompass a remarkable forty years, from his 1776 pamphlet written in support of Britain's claims on its American colonies, *Remarks on a Pamphlet Lately Published by Dr. Price*, to a biographical sketch posthumously published in 1817. It is not the first work to do this—both Iain McDaniel's *Adam Ferguson in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2013) and Michael Brown and Jack Hill's *Adam Ferguson and the Politics of Virtue* (2023) make much the same point. But this volume has the great merit of bringing substantial new evidence to the discussion.

The bulk of the book consists of thirty-six previously unpublished letters from Ferguson to his former

student and close friend Sir John Macpherson. The newly published materials are all sourced from the Sir John Macpherson collection at the British Library, recently made fully accessible to scholars. Macpherson himself turns out to be a fascinating figure, and judging from the succinct biography provided by the editors, they are surely correct that only archival restrictions have prevented substantial research into his life and works. As a colonial administrator stationed in India for the best part of the 1770s and 1780s (including a brief stint as the Governor General of Bengal), Macpherson saw himself as applying the principles of politics and government he had acquired during his studies in Aberdeen and Edinburgh. He was a well-connected and prolific correspondent, who remained in close contact with the Moderate literati throughout the 1780s and 1790s, even as he traveled through revolutionary Europe from 1789 to 1793, held a seat in the House of Commons between 1796 and 1802, and developed various literary projects. Overall, the cache of letters rediscovered by Stewart and Skjönsberg does much to encourage new research into Macpherson and to enrichen our knowledge of the Moderates' political and imperial networks.

As for Ferguson, the letters highlight once again the tension between his close involvement in the networks of British imperial rule and his intellectual critique of imperial corruption. Ferguson's complex analysis of British imperial sovereignty is further illustrated by his *Remarks on a Pamphlet Lately Published by Dr. Price*, here reprinted with modern critical apparatus. Indeed, Ferguson was also unusual—as far as professors of moral philosophy go—for the depth of his involvement in the main political events of his time. He accompanied the Black Watch as the regiment fought through continental Europe in the 1740s, traveled to America with the Carlisle Commission in 1778, and visited Flanders, Germany, and Italy in 1793–94, as the revolutionary wars were in full swing. Four new letters written during this last trip are included here, as is a previously unpublished 1797 essay about the French Revolution.

Other minor writings by Ferguson are reprinted in the volume: "Minutes of the Life and Character of Joseph Black, M. D." (1801) and *Biographical Sketch: Or, Memoir of Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Ferguson* (1817). The rationale for including these additional texts appears to have been chronological, perhaps at the expense of the thematic coherence of the volume. Nevertheless, it is certainly valuable to see them available in a modern edition. In any case, the volume's backbone and *raison d'être* remain the rediscovered manuscripts, which are usefully contextualized in a wide-ranging introduction. They depict a Ferguson who was not a backward-looking ancient republican but rather a well-informed participant in the great political upheavals that marked the late Enlightenment. He was not only an astute critic of the imperialist tendencies of eighteenth-century modern commercial society but also a sharp observer of its transformation at the hands of the French Revolution. Unlike Edmund Burke, whose warnings about the dangers of egalitarian democracy he echoed, he lived to see republican France transform into an imperial, aggressive dictatorship. As highlighted by the editors, the new materials included in this volume lend additional weight to the view that Ferguson experienced the post-revolutionary era as bleak confirmation of his worst fears for European civil society: France had upended the eighteenth century's emerging commercial and political order by introducing a novel, and uniquely dangerous, combination of national pride, democratic egalitarianism, and military spirit. Ferguson was not entirely sure how this disastrous development would or could be resolved (although the new essay on the French Revolution provides a tantalizing glimpse of a "romantic" plan for a European union). But he knew that, at least in this case, the solution did not lie in the ancient past.

Anna Plassart, The Open University

William Falconer: Sailor Poet. Special Issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life*, edited by Michael Edson and Bridget Keegan. Volume 47, Issue 2 (April 2023). Pp. 1–272.

This volume is devoted to the life and works of William Falconer (1732–70), a mid-eighteenth-century Scottish poet best known for a single poem titled *The Shipwreck* (1762). In the words of his most recent editor, William Jones, the poem met with such "unanticipated popularity" (p. 16) that Falconer considerably revised and expanded it in two later editions (1764, 1769). By the date of the poem's last edition, Falconer had embarked on a voyage aboard the ship *Aurora*. Serving as a purser with the Royal Navy, he had risen considerably in rank since his first experiences as a sailor at the age of fourteen. However, the *Aurora* never reached its destination. As Michael Edson and Bridget Keegan note, "Falconer, who had survived one shipwreck in 1749 and made his literary career with a poem inspired by that shipwreck, died by shipwreck too" (p. 3). This grim irony is not lost on the many contributors to this welcome addition of scholarship on a neglected poet, whose works make (in the editors' words) a "unique contribution to conversations about the origins and impact of the global economy" (p. 4).

This special issue includes an introduction by the editors, followed by eight articles, an annotated transcription of Falconer's draft poetry, and a bibliography of poems "written by sailors, those who served at sea, or ascribed to sailors" (p. 261). The first article, by William Jones, presents an "intellectual biography" (p. 6) that examines the process by which the poet "navigated and intentionally fashioned his literary and intellectual identity" (p. 14). Jones thoroughly assesses Falconer's published works, including his *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* (1769), which became a standard reference work. In addition, he discusses unpublished poems found in a logbook in the archives of the Caird Library at the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich, UK. This logbook, described by Jones as "one of the few pieces of direct evidence we have of Falconer's life," is helpfully transcribed at the end of the issue (pp. 216–60) and offers considerable "insight into Falconer's poetic development" and practice of "tireless revising" (pp. 216–17). Jones explores how Falconer gained the means and opportunity to educate him-

self and "develop his calling as a poet, especially while working at sea" (p. 17). In particular, Jones seeks to prove that Falconer was "intentional and deliberate, not a 'natural genius' composing by inspiration, but a writer whose poetic achievement is evident through his process of revising" (p. 26). This article offers a useful corrective of the "natural genius" stereotype that was often applied to laboring-class writers, and it ends with a brief but interesting table on Falconer's reading.

Suvir Kaul evaluates how nautical writing "ostensibly performed a public service, both by informing readers about the difficulties faced by loyal sailors on military and commercial ships, and by reassuring them that such sacrifices were willingly made to enhance Britain's international authority" (p. 48). Kaul situates *The Shipwreck* among other texts that represented the dangers of the sailing profession, noting that "for the ordinary sailor, life on ship was nasty, brutish, and often cut short" (p. 49). His analysis of the poem focuses on how the speaker assumes "the position of educated tour guide, one who is conversant with the rise and fall of Mediterranean cities and states" (p. 53). The speaker repeatedly notes the significance of those places in the imperial past as they are encountered in the poem's present, and Kaul concludes that *The Shipwreck* "participates in a continuing national debate about shipwrecks, as well as about the human costs of expanded trade networks across the oceans" (p. 60). Janet Sorensen takes a different approach by exploring how the poem presents "an oscillation between, on the one hand, the tragic distance of the spectator or reader from the unfolding catastrophe, and, on the other, a sense of immediacy produced by the poem's representation of the desperate struggle for life aboard that distant ship" (p. 66). Sorensen examines the effects of the "technical specificity" of Falconer's nautical argot on readers, especially how such jargon "plays a role in building sympathy for the ship's sailors" (p. 70). However, at the end of the article she observes that "for all that is rescued from oblivion in this poem, its technologies of immediacy cannot represent the broader engines of British empire and the unfolding catastrophe of commercial slavery" (p. 85).

In her biographical account of Falconer's service as a merchant seaman before he joined the Royal Navy, Julia Bannister argues that Falconer's extensive revisions to the 1764 and 1769 editions of *The Shipwreck* reveal an effort to demonstrate that "merchant seaman are just as meritorious as any of Britain's other 'sons of Neptune'" (p. 88). Michael Edson's contribution offers an intriguing interpretation of a poem that feels "overextended when it isn't" (p. 108). Edson relates *The Shipwreck* to other mid-century georgics and finds that Falconer's revised later editions indicate the poet's "refusal to offer general readers the immersion they associated after 1750 with leisure reading" (p. 109). His analysis is supplemented with tables and charts that point to Falconer's purposeful design to position his audience to "feel at once bored and overworked, like sailors" (p. 128). In the next article, Sandro Jung searches the history of the poem's illustrated editions, tracing "interpretive shifts in the illustrations, as well as the visual evaluation of ship imagery as mood-evoking rather than merely documentary" (p. 136). At the end of his very detailed analysis of numerous editions, Jung finds that *The Shipwreck* is "not so much a descriptive poem about ships as a pathetic poem about people" (p. 162).

Jamie M. Bolker concentrates on Falconer's *Universal Dictionary of the Marine* in order to distinguish its rhetorical goals. By comparing this work with other manuals and technical books about sailing, Bolker suggests that there is a "common theme that unites various technical works: that language is ultimately an inadequate medium for capturing one's encounters with the sea" (p. 167). The volume closes with an article by Bridget Keegan that seeks to discover "Falconer's place among fellow poets who also served at sea . . . or feature maritime experiences in their work" (p. 188). Her examination covers a wide range of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century poets, such as James Field Stanfield, whose *The Guinea Voyage* (1789) directly engages with a subject—slavery—that is largely absent from *The Shipwreck*. She notes, however, that Falconer's "focus on the dignity and importance of the work of sailors would indirectly contribute to the abolitionist strategy of linking impressment and slavery" (p. 200). Keegan's appendix to the issue provides a bibliography of poems written by sailors from 1671 to 1867, where one finds Falconer's influence still persistent over a hundred years later in William John Ismay's *The Life-Boat. A Companion Poem to Falconer's "Shipwreck."* Such lasting influence speaks volumes about the continuing relevance of this neglected sailor-poet, a fact amply proven by the contributors to this admirable special issue of *Eighteenth-Century Life*.

Corey E. Andrews, Youngstown State University

The Tea-Table Miscellany. Edited by Murray Pittock and Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. The Edinburgh Edition of the Collected Works of Allan Ramsay. Volume 4. Pp. xxii + 844.

As Carol McGuirk observed of volumes 1–3 in this series (*Eighteenth-Century Scotland* no. 37, Spring 2023, p. 9), the reappraisal of Allan Ramsay as a "cultural juggernaut" is long overdue. Ramsay, who successfully "rehabilitate[d] Scots as a poetic language" (p. vii), was also an early exponent of the first Age of Information: not just writing but collecting and republishing Scots song, mixing his participation in the Edinburgh Musical Society with the market for poems, and pioneering the subscription library. The groundbreaking nature of this edition, under the general editorship of Murray Pittock, is perhaps most visible in volume 4, *The Tea-Table Miscellany* (*TTM*). Pittock, who has edited this particular volume with the musicologist Brianna E. Robertson-Kirkland, remarks not just on Ramsay's short shrift but also on *TTM*'s: it has never before appeared in a scholarly edition, even in the previous "complete works" of Ramsay. Thus, even a far less thorough volume than the one under review would represent significant strides; as it stands, it could hardly be surpassed.

TTM extends to four volumes (1723, 1726, 1727, and 1737) and is often considered the first collection of Scots songs: a collection of Scots poetry with associated tunes, mainly from the repertory of traditional Scottish music (in contrast to earlier miscellanies such as D'Urfey's *Pills to Purge Melancholy,* housing the occasional Scots tune). Texts were recast or newly written to fit well-known or deserving tunes, maintaining a suitability for mixed-company conviviality at the tea table. Ramsay's initial offerings were apparently so heavily used that original editions are rare (and, indeed, confusing, as for example most remaining copies of volume 1 are dated 1724; variants between the 1723 and 1724 editions comprise appendix 4). The many later editions exist in a convoluted web that may have daunted earlier editors. Also daunting may have been confusion over the extent of Ramsay's authorship of the poems. A major achievement of this edition is an unprecedented definition of Ramsay's authorship, assigning each poem one of five categories of attribution (definitely by Ramsay, heavily or lightly edited, doubtful, and definitely by someone else). Ramsay authored about twenty percent of the total, rising to about half of volume 1 (though almost none of volume 3, which are mainly ballad opera borrowings).

The reputation of *TTM* as a collection of Scots songs rests largely on volume 1, which includes "to the tune of" references for nearly all poems. (Ramsay's 1729 edition of volume 1 is subtitled *a Complete Collection of Scots Sangs;* its preface, with its defense of Scottish music, is appendix 1.) Ramsay's musical selections seem to have been immediately and permanently influential; he essentially made the repertory, and may even have solidified the concept, of "Scots song" as "having a history . . . and the expression of a genuine tradition. Ever since Ramsay wrote, it has been assumed that Scottish song is possessed of such a tradition" (p. viii). Tunes are only referred to by name, however—a devastating complication, as even a "well-known" tune can exist in several dissimilar versions and with multiple texts.

Here is where the editorial team has truly excelled. This is not to downplay the difficulty of producing a clean text of the nearly 400 poems in these volumes, annotating them, identifying any earlier versions of the texts, providing critical notes on the differences, and determining authorship—all of which has been done to a high degree of excellence. Yet the complications of identifying their tunes and providing text-critical versions of them have a special circle to themselves. The omission of the actual music from *TTM* was keenly felt even at the time, although the remedies introduced complications of their own. The tunes in William Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius* (1726) became a sort of shadow edition of *TTM* I (and by no means a reliable one; sometimes Ramsay's texts have to be shoehorned into Thomson's untexted tunes). But it and the more authorized *Musick for Allan Ramsay's Collection of 71 Scots Songs* (also for *TTM* I) provide a useful core for research.

To amplify and extend to the other volumes, the editors have identified an enormous variety of possible sources from which Ramsay could have drawn: manuscripts for various instruments (e.g., lute), music theory texts, dance books, and above all commonplace books (even including student notebooks). Printed sources complement these, particularly music for plays and "operas" (i.e., ballad opera, whose extensive tracing here is another valuable contribution). The sources, described in their own section, are assigned shorthand titles and employed in the amplifying notes that follow. This tracing of sources is an enormous boon. The *inclusion* of tunes (in up to five versions) is an unlooked-for bonus, so valuable to musicological research that I could wish it had been done for every text in the edition rather than only the poems authored by Ramsay; no doubt the length would have been prohibitive. Astoundingly, there are fewer than half a dozen instances in which the editorial team has failed to identify a tune.

Each song text is labeled with an R number 1–399, another valuable tool. Musical expertise is clearly shown in the notes, for example in R84, "The Highland Laddie" (pp. 611ff.)—a notoriously complicated title referring to distinct but overlapping tune families. The bibliography, frequently referenced, shows the appropriate depth and breadth of expertise. The "lists of persons" appendix is useful, especially to those researching borrowed poets. Notes on the text typically leave explication of the Scots to the included glossary except in special cases; they identify historical figures thoroughly, while identifications of sexual double entendre range from veiled to explicit. The notes are very readable, often employing a dry humor; for example, Yarrow songs are so typically tragic that "it is good advice to fall in love somewhere else" (p. 716).

Over the course of 866 pages, typographical errors inevitably creep in, though these are generally limited to the notes. A slight challenge for the thorough reader is the need to hold the text open in three places to refer simultaneously to the song text, notes, and source list. Moreover, though the source list is usefully divided into manuscript and print, a particular source could be in either list; no naming convention is evident (moreover, the print sources employ an idiosyncratic alphabet in which P precedes O). A useful index of first lines is provided; an index of tunes could also be wished for—which would solve the rare failure of the notes to include all inter-references (as with "The Broom of Cowdenknows," whose earlier references [e.g., R12] appear ignorant that the tune is printed in the notes to R288). Any other apparent inconsistencies are no doubt the reader's failure to grasp the multilayered editorial policy (partially displaced to the publisher's website), necessary for managing the complicated *TTM* sources as well as the series as a whole.

The striking musicological accomplishment should not displace acknowledgement of the editors' vast cultural insight. The implications of the "Tea-Table" are considered throughout, including the class, gender, and colonial implications of tea-drinking. Tea underscores Ramsay's desire to bring Scots more seriously into the Union: by drawing closer to English-defined acceptability in his songs edited toward acceptability for the mixed-

company parlor, he purchased some space for the Scots dialect—and for Scottish music, which would soon sweep not just Britain but all of Europe in popularity. Nor does the edition ignore Ramsay's use of the prevalent Italian interest (e.g., Corelli, Geminiani, and Handel opera) as both a foil and a vehicle; Ramsay's faux-deprecating contrast of Scots song with the "fine flourishes of new Musick imported from *Italy*" (p. 765) is highlighted alongside poems lionizing Italian opera stars Senesino (R277) and Cuzzoni (R319), not to mention Bocchi's *Scots Cantata* set in Italian style to Ramsay's text R22 (the music is included, though not in modern clefs). This truly well-considered volume paves the way for better research on Ramsay, on Enlightenment society, on ballad opera, and on Scots song.

Sarah Clemmens Waltz, University of the Pacific

Hugh M. Milne, ed., ***James Boswell: The Journals in Scotland, England and Ireland, 1766–1769***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. The Yale Editions of the Private Papers of James Boswell: Research Edition (Journals: Volume 2). Pp. xliv + 447.

This long-anticipated second volume of the Yale Research Edition of James Boswell's journal, edited by Hugh Milne, covers one of the richest and happiest periods of Boswell's life. First published in 1930 by F. A. Pottle in the seventh and eighth volumes of the *Private Papers of James Boswell*, and re-edited in the trade edition of Boswell's journal by Pottle and Frank Brady as *Boswell in Search of a Wife* (1956), these journals date from autumn 1766 to May 1769. As Milne remarks in his introduction, these three years were characterized by unprecedented productivity and major life changes: "Boswell commenced practice as an advocate at the Scottish Bar; wrote a major literary work, the *Account of Corsica*, which was an instant best-seller; became a tireless volunteer for the Douglas camp in the great Douglas Cause, the cause célèbre of eighteenth-century Scottish legal history; and started to give serious thought to finding a wife, while at the same time carrying on a passionate affair with his mistress" (p. 1). The research edition prioritizes and contextualizes Boswell's unadulterated journal text and memoranda, disentangling them from the supplementary extracts of correspondence, the *Life of Samuel Johnson*, and other personal documents used by the trade edition to create a narrative. Readers of Milne's volume are thus able to get a better sense of Boswell's sporadic writing practices, while the comprehensive annotations offer an encyclopedic overview of the literary, biographical, historical, and material circumstances necessary for understanding the source text.

The virtues of this scholarly approach are on full display from the outset. The volume commences with the Herculean task of filling in a sizeable gap in Boswell's journal, which "broke off with his entry, in London, for 23 February 1766 . . . and would not be resumed until January 1767" (p. 45). While *Boswell in Search of a Wife* provides a "Sketch of Boswell's life to March 1766" (*Search*, pp. 1–2) and a sampling of correspondence—beginning with a letter to William Johnson Temple dated 28 April 1766 (*Search*, pp. 3–5)— to redress this fallow period, Milne directly confronts and interrogates the absence of journal entries. Boswell may have refrained from keeping a journal for most of 1766, but he wrote copious memoranda, including "anecdotes . . . along with the Latin tags, mottos and quotations" that he gathered "for future writing projects" (p. 49 n. 7)—all of which are diplomatically transcribed here. It would be an oversight not to mention the eighty-seven footnotes, spanning sixteen-and-a-half pages, that accompany this first section. In addition to translating Boswell's (at times faulty) use of Latin and Italian, Milne's meticulously researched notes supply the essential information needed to decode enigmatic passages such as "Stanley's Switzerland/ J. Tonson 1714" (p. 45). As Milne explains, in 1766 Boswell began compiling books he wished to consult, such as Abraham Stanyan's *An Account of Switzerland* ("'Stanley' is JB's slip for 'Stanyan,'" p. 51 n. 16), as he worked on *An Account of Corsica* during his forthcoming trip to Glasgow. Given this context, the 1766 memoranda reveal Boswell as a writer in his nascence, preparing the first major work that would secure him literary fame—a unique insight that, until now, has not been readily apparent in previous publications covering this period.

When Boswell's journal-writing resumes in January 1767, the explanatory notes shed new light on the entries for 1767–69. Passages that were previously unglossed in the trade edition are made legible by illuminating contexts. For instance, an entry from 4 April 1767 describes Boswell being "roused" by news of Paoli's surprise attack on Capraja in "a letter from Mr. Dick" (p. 152). The purveyor of this information takes on new significance, considering Sir John Dick's proximity to the conflict as the "British Consul in Leghorn (1754–76)," his similar enthusiasm for the Corsican struggle for independence, and his "lifelong friendship and . . . regular correspondence" with Boswell (p. 152 n. 2). Milne treats the high- and low-brow aspects of Boswell's journal with equal attention to detail. Nowhere is this more evident than in the entries from 16–30 March 1768 about Boswell's trips to London and Oxford, which constitute "some of his finest journal-writing" (p. 1). When, in London, Boswell witnesses the double-execution of highwayman Benjamin Payne and forger James Gibson (pp. 263–64) and repeatedly enjoys prostitutes "*in armour*" (quoted on p. 261; see also p. 263), Milne contextualizes the latter by summarizing the eighteenth-century use of condoms and speculating where Boswell may have obtained them. Likewise, when Boswell "enjoy[s] [the] conversation" of Samuel Johnson, Benjamin Hall, Frank Stewart, and James Wilmot and witnesses the "grand & venerable sight" of "Bodley's dome" (p. 289) at Oxford, Milne helpfully notes that "'Bodley's dome' is not a reference to the Radcliffe Camera," which would "not form part of the Bodleian until

1862," but rather refers to the poetic term for "any large building" (p. 292 n. 14).

The footnotes to the research edition also describe the material condition of the extant journal manuscripts. Sometimes the materiality of text is a deliberate choice made by Boswell, such as the decision to record his London and Oxford travels in a separate, partially "filled quarto notebook with leather spine and marbled paper board covers . . . to symbolise the importance of his jaunt" (p. 251 n. 1). In many cases, however, the extant state of the journal manuscripts is the result of "censorship by later owners" of Boswell's private papers (p. xv). The aforementioned London and Oxford travelogues bear the physical marks of this bowdlerization: of the "originally numbered . . . 70 pages[,] 19 leaves . . . have been torn out and are missing" (p. 251 n. 1). Elsewhere, deletions—which have been attributed mainly to Lady Talbot of Malahide during the twentieth century—run rampant, expunging racier material from the journal. And, inevitably, time has played a role in the effacement of Boswell's text. Milne's acknowledgments credit James J. Caudle's "initial draft transcription of [the autumn 1766] note-book" for being instrumental in deciphering Boswell's "unusually faint" writing (p. ix), thereby illustrating, by way of humble example, how the materiality of Boswell's journals and memoranda ultimately affects how scholars understand them.

With fidelity to the source text as its *modus operandi*, this volume concludes in the manner it begins, by addressing the temporary cessation of Boswell's journal-keeping. Whereas *Boswell in Search of a Wife* presents extraneous materials to chart a through line from his travel to Ireland in May–June 1769 to his marriage to Margaret Montgomerie on 25 November 1769, the research edition simply allows "the Journal [to] brea[k] off [after 7 May 1769] 'when it would have been most interesting'" (*Search*, p. 206) and fills in the scant surviving details "of JB's visit to Dublin, and of the rest of his Irish jaunt" (p. 365) in an Editorial Postscript. Milne's minimal interference when it comes to revising and supplementing Boswell's journal text speaks to the strengths of the editing and the scholarly apparatus of this research volume. The introduction, which delves into Boswell's fledgling legal career, the composition and publication of *An Account of Corsica*, his involvement in the Douglas Cause, and his various "Love-making and Matrimonial Possibilities" (p. 29), serves both as a primer for a reader relatively new to Boswell and as a refresher for the veteran Boswellian. Both kinds of readers will learn something new, since Milne's introduction counters long-held misassumptions, such as Boswell's lack of care for civil causes (Milne argues that Boswell had "limited opportunities to retain papers," p. 4) and his distaste for the Union (Milne convincingly suggests that Boswell's views were, at best, "inconsistent and self-contradictory," p. 13). Similarly, the "Glossary of Scottish Legal Terms and Latin and Scots Words and Phrases" supplies definitions both for relatively familiar terms like "Advocate" ("A member of the Scottish Bar," p. 368) and for more obscure terminology like "Whitsunday" ("15 May. A Scottish quarter day, and legal term day, for the payment of rent," p. 379). The volume's expansive framework for Boswell's journal is reflected by its exhaustive index, which details Boswell's court cases, his numerous pieces of journalism and life-writing, the geography of London and Edinburgh, and the running character list of Boswell's "collection of men" (quoted on p. 289). This new edition of the 1766–69 journals demonstrates that those years were dedicated to much more than Boswell's quest for a life partner who could quell his libidinal impulses. For a valuable and essential reference guide to this remarkable period of Boswell's life, the reader need search no further.

Shirley F. Tung, Kansas State University

Richard B. Sher, ***Making Boswell's*** **Life of Johnson*****: An Author-Publisher and his Support Network***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2023. Cambridge Elements: Eighteenth-Century Connections. Pp. 99.

According to its website, the Cambridge Elements: Eighteenth-Century Connections series publishes short books that examine literary culture between 1680 and 1830, focusing on "readers, reviewers, correspondents, printers, publishers, patrons, and theatre managers." The series "situates writers within personal and professional networks, establishing the relationships between writing and other forms of labour and revealing the social, economic and intellectual drivers and impediments to the work of writing."

The series seeks to "bring together the best elements of books" (presumably scope and durability?) "and journals" (brevity and accessibility?), and it emphasizes both visual and verbal information. The volumes in the series are available as digital downloads and as softcover books. The volume under review is pleasingly and copiously illustrated, with 28 large, clear pictures. The paper is good quality and the type and margins nicely sized for readability. That the cover image is an Italian painting of a comet was initially puzzling, but all books in the series have been given the same cover, presumably because readers are likely to access the series digitally and thus bypass the cover art.

Richard Sher's "Element," *Making Boswell's* Life of Johnson*: An Author-Publisher and his Support Network*, meticulously reviews the publication history of the *Life* through the first three editions. Sher begins by acknowledging the importance of Adam Sisman's book *Boswell's Presumptuous Task: The Making of the Life of Dr. Johnson* (2002); he explains that his more focused study "relies heavily on underutilized older published sources, such as contemporary articles and advertisements . . . unpublished correspondence, and book trade documents… including a complete impression account of the first edition of the *Life*" and "a summary of the printing and paper charges for the first edition" (p. 3). Like Sisman, Sher describes the genesis of the biography as "Making" rather

than “Writing,” emphasizing that creating the *Life* required far more than setting pen to paper. *Boswell’s Presumptuous Task* concentrates on Boswell’s development as a biographer, from his friendship with Johnson, his publication of the *Journal of a Tour of the Hebrides,* his gathering of materials for the *Life,* his writing process, and his work (particularly with Edmond Malone) to arrange its publication. Sher’s study centers on “the careful assessment of another of Boswell’s roles, which has largely eluded scholarly analysis: the role of author-publisher” (p. 3).

For Sher, the concept of the “support network” is essential to understanding the early publication history of the *Life.* Boswell was a member of many, sometimes overlapping, social networks, including the Literary Club and within it his “Gang” of close friends (Edmond Malone, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and John Courtenay), the friends of the bookseller Charles Dilly, the printer Henry Baldwin and his employees, his own family members, and a wide correspondence. Sher details the roles of these men (and indeed Boswell’s network was almost all male) and concludes that, particularly beginning with the posthumous third edition of 1799 through the ninth edition, the support network was responsible for “establishing the work’s reputation as a biographical masterpiece” (p. 4).

Malone’s essential role as editor and cheerleader has long been known, as has the editorial work of Courtenay, who tempered the vicious “animadversions on Mrs. Piozzi” that Boswell had intended to include at the end of the *Life* and thus saved Boswell from himself (as Boswell acknowledged). It is worth noting that Mrs. Piozzi too had a modest “support network” to shepherd her memoir of Johnson through the press while she was in Italy. Just as Courtenay restrained Boswell’s nastier impulses, so too did Piozzi’s friends Samuel Lysons and Dr. Michael Lort rescue her from potential embarrassment when at the last moment they removed a libelous attack on Boswell from the *Anecdotes on the Late Samuel Johnson* and substituted a hasty translation of a Latin epitaph to fill the resulting blank space.

In *Making the* Life of Johnson, the picture of the day-to-day publishing process is remarkably lively and engaging, given that apart from Boswell’s journal and letters it is drawn largely from business records. Sher makes sure we know where “the Gang” lived and how that proximity influenced their working together; we know every expenditure, and how the network discussed whether to print in quarto or octavo, the number of copies, the size of the type, and the weight of the paper. Such print-shop minutiae are balanced by details like the arrangements for the frontispiece engraving of Sir Joshua Reynolds’s portrait of Johnson by James Heath. This, Sher notes, was the single greatest expense of the publication except for paper and print (£47.5s, or about £9,000 today), while the copperplate printing of the portrait cost Boswell another £20. We understand through the tracking of expenses what was being accomplished, step by step, how expenses track to revisions, changes of mind, marketing realities, and so on. For example, the cost of Heath’s engraving was in part due to its having gone through three states, as the artist was advised by Reynolds to make the face older, thoughtful, and more distinguished.

Sher emphasizes that the “monstrous” sum that Boswell ultimately owed Dilly “resulted from Boswell’s own decisions about the book’s format and number of volumes, print run, paper and type, corrections and cancels, overrun pamphlets, engravings, advertisements, and presentation copies” (p. 56). “Left to his own devices, Boswell probably would not have possessed the mental stability, practical knowledge about publishing, and financial capacity necessary for making sound publishing decisions. His support network kept him safe and, for the most part, sane” (p. 23). After describing the lengthy path to the successful first edition, Sher reviews the “shambles” of the second, undermined by Boswell’s “casual, reactive additive method of revision” (p. 69). His history of the triumphantly recuperative third edition introduces new issues like posthumous revision and the complications of copyright.

In thoroughly tracing the myriad decisions of Boswell and his support network, some typical and some unique to the *Life of Johnson*, Sher provides a highly readable, albeit sometimes esoteric, guide to book publication in the eighteenth century. Brief, well-illustrated, with a good bibliography, *Making the* Life of Johnson will be of interest to all Johnsonians and could be a valuable addition to a syllabus in the history of the printed book, as a comprehensive case history of the publication process.

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Matthew Daniel Eddy, ***Media and the Mind: Art, Science, and Notebooks as Paper Machines, 1700–1830***. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2023. Pp. xv + 531.

Roughly fifteen pages into taking notes on Matthew Eddy’s extraordinary *Media and the Mind*, I realized that the very practice this book unveils was in effect at my fingertips and right before my eyes. I was doing what Eddy describes almost by habit. My notes, his book, and this review, are best described as “paper machines.” I say best described because what’s so fascinating about the work done in Eddy’s text renders explicit and visible, maybe for the first time, what goes missing when we read written works and create them. What’s missing is “work,” which is defined here as an active and generative process, rather than a text in some static sense.

At a moment of change after 1707, during a time when the “spread of knowledge was closely linked to how a person could organize facts and observations on paper in a useful manner,” thinkers at large became “artificers” (pp. 7ff.). The components of art in this expansive sense were especially vigorous in “the homes and classrooms of Scotland on a daily basis” (p. 20). To the extent that knowledge and facts still matter in the Enlightenment sense—and they do, now more than ever—reading *Media and the Mind* suggests that we recognize our real

vocation: we are all machinists now!

Eddy develops the concept of “artificing” in vast and enabling ways. Drawing on an eclectic and until now invisible set of archival sources, he highlights a notion of art reaching far beyond the confines of museum floors and literary canons. Art is work, and “students, as artificers, used the material and spatial thinking involved in notekeeping to understand the subjects they were studying” (p. 7). Here art means using texts as instruments, and it’s a term as applicable to literary experience as to empirical understanding. Art is essential for knowledge in the way Einstein talked about his pencil when he said: “My pencil and I are cleverer than I am.”

Eddy’s notebooks are Einstein’s pencils. They are deployed, for example, in the form of “pictograms as stenographic symbols” (p. 33), “kinesthetic learning tools,” “including my own fingers” (p. 22); “structuring mechanisms” (p. 39), and other forms of what Eddy more familiarly calls “modes of interface” (p. 5). Citing the 1771 edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, he notes, “an ‘art’ was then understood to be ‘a system of rules serving to facilitate the performance of certain actions’” (p. 4). The *Britannica* was a “system” (p. 37), as the word “system” is defined in that immense *machinic* book. It is “‘an assemblage or chain of principles and conclusions, or the whole of any doctrine, the several parts whereof are bound together and follow or depend on each other; in which sense we say, a system of philosophy, a system of divinity, &c” (p. 37). The term “art” thus applies to the *Britannica* itself as a more formalized, more public version of notation at scale, “not solely evidence of reason as it was understood in the predigital era. Rather, . . . [as] part of reason itself” (p. 8).

The same goes for the overly naturalized term “writing,” as developed widely in chapter 2. Writing is not the only knowledge-act Eddy reconceptualizes in a process-over-product way. Eddy provides a fascinating variety of archival examples showing how Scotland’s student-machinists worked with other forms of textual interface: “codexing” (chapter 3), “annotating” (chapter 4), “categorizing” (chapter 5), “drawing” (chapter 6), “map-keeping” (chapter 7), “systematizing” (chapter 8), “diagramming” (chapter 9), and “circulating” (chapter 10). Each of these chapters provides distinct and startlingly compelling analyses of the “material activity of manipulating knowledge in a paper-based artifact that operated as a hand-held machine” (p. 418). Eddy’s reference to action in a material way highlights again the pride of place he gives to the hands-on nature of Enlightenment operating systems. He is focused not merely on the advancement of learning in the abstract sense but also, and equally, on “different kinds of paper, vellum, ink, chalk, and paint,” and how these elements “affected how words and figures were created, experienced, and valued” (p. 15). Who knew, as E. B.’s poem, “To Make Ink” (1763) instructs: Once you’ve got your quill nib cut just right, wine, oak galls, vinegar, and rainwater must be mixed to “make the colour more dimme” (pp. 63–64)?

At its theoretical core, *Media and the Mind* draws consistently from the physician and philosopher John Locke’s notion of the *tabula rasa*. But what makes this concept more vibrant than some traditional accounts of mental processes is Eddy’s emphasis on the *tabula* as much as the *rasa*. Think here of *tabula* in the sense given by William Perry of the Edinburgh Academy in 1775 both as *table*—a space specifically for “artificing”—and as a mode of *tabulating*—a way of making, counting, visualizing, and ordering knowledge as an effect of “art” (p. 5). Think less about blank minds than the way tablets inscribe them. Think less about subjectivity in isolation, and more about how Scottish Enlightenment note-takers assumed that, “At the most basic level,…every page was a *tabula*” (p. 5). In this sense, thinking as “writing,” and indeed, “folding, tabling, and sketching” (p. 16), are activities that make minds as much as minds are making them. Thus, knowledge is produced in the specific sense of working with paper machines to transform “an empty mind into a filled mind” (p. 5). But note, the filling of minds isn’t passively or divinely inspired. Filling minds requires material processes, hard work within relations of production. As “Writing transformed a blank page into a written page” (p. 5), so too was thinking transformed.

The *tabula rasa* concept’s evocation of blankness artificially filled connects beyond its philosophical-technical applications in *Media and the Mind.* There is due recognition of the prominent historical luminaries, but the Scottish Enlightenment’s lost historical agents are what this book more importantly presents. Key figures such as Locke, Rousseau, Kant, Hobbes, Boyle, Bacon, and Adam Smith are discussed, but so too are the crucial contributions made by history’s lost epistemic operators. For example, in chapter 2 on “writing,” “the twelve-year-old schoolgirl Margaret Monro (1727–1802) received a letter from her father, [and] she copied it out” (p. 45). As Eddy notes, paper machines are best understood as a core attribute of “Scotland's popular Enlightenment” (p. 35).

Similarly, Eddy shows how the Scottish Enlightenment’s more visible players took their notes in compatible ways. As an example of “codexing” in chapter 3, on the “8th of October 1790, the Edinburgh High School student and future lord chancellor of Great Britain Henry Brougham was in need of a piece of paper” (p. 85). In chapter 5, “[David] Hume…learned the art of creating headings at some point in his early education” (p. 152). In chapter 9, “During 1720s, Professor Robert Simson was haunted by a menacing specter. Try as he might, he could not solve a geometric problem that he had encountered as a student” (p. 324). One look through the extensive list of primary sources at the back of *Media and Mind* (pp. 430–52) reveals a vast archive of note-takers given new pride of place in the history of paper mechanics.

There is lots to learn and even more to enjoy in *Media and the Mind*. The book’s prologue asks: “What was your favorite book as a child?” (p. xv). For Eddy, it’s an occasion not to reminisce but to rematerialize the past. For him, rather than “fixed objects,” “the words numbers, and lines of texts” in favorite books “are a form of

media that dance, sparkle, ripple, and realign like the squares in the intertwining illusion created by the Italian psychologist Biangio Pinna" (p. 16). There are also many photos of notebooks and other paper machines reproduced in this volume, which reflect admirably on the "fifteen years of research" it took to write the book. Pondering the intriguing graphics, I realize that Pinna's swirling squares in black, white, and gray on the book's flyleaves are there for no other reason than to make the pages dance. They are pictorial nudges to recognize what we're about to read, a book that's self-reflective about how it and we are made. Any student of the Scottish Enlightenment, and any student of the history of books or new media, should be very glad Eddy made this one.

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Sheila Kidd, Caroline McCracken-Flesher, and Kenneth McNeil, eds. ***The International Companion to Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literature***. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literature, 2022. Pp. x + 287.

Caroline McCracken-Flesher and Matthew Wickman, eds. ***Walter Scott at 250: Looking Forward***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2021; paperback edition, 2023. Pp. xii + 227.

In the last decades of the Scottish nineteenth century, its first thirty years came into retrospective focus as a "Golden Age" and "the Age of Scott"—the literary culmination of a "Scots Renaissance" (economic and social as well as literary and intellectual) in the second half of the eighteenth century. Twenty-first-century literary critics tend to view the 1880s and 1890s as themselves marked by a cultural revival that points the way to twentieth-century Modernism. What to do with the half-century in between has presented historians of Scottish literature with a puzzle, lacking as it does any native equivalent to the "Great Tradition" of the realist novel in England, or poets to put up against Tennyson or Browning.

The International Companion to Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literature includes twenty-five very good chapters by experts in their various fields. But, packed into 216 pages, the chapters are frustratingly short. The book adopts the conventional tripartite periodization described above, although the titles given to these three parts ("Experiments," "Consolidations," "Expansions") do not declare this, suggesting instead some sort of dialectical progress which, however, the editors do not explain. Their answer to the puzzle of what to say about the mid-century is the now-established one of expanding the range of types of writing falling under the category of "literature" beyond verse and prose fiction. So the section on this period includes chapters on the novel, by Alison Jack on George MacDonald and by Joanne Wilkes on Margaret Oliphant and James Grant; on the fate of folk song and popular poetry in the industrial city by C. M. Jackson-Houlston, and the fate of Gaelic writing in the same setting, both in Scotland and in the diaspora, by Sheila Kidd; and a fascinating introduction by Graham Law to syndicated newspaper fiction through the prolific David Pae. These are supplemented with chapters on life-writing (Paul Barnaby), popular science (Cairns Craig), and social commentary (Regina Hewitt), and two chapters on travel writing: about Scotland (Nigel Leask) and about Scots traveling elsewhere (Jennifer Hayward).

Although very stimulating, this expansion of our sense of "literature" leaves the periodization around which this collection is organized looking rather arbitrary. For once we are no longer exclusively concerned with fiction and verse, the continuities across Queen Victoria's reign, at least, are much more striking than the disjunctions, inviting fewer, longer chapters with the space to explore those continuities (this is the approach taken by the companion ASL volume for the long eighteenth century, which, organized thematically, has only eighteen chapters in half again as many pages). Susan Oliver's chapter on the life-writing of Scott, Byron, Mary Brunton, Susan Ferrier, and Elizabeth Grant in the first section is followed in the second by Paul Barnaby's chapter on John Gibson Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, the biographical writing of Henry Cockburn, Thomas Carlyle, and his wife, Jane Welsh Carlyle, and Victoria's own *More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands*. The fact that this last was published in 1884, and Grant's *Memoirs of a Highland Lady* only in 1898, suggests the need for all this work to be considered as interrelated.

A refreshing element in this volume is its inclusion of working-class writing published in newspapers, but Kirstie Blair's account of urban working-class poetry in the third section is essentially continuous with Jackson-Houlston's in the second. Cairns Craig usefully reminds us that world-transforming scientists such as Lord Kelvin and James Clark Maxwell saw no conflict between their discoveries and their Calvinist Christianity, any more, I might add, than Enlightenment thinkers like William Robertson and Hugh Blair in the previous century. This insight could surely have been folded into Julia Read's account of the later scientific fantasy in the writing of Robert Louis Stevenson (also dealt with at greater length by Lesley Graham), MacDonald (again), and Robert Duncan Milne. The most useful chapters in this third section are those on areas where the *fin de siècle* really did see new developments: the varieties of pastoral known as Celticism (Michael Shaw) and the Kailyard (Andrew Nash); and the "New Woman" fiction of Mona Caird, Flora Annie Steel, Annie S. Swann, and others, of these innovations certainly the most influential on the development of Scottish fiction in the twentieth century and surveyed here by Juliet Shields. The coverage of Gaelic writing in this volume suggests that, of all the categories of writing discussed, it most clearly follows the dialectical development implied by the internal division of this book: Ruairidh Maciver explains how Highland poets adapted to the new social context produced by the disappearance of the clan chiefs, who had previously been the poets' patrons, as capitalism transformed society in the north at the start of the

century; Kidd explores the displacement of literary energy to cities and colonies of settlement; and Priscilla Scott describes its recovery in the heartland in politicized form in the age of land wars and the Crofting Act.

Taken together, the second and third sections of this book provide a useful introduction to the literary history of Victorian Scotland and can be recommended to students wishing to broaden their knowledge of the sorts of writing produced in this period. The first section, however, clearly suffers from this volume's over-extension. The chapters on the Age of Scott lack a contribution dedicated to Scott, with the effect that Scott turns up in the chapters on almost everything else, crowding out the other writers who might have been given their own space there. Valentina Bold's chapter on ballad collection is really about the *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* and its influence. Pam Perkins tries to shift the paradigm by starting her account of the historical romance with Jane Porter's *Thaddeus of Warsaw* (1803) instead of *Waverley* (1814), but there is no getting away from the fact that the subsequent novels she discusses were written in Scott's shadow, not Porter's, and Scott is similarly center stage in Samuel Baker's chapter on the Gothic. Only Thomas C. Richardson really moves toward an alternative story about fiction in this period with an account of the short story in which James Hogg, not Scott, appears as the great innovator, with the stories published in his journal *The Spy* years before *Waverley* was published. Scott's poetry is not discussed anywhere, but neither is the fiction of important women novelists like Mary Brunton. The most rewarding chapters in this section forgo any attempt at a broad survey and focus on a handful of case studies. Michael Morris's chapter on slavery and kinship discusses two texts about or by survivors of the Caribbean slave economy, *The History of Mary Prince* (1831) and Robert Wedderburn's polemic *The Horrors of Slavery* (1824), and pairs them with two novels, John Galt's *Bogle Corbet* (1831) and the anonymous *Marly; or a Planter's Life in Jamaica* (1828), to singular effect; and Barbara Bell gives a detailed and fascinating account of the attempts of Henry Siddons to cultivate a Scottish repertoire at Edinburgh's Theatre Royal in 1810–11, with Joanna Baillie's *The Family Legend* and, of course, an adaptation of Scott's *The Lady of the Lake*. But, given the riches on offer, the attempt to include Romantic-period Scottish literature in a volume on the whole of the nineteenth century appears overly ambitious.

Fortunately, there is no shortage of collections of essays on early nineteenth-century Scottish literature, and the 2021 volume from Edinburgh University Press to mark the 250th anniversary of Scott's birth, *Walter Scott at 250* (reissued in paperback in 2023), is a particularly distinguished example. This book is remarkable for the way the individual contributions share a set of common concerns: the authors have all been central figures in continuing the reassessment of Scott's work that began in the 1980s. Appropriately for a volume marking an anniversary, Scott's treatment of temporality is one of those recurring themes. Ina Ferris attends to the way in which Scott's novels position their readers in order to open up to them aspects of the historical past "smoothed out or over" (p. 17), the rough roads traveled by their protagonists mirroring the slowing-down of narrative sense-making experienced by readers. Far from Scott sharing the Enlightenment's confidence in the present moment's capacity to comprehend the past, Penny Fielding's chapter on the "future anterior" in *The Bride of Lammermoor* reveals the extent to which that novel postpones the possibility of that privileged moment: "the past is a history that we anticipate will make sense at some point in the future" (p. 29). Ian Duncan's chapter on the necessary anachronism that makes possible the sense of national continuity through time, as constructed by romantic narrative art, spots something like this in *Ivanhoe*'s famous repudiation of Richard I as a hero who left no legacy *except* in romantic narrative art, the effect of which is to "sever . . . the novel's resolution from its proximate historical future" (p. 59).

All three of these chapters might be understood as identifying what Scott problematizes as not so much the reader's understanding of the past as our understanding of the present moment in which we read. So it is not a coincidence that another cluster of chapters here addresses the origins and consequences of capitalism, whose as-yet unknown ultimate human and environmental significance our present moment forces us to anticipate. Anthony Jarrells's reading of Scott alongside Thomas Picketty's *Capital in the Twenty-First Century* (2013) stands out for its clarity and insight into the financial realities represented in Scott's fiction: attention to Scott's economic *ideas* seems previously to have obscured his precision in matters of *money* (a precision often admired in Jane Austen). Celeste Langan's chapter on Scott and the prehistory of neoliberalism weaves together the stories of Scott's *Life of Napoleon* (1827), the business crisis that he wrote it to relieve, and the journal in which he recorded this struggle in terms that evoked the travails of his subject, allowing us "to recognise in the entrepreneurial form of financial capitalism not the defeat but the *afterlife* of war" (p. 89). Scott's understanding of the political crisis of 1819 as a crisis in modes of political performance, discussed by Fiona Price, speaks to current debates around the legitimacy of street protest, and Susan Oliver's "Reading Walter Scott in the Anthropocene" recovers from Scott's work his awareness of the human and environmental damage wrought by the commercialization of the Scottish countryside in his own time, a revolution which both prefigured and in part initiated the ecological crisis of our present moment. In the closing chapter, Matthew Wickman locates many of the issues raised in this volume in a series of philosophical contexts, with *Redgauntlet* at his case-in-point.

Two chapters stand slightly apart from these shared concerns. Caroline McCracken-Flesher describes how Abbotsford operated as a tourist destination during Scott's lifetime and following his death, with a moving account of how the women of the house who made this possible were rendered invisible in the accounts of the place produced by those very tourists. Alison Lumsden contributes a chapter on a topic otherwise conspicuous by its ab-

sence both from this volume and the other under review: Scott's narrative poetry, which first made him a literary celebrity and made him his first fortune. The revival of interest in Scott's fiction was greatly boosted by EUP's Edinburgh Edition of the Waverley Novels, an enormous scholarly enterprise completed in 2012. An Edinburgh Edition of Walter Scott's Poetry, under Lumsden's general editorship, has already brought out *Marmion* and the shorter poems. "Looking forward," to borrow this volume's subtitle, we can be sure that future surveys of Scott's work, and of nineteenth-century Scottish literature more generally, will find his narrative poems much harder to ignore.

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Aileen Fyfe and Colin C. Kidd, eds., ***Beyond the Enlightenment: Scottish Intellectual Life, 1790–1914***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2023. Pp. xii + 273.

The introduction to this sharply written collection of essays, which seeks to map out the contours of nineteenth-century intellectual life in Scotland, admits two difficulties. First there is a dearth of studies which address the period. Gerard Carruthers, in the epilogue, does critically assess two academic works from 1961 on which scholars can build, however: George Davie's *The Democratic Intellect* and David Craig's *Scottish Literature and the Scottish People*. (He also acknowledges David Daiches's *The Paradox of Scottish Culture*, which appeared in 1964). Second, this dearth is partially explicable because—unlike the century before it, where scholarship has congregated around the idea of a Scottish Enlightenment—there is no catch-all nomenclature that characterizes the period's cultural life and clarifies the central questions which were being explored.

In this set of fifteen chapters, the editors set out to address the first of these problems by providing a survey of the current state of the field. In this they succeed admirably, highlighting the ways in which the shared European culture of Enlightenment, with its distinctive Scottish iteration, suffered in the century that followed from the twin complications of political revolution and intellectual fragmentation. The first of these saw the Church of Scotland replace the high-minded Moderates of William Robertson's generation with the patronage network headed by Rev. George Hill. Hill's cohort are nicely described here by John S. Warren as "an engine of nepotism, connections and conservatism" (p. 59). This alteration in the church's character, which effectively "silenced the Moderate Enlightenment," was twinned with Henry Dundas's political administration. (p. 65) As Richard Whatmore explains in his chapter on James Mackintosh, this worked to suffocate reforming voices as well as radical ones. This political program resulted in treason trials and the suspension of *Habeus Corpus*, which together suggested that "Britain itself was lacking in liberty and this translated into a refusal to defend liberty and peace abroad" (p. 84).

What emerged in the wake of the French Revolution was an increasingly diffuse intellectual environment, in which specialization was increasingly valued over generalization. New disciplines emerged despite the end of the Scottish Enlightenment. For instance, phrenology plays a role in Felicity Loughlin's intimate account of the Freethinking Societies of Edinburgh and Glasgow and their encounter with natural theology; similarly, literary criticism and the emerging discipline of anthropology attracted the *fin de siècle* freethinkers, whose work gains the attention of Colin Kidd. Comparative theology also metamorphosed into early anthropology in the hands of J. G. Frazer. Similarly, the London-based Society for Psychical Research, which Andrew Lang served as chairman from 1911 to 1912, broke new ground in treating seriously supernatural and paranormal phenomena (p. 209). And in all these fields of endeavor, the format for communication altered, as railway lines opened, communication accelerated, and periodicals, newspapers, and public lectures became increasingly commonplace, as both Jane Rendall and Eva Charlotta Mebius make clear in their respective excavations of the radical journalism of Christian Isobel Johnstone and the polymathic contributions of Robert Mudie.

However, as this summary suggests, there is no attempt to propose a controlling category that might provide coherence and controversy around which subsequent studies might congregate. Instead, as the title of the collection hints, much of what is assessed here are the outworkings into the new century of the eighteenth-century's ideals. (Notably the book repeatedly tries to take stock of Thomas Ahnert's revisionist account of the Moderate party's position in his 2014 book, *The Moral Culture of the Scottish Enlightenment.*) The theme of the "Enlightenment's direct influence" (p. 18) is overtly the subject of Robert Anderson's opening chapter, but even figures operating in the late nineteenth century are described as though working in the shadow of the eighteenth century's intellectual accomplishments. Thus, J. G. Frazer and William Robertson Smith are still assessed in the light of what Kidd terms "the legacy of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment" (p. 224). So too Andrew Lang, who is the subject of Catriona M. M. MacDonald's contribution, is read as offering an ironic distancing from the moral component of Enlightenment cosmopolitanism.

Yet a reading of the collection permits us to move "beyond the Enlightenment" in a number of ways. What John Robertson has proposed as the Enlightenment's central discipline— political economy—is recast, reorienting its concern away from wealth generation to the problem of persistent poverty, as Lena Weber contends. This chimes with a move away from the theological optimism that was characteristic of the Moderate party under William Robertson, toward a renewed concern with scripturalism. It was partly this change in theological emphasis that informed the 1843 Disruption and gave the Covenanting tradition an influence over the cultural landscape—a

claim posited here by Valerie Wallace. This in turn set the stage for a declensionist school of natural philosophers concerned with energy, and for racial theorists. The first group is analyzed by Cairns Craig in *Intending Scotland* (2009). The second strand is usefully documented here in both Bill Jenkins's chapter on the presuppositions that underlined any rendering of ancient societies and Efam Sera-Shriar's pencil sketch of the impecunious life and dangerous legacy of Robert Knox. Knox was a notorious figure in Edinburgh society, moving from being implicated by association in the West Port murders committed by Burke and Hare to writing the racist Ur-text, *The Races of Men: A Fragment* (1850). Set against Knox's racially separatist tract, with its commitment to polygenism, Thomas Carlyle's commitment to Enlightenment ideas of sentiment, highlighted in Joanna Malecka's contribution, points toward a more optimistic thread in nineteenth-century Scottish culture, which found expression in the studies of comparative religion authored by Lang, Frazer, and Robertson Smith.

Quite how this array of compositions and achievements coheres is left undetermined. Are we, as Cairns Craig suggests, looking at a nineteenth-century iteration of the Scottish Enlightenment? Or are we examining something rather different, grounded more in natural philosophy than moral philosophy—a science of animals not a science of man? And what might be the inherent value of thinking of this compendium of cultural life through the national lens? If anything, one might propose that, in an age of emergent nationalisms, a national culture of inquiry is more fitting to an examination of cultural life in the nineteenth century than that which has been explored so effectively in the eighteenth century. Yet, with the pull toward London and the push into empire, the assumption that Scotland's culture of law, education, and faith permitted a distinctive idiom to color intellectual life in the northern British kingdom needs to be evidenced, not assumed. This collection is suggestive but not definitive: as the editors are aware, its purpose is to inspire a reconsideration of Scottish intellectual life between the French Revolution and the First World War. That it prompts questions about the organizing principles of intellectual life suggests it does just that.

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BRIEFLY NOTED

Martin Clagett, ***A Spark of Revolution (1734–1775): Thomas Jefferson, James Watt, and William Small***. Foreword by Garry Wills. Bellevue, WA: Clyde Hill Publishing, 2022. Pp. xxxiv + 357.

William Small is a familiar name to scholars of early America, but only on account of one thing: his role as the teacher of Thomas Jefferson at the College of William and Mary during the early 1760s. That was no little achievement, discussed perceptively in chapter 8 of Martin Clagett's book. But Clagett has discovered so much more about Small and his significance. Although he died before turning 41 and published nothing, Small is shown to be a figure who was both unique and representative of Scotland's contributions to the transatlantic Enlightenment. Educated at Dundee Grammar School and Marischal College, Aberdeen, Small emigrated to Virginia in 1758 to take up a professorship of mathematics at William and Mary. Intrigue at the college led to an expansion of his duties, and he also co-founded and led the Virginia Society for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufacturing. The name of that society provides a clue about what happened next: in 1764 Small sailed to England, where he practiced medicine, associated closely with Benjamin Franklin, and then became a key player in the world of Matthew Boulton and James Watt in Birmingham. Indeed, Clagett shows that Small played an important role in convincing Boulton to collaborate with his countryman Watt on the steam engine, which he helped Watt to refine and improve. If Small's achievement as an American educator was not unusual for enterprising mid-eighteenth-century Scots, who did so much to shape the colleges of early America, the final decade of Small's life in Birmingham was anything but typical. Although the book has oddities (e.g., the cover and the title page have slightly different titles, with Small's primacy diminished in the subtitle on the title page that I have used above, and the title page contains the date 2021 rather than the 2022 date that appears on the copyright page), it is the product of an extraordinary amount of tenacious historical research in Britain and America. In bringing to life a Scot about whom relatively little was previously known, Clagett has given us much to ponder about the Scottish contribution to the rich interplay of pedagogical, scientific, medical, and industrial activity in a broadly transatlantic Enlightenment.

Francis Hutcheson, ***Correspondence and Occasional Writings***. Edited by M. A. Stewart and James Moore. With an Introduction by James Moore. Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics. Carmel, IN: Liberty Fund, 2022. Pp. xxx + 392.

Two past presidents of ECSSS, Sandy Stewart and Jim Moore, have combined with general editor Knud Haakonssen to produce a valuable volume of Francis Hutcheson's personal and public correspondence. Stewart located personal correspondence in a dozen different repositories, and it would be surprising if his transcriptions were anything less than exemplary. Moore has edited the remainder of the pieces, including all of Hutcheson's known letters to the *London Journal*, *Dublin Weekly Journal*, and two French-language journals; Hutcheson's 1735 pamphlet on the mode of filling parish vacancies in Scotland, *Considerations on Patronages*; and a little-known critique of Hutcheson's moral philosophy teaching, *Shaftsbury's Ghost conjur'd*, and *A Vindication of Mr. Hutcheson* written in response to it by some of Hutcheson's students. Hutcheson's will and preface to Henry More's *Divine Dialogues* (1743), documents concerning Hutcheson's appointment to the moral philosophy chair at

Glasgow, and a brief introduction to the collection by Jim Moore round out the volume.

Because Sandy Stewart died before completing his contributions, the annotation is not up to his usual standards. Thus, David Hume's four well-known letters to Hutcheson from, and just after, the era of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* receive only factual references to the works and individuals cited, rather than the copious and insightful footnotes that Sandy would undoubtedly have provided if he been able to do so. Indeed, one suspects that the annotation would be sparser still if not for the guiding hand of the general editor, who pulled the volume together despite hardships. But if this collection is considered not for its annotation but rather for its primary source content, much of which has never been published since the eighteenth century, if at all, then this book must be considered indispensable for those interested in Hutcheson's life and thought as well as in the history of moral philosophy during the Scottish Enlightenment.

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IN MEMORIAM: J.G.A. POCOCK (1924–2023)

John Pocock, who died in December 2023, just three months short of his hundredth birthday, was a path-breaking historian in two closely related fields, the history of political thought and the history of historiography. Born in London, he moved to New Zealand very shortly afterwards, when his father was appointed professor of classics at Canterbury University College, Christ Church. He studied history, which included the history of political thought, at Canterbury between 1942 and 1945. In 1948 he left New Zealand for Cambridge, UK, where he began research for his doctorate under the supervision of Herbert Butterfield and (in Butterfield's absence on leave) J. H. Plumb. After completing his thesis in 1952, he returned to New Zealand to teach at the Universities of Otago (1952–56) and Canterbury, Christ Church (1959–66), appointments separated by a research fellowship at St. John's College, Cambridge (1956–58). In 1966 he accepted the offer of a chair at Washington University, St. Louis, and moved only once more, in 1974, to Johns Hopkins University, as the Harry C. Black Professor of History. He retired in 1994, though only to be an active Emeritus professor. While Baltimore became his home, Pocock did not become a U.S. citizen, remaining a New Zealander with a strong historical sense of British identity. He traveled frequently and was indefatigably generous with his time and attention, as ready to correspond as to converse.

Pocock was the author of three major works: *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law. A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (1957, reissued *with a Retrospect*, 1987)—a revised and considerably extended version of his doctoral thesis; *The Machiavellian Moment. Florentine Political Thought and the Atlantic Republican Tradition* (1975, reissued *With a New Afterword*, 2003, and again, introduced by Richard Whatmore, 2016); and *Barbarism and Religion* (1999–2015), a study in six volumes of the first three volumes of Edward Gibbon's *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. Although on distinct subjects, there were connecting threads. Joining *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law* and *The Machiavellian Moment* was the figure of James Harrington, whose account of the significance of the early demise of feudal property in England for its collapse into civil war was the subject of a chapter in *The Ancient Constitution*, and was then found to have had a pivotal role in putting the Machiavellian analysis of the relation between property and arms-bearing at the center of English political discourse. In turn, the Machiavellian *topos* that citizens who abandon their arms will compromise their political virtue and slide into corruption provided an obvious conceptual bridge from *The Machiavellian Moment* to study of Gibbon's account of Rome's decline from republic to empire in *Barbarism and Religion*. Less tangible, harder to pin down, was another theme connecting Pocock's three works: his interest in historicism and his ambition to provide a more convincing account of both political thinking about time and the history of historical writing than was offered by the once standard thesis that a true "Historicism" only emerged in the nineteenth century. By the end of *Barbarism and Religion*, Pocock had triumphantly demonstrated the rich intricacy of the relations between political thinking, understandings of time, and varieties of historiography before 1800.

Alongside these, Pocock developed three complementary interests, expressed in a succession of essays and published lectures. One was in the methodologies of the history of political thought and historiography. Pocock is often associated with the "Cambridge School" of the history of political thought, but it should be noted that his own Cambridge "context" preceded that of his close friend Quentin Skinner, whom he did not meet until 1969, and that his earliest methodological contributions, a pair of articles published in 1962 on the history of political thought and historiography, respectively, were conceived independently. Nevertheless, Pocock was among the first to promote the existence of a Cambridge "School," and he was happy to be associated with it; it is also arguable that, over time, Skinner moved closer to Pocock's conception of a language-based history of political thought, rather than the reverse. In the United States, Pocock was also active in the Conference for the Study of Political Thought, a forum in which he took full advantage of the opportunity to pit his historical methodology against that of the followers of Leo Strauss. A selection of Pocock's writings on the subject, including the original pair of articles, was published in 2009 as *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method*.

A second long-standing interest was in "British" history, how it might meaningfully be conceived and written. He first raised the question in a lecture given in New Zealand in 1973, "British History: A Plea for a New

Subject." Coinciding with a trend among historians of the English Civil War to rethink the subject as a "War of Three Kingdoms," Pocock's essay resonated more widely than he may have anticipated. Encouraged, he proceeded in 1984 to cofound the Center for the History of British Political Thought at the Folger Library in Washington, D.C. This in turn occasioned fresh contributions, collected, along with the 1973 lecture, in *The Discovery of Islands: Essays in British History* (2005). From that lecture, two threads ran through his writings on this subject. One was the problem which England's unusually strong sense of historical identity posed for the other British nations, and for the originally "British" populations of the British Empire and later Commonwealth. The other was the predicament in which he personally found himself as a "British" New Zealander, whose entitlement to keep the two identities was being challenged both by a very different Maori understanding of New Zealand and by a United Kingdom intent on breaking the ties created by empire and casting itself as "European." For Pocock, "British History" was very definitely not "European History."

His third subsidiary interest, which might well also have yielded a collected volume, was in "Enlightenment" and its varieties. Published in a *Festschrift* for Franco Venturi, his essay "Clergy and Commerce: The Conservative Enlightenment in England" (1985) made a case for the existence of an Enlightenment in England different from but still as deserving of the term as *Les lumières* in France. Subsequently Pocock would identify a number of—often overlapping—Enlightenments, including the Lausanne Enlightenment, the Utrecht Enlightenment, and perhaps most important, the Enlightenment epitomized by Jean Le Clerc, at once Protestant and skeptical, which insisted that no appeal to divine grace should supervene upon the authority of the civil magistrate. Though Pocock was often cited as a champion of Enlightenments in the plural against "the" Enlightenment, his point was not the simple positivist observation that Enlightenment looks different in different places and fields of inquiry. Behind his insistence on plural Enlightenments lay his methodological commitment, derived ultimately from Wittgenstein, to the inherent plurality of languages of thought and the consequent unavoidability of normative choice. If we wish to associate certain discourses with "Enlightenment," we need to explain why, and why we attach value to them.

Aspects of Pocock's achievement are already the subject of a number of studies, collected and individual, and more will follow from commemorative events being held this year at Johns Hopkins, St. Andrews, Cambridge, and Harvard. In the setting of the newsletter of ECSSS (of which he was for many years a member), it may be appropriate to offer some concluding observations on Pocock's contributions to Scottish intellectual history. An early marker, in *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law*, was his recognition of the Scottish jurist Thomas Craig (1538–1608), who had understood the significance of the feudal law earlier than his English counterparts—though Craig remains surprisingly under-studied by Scottish historians. By contrast, historians of the Scottish Enlightenment were much more receptive to Pocock's account of civic humanism, as outlined in essays in his first collection, *Politics, Language and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (1971), before it was stated at length in *The Machiavellian Moment*. Among those who responded to Pocock's stimulus were Nicholas Phillipson, John Robertson, and István Hont in the UK, along with James Moore in Canada and Hideo Tanaka in Japan. It was Pocock who first pointed out that Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun was much more interesting than the "patriot" revered by Scottish nationalists. Perhaps the most intelligent of the "Neo-Machiavellian" political thinkers who wrestled with the military, economic, and financial consequences of the Revolution of 1688, Fletcher had offered a particularly lucid historical explanation for the rise of standing armies in monarchies across Europe. The same problems of commercial rivalry, the explosion of public credit, and the consequent growth of military establishments, Pocock continued, had then faced the generation of the Scottish Enlightenment. In chapter 14 of *The Machiavellian Moment*, devoted in large part to the Scots, Pocock portrayed David Hume and Adam Ferguson as the Scottish thinkers who developed the strongest doubts about, respectively, public credit and the loss of civic virtue. But he also recognized that by their contributions to political economy and stadial histories of "the progress of society," Hume, Adam Smith, and others had been leading exponents of "the rise of the social" in political thought. Pocock borrowed this phrase from Hannah Arendt, and though he was sensitive to charges of adopting Arendt's wider philosophy, he too evidently thought that the social had begun to threaten the political, specifically the identity and integrity of the political personality. Despite the efforts of Hume and Ferguson, the Scots, it was clear, could not be acquitted of undermining what was valuable in the civic humanist tradition.

The stimulus that Pocock gave to study of the Scottish Enlightenment in the 1970s came to a head in a conference organized by István Hont and Michael Ignatieff in King's College, Cambridge in 1979, the papers from which were published, after much revision, in *Wealth and Virtue, The Shaping of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1983). During the conference Pocock himself was an eirenic figure, tirelessly seeking to draw its participants, even the recalcitrant Duncan Forbes, into a dialogue to which both the civic humanist and the "civil jurisprudential" interpretations of eighteenth-century Scottish thought could contribute. Subsequently, he moved closer to Phillipson's contention that the Scots transmuted civic virtue into a discourse of "manners," an interpretation outlined in the opening chapter of his collection *Virtue, Commerce, and History* (1985). But Pocock's ambivalence about the Scottish achievement never disappeared. Doubts about Scottish stadial history in particular resurfaced in the second volume of *Barbarism and Religion*: *Narratives of Civil Government* (1999). While Hume and Robertson had written narratives that were "civil histories" of England and Scotland respectively, the stadial histo-

ries later attempted by Robertson, Adam Smith, and others had been “meta-” or “macro-narratives”, which could not provide a political explanation for either the present state of Europe or European imperial expansion overseas. Still more serious, Pocock now charged the Scottish historians (Hume a partial exception) with failing to engage with sacred and ecclesiastical history, in their own country, in Europe, or in the wider world. Gibbon would not make the same mistake, and as a result wrote a history that explained the difference that Christianity had made to the course of European history.

Pocock’s final contribution to Scottish studies was through initiatives taken by the Folger Center for the History of British Political Thought in the 1990s. The first seminars organized by the Center focused on episodes in English political thought: they included one on “Politics and Politeness in the Reigns of Anne and the Early Hanoverians,” directed and written up by Nicholas Phillipson in the volume edited by Pocock, *The Varieties of British Political Thought, 1500–1800* (1993). But in the early 1990s Pocock invited first Roger Mason and then John Robertson to convene seminars on the political thought of the debates over the Anglo-Scottish Unions in 1603 and 1707. These too resulted in edited volumes, Pocock’s contributions to which were reprinted in *The Discovery of Islands*. For Pocock, the problem in both cases was the one he had outlined in 1973: how the Scots had negotiated their “tangential” relationship with England, given that existing historical narratives of Scottish institutional-political identity were so much weaker than the narrative of England’s “ancient constitution.” It is probably fair to say that the debate of 1603 was richer in this respect than that of 1707, even if—or because—it was also clouded by religious expectation. The context for the 1707 debates, by contrast, was provided by Europe’s wars of universal monarchy, which were seen to be a prime concern of Andrew Fletcher. For Pocock himself, the important legacy of 1707 was to be found in 1776, and the American colonists’ rejection of the kind of incorporating union accepted by the Scots. It was left to Hume, Robertson, and other Scottish Enlightenment historians to address the historical problem of Scotland’s “tangential” status, and to Colin Kidd to tell this story; Pocock endorsed Kidd’s finding in *Subverting Scotland’s Past* (1993) that the Scots resolved the problem by proposing a new, “Anglo-British” historical identity. What the Scots thus never developed, as Pocock knew and Kidd confirmed, was a romantic nationalist identity such as the Irish constructed in the nineteenth century; hence there was no need for Unionist Scots to adopt the defensive, aggrieved “British” identity of the Northern Irish Protestants. The last was an identity with which Pocock, as a self-consciously “British” New Zealander, could express a disconcerting affinity; but he knew that the Scots had done better.

The successive stimuli that Pocock has offered to Scottish historians could easily be matched by his contributions to English, New Zealand, American, and even “European” history: it is a rare historian who achieves as much in a lifetime of scholarship. Though he was diffident of the adjective, even in relation to Gibbon, J.G.A. Pocock was a great historian.

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IN MEMORIAM: HIDEO TANAKA (1949–2023)

Hideo Tanaka, a leading scholar in the field of the Scottish Enlightenment and republicanism in Japan, passed away on 19 December 2023, at the age of 74. He was born and raised in Shiga and studied at Shiga University. In 1967 he entered the Graduate School of Economics at Kyoto University, where he would earn a master’s degree in 1978 and a PhD in 1993. After teaching at Konan University from 1981 to 1990, he returned to the Graduate School of Economics at Kyoto as a member of the faculty from 1990 to 2013. With Masaharu Tanaka, his supervisor and later colleague at Kyoto, he published a translation of Friedrich Hayek’s essays in 1986. Inspired by Hiroshi Mizuta, Tanaka published essays on Hobbes and began to study the Scottish Enlightenment, leading to his first monograph in 1991, *Scotland keimo shisoshi kenkyu: bunmeishakai to kokusei* [*The Study of the History of Scottish Enlightenment Thought: Civilized Society and Constitution*]. By covering a wider spectrum of Enlightenment thinkers and by placing Scottish thinkers in historical context, Tanaka broadened Japanese scholarship on the Scottish Enlightenment beyond the work of Mizuta and other scholars who had begun studying the subject by this time, such as Satoshi Yamazaki, Takeshi Sasaki, and Kyoji Tazoe.

His methodology was inspired by the contextualism of the Cambridge School, especially Quentin Skinner and J.G.A. Pocock. As Tanaka recollected, while some Japanese scholars of the 1960s studied writings by contextualists such as Peter Laslett, John Dunn, Duncan Forbes, James Tully, and Richard Tuck, Japanese academics at that time were more involved with Marxism and radical thought. It was only during the 1980s, especially through the influence of Istvan Hont and Michael Ignatieff’s collection of essays, *Wealth and Virtue* (1983), that more Japanese scholars began to pay attention to the work of Pocock. The contextualist approach enabled Tanaka to find a different method of intellectual history from the Marxism of his younger days. Inspired by Pocock, Tanaka tried to revise the way scholars approached the rise modern society, concentrating on the republican aspects of the Scottish Enlightenment. Having introduced these concepts in his 1991 monograph, he developed them more deeply in his 1996 work *Bunmeishakai to kokyoseishin: Scotland keimou no chiso* [*Civilized Society and Public Spirit: The Stra-*

ta of the Scottish Enlightenment] and, two years later, *Kyowashugi to keimou: shisoshi no shiyakara* [*Republicanism and the Enlightenment: From the Perspective of Intellectual Thought*]. The first of these works collected his essays published from 1979 to 1994, analyzing David Hume, Lord Kames, John Millar, and Adam Ferguson, with a focus on the militia issue in the Scottish Enlightenment. While Tanaka had studied Millar since his days as a graduate student, he expanded his research to view Millar as a radical Whig who respected the British constitution after the Glorious Revolution but, inspired by republicanism, also tried to change political thought. In maintaining that the Scottish Enlightenment provided ideas for social change, Tanaka differed from Mizuta, who clung to the Marxist view that Adam Smith and his colleagues did not contribute to changes in society. Although he recognized the problems inherent in republicanism, as he detailed in *Shakai nogakumon no kakushin: shizenhoshiso kara syakaikagaku he* [*The Innovation of the Science of Society: From Natural Jurisprudence to Social Sciences*] (2002), Tanaka believed that Mizuta and other Japanese scholars before and after World War II underestimated the importance of virtue and public mindedness for Scottish Enlightenment thinkers.

Tanaka also introduced Pocock's ideas into Japanese scholarship through his translations of Pocock's books, including *Virtue, Commerce, and History* in 1993, *The Machiavellian Moment* in 2008 (with Takashi Okuda and Kuniyasu Morioka), and the first two volumes of *Barbarism and Religion* in 2021 and 2022. He also translated writings by other intellectual historians, such as Istvan Hont and Christopher Berry, and hosted lectures by Pocock, Hont, Berry, and other friends. He was a corresponding fellow of the Royal Historical Society and was a member of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society for more than three decades (1990–2022). Many of his articles are listed in the "Recent Articles by ECSSS Members" section of this newsletter, which also contains reviews of three of his books: *The Rise of Political Economy in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2003, co-edited with Tatsuya Sakamoto), reviewed by Lauren Brubaker in the 2004 issue, pp. 16–17; *Enlightenment and Society* (2011, in Japanese, co-edited with Takeshi Sasaki), reviewed by Daisuke Arie in the 2013 issue, pp. 31–32; and *What Is the Scottish Enlightenment?* (2014, in Japanese), reviewed by Hisashi Shinohara in the 2016 issue, pp. 16–18.

After his retirement from Kyoto University in 2013, Tanaka accepted a six-year appointment as a professor in the Faculty of Economics at Aichi Gakuin University, and from 2019 to 2022 he was a visiting professor there. He excelled as a teacher and mentor. During his days at Kyoto, he supervised many scholars (including myself) on the history of economic, social, and political thought. He had an extraordinarily detailed knowledge of a wide variety of topics and always advised students accurately, fairly, and with kindness and humor. As he was a splendid supervisor, his seminar inspired, nurtured, and produced many scholars in the field, and he helped to change the direction of intellectual history in Japan by encouraging younger scholars to publish their research monographs. For me, Hideo Tanaka is—as Adam Smith wrote of his mentor, Francis Hutcheson—"never to be forgotten," and rich memories of him will remain with me and many others.

Shinji Nohara, University of Tokyo

ALEX MURDOCH'S DISAPPEARANCE

Historian Alexander Murdoch disappeared without a trace while taking a walk from his home in North Berwick on 22 June 2023. At the time of his disappearance, Alex (pronounced Alec) was honorary fellow (formerly senior lecturer) in the School of History, Classics, and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh, where he had received his PhD in history in 1978 and taught since 1995. Alex established a reputation as a fine scholar of eighteenth-century Scottish politics and emigration, especially to America. In addition to many articles and book chapters, his four books include a classic study of mid-eighteenth-century Scottish politics and administration, *The People Above* (1980), as well as three general surveys: *British History, 1660–1832* (1998), *British Emigration, 1603–1914* (2004), and *Scotland and America, c.1600–c.1800* (2010).

I met Alex more than fifty years ago, when we sat in on Nicholas Phillipson's now-famous undergraduate seminar on the Scottish Enlightenment in 1973–74. Although we were the only graduate students in attendance, and Americans to boot (Alex originally hailed from Philadelphia), the undergraduates in the class (among them Craig Beveridge, author of a recent book on John Hill Burton) were so sharp, and Phillipson's presence so dynamic and welcoming (including memorable trips to a pub after every class), that the whole group meshed well. Alex and I became fast friends and research associates. We made two research trips to London and another, in spring 1974, to Mount Stuart on the Isle of Bute to examine the manuscripts of the third Earl of Bute. We subsequently coauthored on two articles. Alex was an ECSSS member from the time of its inception in 1986 until shortly after his retirement in 2014, and he continued to write reviews for this newsletter, the last appearing in the Spring 2022 issue. Soon after submitting that review, he suffered a stroke in December 2021, which made it painful for him to write. Yet he was still trying return to his scholarly research: in July 2022 he told me that he had just renewed his reader's ticket at the National Library of Scotland in hopes of returning there in the autumn. I do not know if he was ever able to do that, but I know that his mysterious disappearance has deprived us of an outstanding historian of eighteenth-century Scotland.

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RECENT ARTICLES BY ECSSS MEMBERS

Thomas AHNERT, "The Philosophy Curriculum at Scottish Universities in the Eighteenth Century," in *SPEC2*, 1–52.

Christopher J. BERRY, "*The Wealth of Nations* as a Work of Social Science," in *Interpreting Adam Smith: Critical Essays*, ed. Paul Sagar (Cambridge University Press, 2023), 21–38.

Christopher J. BERRY, "Stronger than a Rope of Sand: The 'Problem' of Cohesion in a Commercial Society," *Adam Smith Review* 13 (2023): 6–18.

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Alexander BROADIE, "Adam Ferguson on Sparta, Rome, and the Fragility of Civil Liberties," in *AFPV*, 118–28.

Michael BROWN, "Politics in the Classroom: Ferguson as a Professor in the Age of Revolution," in *AFPV*, 32–54.

Rhona BROWN, "The Scottish Press," in *EHBIP*, 268–79.

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John W. CAIRNS, "Runaway Announcements and Narratives of the Enslaved," in *EHBIP*, 564–74.

Gerard CARRUTHERS, "'Losing Its Religion'? Scottish Literature and Confessional Identity," in *Writing Scottishness: Literature and the Shaping of Scottish National Identities*, ed. Ian Brown and Clarisse Godard Desmarest (Association for Scottish Literature, 2023), 65–83.

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Gerard CARRUTHERS – see Patrick SCOTT

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Alexander DU TOIT, "William Robertson's *History of America*," in *Bloomsbury History: Theory and Method*, "Classic History in Context," ed. Eileen Ka-May Cheng (Bloomsbury Academic, 2023) http://dx.doi.org/10.5040/9781350892880.203.

Rémy DUTHILLE, "Bastille Day Dinners in Scotland and Festivals in France: Transnational Relations or Monologues in the 1790s?," *E-rea. Revue électronique d'études sur le monde anglophone* 19.2 (2022). https://journals.openedition.org/erea/13369?lang=en.

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Key to the Abbreviations

AFPV=Adam Ferguson and the Politics of Virtue, ed. Michael Brown and Jack A. Hill (Aberdeen University Press, 2023).

BTE=Beyond the Enlightenment: Scottish Intellectual Life, 1790–1914, ed. Aileen Fyfe and Colin Kidd (Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

CSL=A Companion to Scottish Literature, ed. Gerard Carruthers (Wiley Blackwell, 2023 [with 2024 imprint]).

EHBIP= The Edinburgh History of the British and Irish Press, Volume 1: Beginnings and Consolidation, 1640–1800, ed. Nicholas Brownlees (Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

HTHC=Hume's Thought and Hume's Circle. Special Issue of *History of European Ideas* 49.2 (2023).

SHAW=Scottish Highlands and the Atlantic World: Social Networks and Identities, ed. S. Karly Kehoe, Chris Dalglish, and Annie Tindley (Edinburgh University Press, 2023).

SPEC2=Scottish Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century, Volume 2: Method, Metaphysics, Mind, Language, ed. Aaron Garrett and James A. Harris (Oxford University Press, 2023).

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Balance 31 Dec 2023: £21,390.73

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Balance 1 Jan 2023: $33,746.57

Income: $454 (dues)

Expenses: $26,070.33 (NJ nonprofit organization annual fee: $30.50; certificate of deposit: $25,000; student conference bursary: $300; website fees (3-year hosting; SiteLock; 3-year domain name): $738.83; bank service fee: $1

Balance 31 Dec 2023: $8,130.24

Bank of America Certificate of Deposit

Opening balance 22 June 2023: $25,000

Income (interest): $557.87

Balance 31 Dec 2023: $25,557.87

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Balance 1 Jan 2023: $2014.49 + £23.92

Net income (after Paypal fees): 2752.69 (dues)

Withdrawals: $0

Balance 31 Dec 2023: $3969.17

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