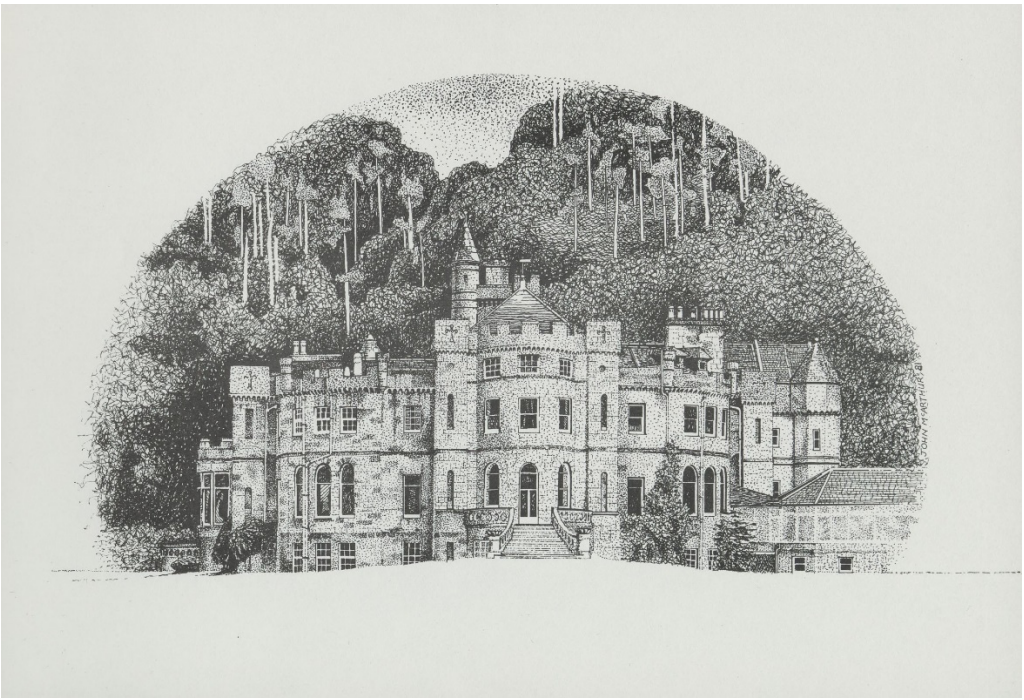
ECSSS Annual Conference 2025: Scots and the Environment
Pathfoot Building, University of Stirling, 17–20 June 2025

EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTTISH STUDIES SOCIETY



Airthrey Castle. John McArthur, 1981.
University of Stirling Archives.

ECSSS Annual Conference 2025, University of Stirling: Scots and the Environment

Local knowledge

Please accept a warm welcome to the University of Stirling and the Stirling area!

Here are some links we hope you may find helpful in navigating the campus, and finding places to eat in the evenings:

Maps and travel
https://www.stir.ac.uk/about/getting-here/

Local restaurants

Where to eat and drink in Bridge of Allan — Discover Bridge of Allan

https://www.themeadowparkstirling.co.uk/

8 Quirky Places to Eat in Stirling | VisitScotland

Campus swimming pool and gym

Please check the Sports Centre website for events which may mean that these are closed. Otherwise, if you're staying on campus in the hotel or Willow Court, you are welcome to use these facilities free of charge.

Programme at a Glance

Tuesday 17 June

1pm: Registration (Crush Hall)
2pm: Welcome (Pathfoot Lecture Theatre)
2.15–3.45pm: Keynote lecture: Richard D. Oram (Pathfoot Lecture Theatre)
3:45pm: Tea (Crush Hall)
4-6pm: PGR Lightning Talks (Pathfoot Lecture Theatre)
6-7:30pm: Gin Exhibition (room D3)
7:30pm: Dinner (own plans)

Wednesday 18 June

9-10:30am: Panel Session A (rooms D1, D3, C22 and C23)
10.30–11am: Coffee (Crush Hall)
11am–12.30pm: Panel Session B (rooms D1, D3, C22 and C23)
12.30–1.30pm: Lunch (Pathfoot Dining Room)
1.30–3.30pm: Panel Session C (rooms D1, D3, C22 and C23)
3.30–4pm: Tea (Crush Hall)
4–5.30pm: Keynote lecture: Noelle Dückmann Gallagher (Pathfoot Lecture Theatre)
5.45–6.30pm: ECSSS AGM (Pathfoot Lecture Theatre)
6.30–7.30pm: Concert (Pathfoot Lecture Theatre)
7.30pm: Dinner (own plans)

Thursday 19 June

9–10.30am: Panel Session D (rooms D1, D3, C22 and C23)
10.30–11am: Coffee (Crush Hall)
11am–1pm: Panel Session E (rooms D1, D3, C22 and C23)
1–2pm: Lunch (Pathfoot Dining Room)
2–3.30pm: Keynote lecture: Gerard Lee McKeever (Pathfoot Lecture Theatre)
3.30pm: Expeditions to the Leighton Library (by coach), or to historic Stirling (walking tour)
7.00pm: Conference Dinner: Stirling Court Hotel (on campus)

Friday 20 June

Friday 9–11am: Panel Session F (rooms D1, D3, C22 and C23)
11–11.30am: Coffee (Crush Hall)
11.30am–1pm: Panel Session G (rooms D1, D3, C22 and C23)
1.00pm: Travel to Blackie House Library, Edinburgh

Full Programme

Tuesday 17 June

From 1pm Registration: Crush Hall

2pm **Welcome** (Emma Macleod, Katie Halsey): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

2.15–3.45pm **Keynote lecture: Richard D. Oram, 'We Need to Talk about "Improvement": An Environmental History Perspective on "Improvement Era" Scotland'** (Chair: Emma Macleod): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

3.45pm **Tea:** Crush Hall

4–6pm **PGR Lightning Talks** (Chair: Michael Brown): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

6–7.30pm **Gin Exhibition:** room D3

7.30pm **Dinner (own plans)**
ECSSS Board Dinner and Meeting

Wednesday 18 June

Wed. 9–10.30am Panel Session A

Panel A1: Travel (Chair: Eric Gidal): **room D1**

Catherine Jones, 'Foreigners in Muscovy and the Hetmanate in a Time of War and Popular Revolt (*c*. 1655–c.1721)'

Matthew Lee, 'From Seascape to Landscape: Travel, Environment and Scottish Perceptions of Colonised Places'

Pam Perkins, 'Northern Environments: Charles Fothergill's Travels in Orkney and Shetland'

Panel A2: James Hutton and David Skene (Chair: Mark Spencer): **room D3**

Adrian Shaw, 'Why no shock and horror? The Response of Church of Scotland Ministers to James Hutton's Theory of the Earth'

Gregory Todd, 'James Hutton: Philosophical Improver, Theorist of the Earth'

Bradford Bow, '"David Skene's "Study of Mankind" and Natural History in the Wise Club'

Panel A3: Roundtable: David Hume's Account of James VI & I (chair: David Raynor): **room C23**

Pamela Ahern

Alasdair Raffe

Jean-François Dunyach

Panel A4: From Boswell to Muir through Politics (chair: Emma Macleod): **room C22**

David Purdie and J. N. Davie, 'Classical Quotation and Allusion in James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*'

James J. Caudle, 'Making Sense of James Boswell's Politics'

Rémy Duthille, 'The Forgotten Hero? The Reception of Thomas Muir (1765–1799) in France'

10.30–11am **Coffee:** Crush Hall

Wed. 11am–12.30pm Panel Session B

Panel B1: Urban and Garden Improvements (Chair: Rosamund Paice): **room D1**

Anthony Lewis, 'In the Name of Improvement: Planning and Building New Cities, Harbours and Transport Systems, and their Impacts on the Environment'

Alex Benchimol, '"The foremost commercial city in Scotland": Constructions of an Industrial Urban Environment in the *Glasgow Advertiser*, 1783–1800'

Camilla Allen, 'A Most Enlightened Structure: Sir James Hall's Arboreal Architecture'

Panel B2: Family, Food and Credit (Chair: Florence Petroff): **room D3**

Jocelyn Zimmerman, '"Into the Hilly Country": Hills, Sexuality and Kinship in Eighteenth-Century Expeditions of Discovery'

Lucy Henry, ''The extreme dearth and scarcity of the times': Food Scarcity and Crime in the Inverness Sheriff Court, 1782–4'

Leïla Cheurfa, 'Environment and Credit Relations in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'

Panel B3: Text and Environment (Chair: Gerard Lee McKeever): **room C23**

Michael Gavin, 'Scottish Geoinformatics: Sir John Sinclair and the Statistical Account of Scotland'

Siobhan Carroll, 'James Hogg and the Demons of Improvement'

Eric Gidal, 'Design with Nature: Sir John Sinclair to Ian McHarg'

12.30–1.30pm **Lunch:** Pathfoot Dining Room

Wed. 1.30–3.30pm Panel Session C

Panel C1: Built Environment (Chair: Camilla Allen): **room D1**

Ann V. Gunn, 'Paul Sandby's Formative Depictions of Scotland's Buildings'

Reva Wolf, 'Architecture as Nature and Nation: Rosslyn Chapel in Word and Image, 1761–1830'

Samantha Carrie, 'The Role of Painting in William Henry Playfair's Development of the Urban Picturesque'

Clarisse Godard Desmarest, 'The Early Work of William Burn: Style and Identity in Urban Scotland, *c*. 1810–1830'

Panel C2: Jacobites (chair: Leith Davis): **room D3**

Kang-yen Chiu, 'Sir Robert Strange, His Print Works and the Jacobite Cause'

Michael Ray Taylor, 'Charlwood Lawton and Whiggish-Jacobite Latitudinarianism'

Alanna MacTavish, 'A House Divided: Factionalism and the Fall of a Jacobite Education'

Calum Cunningham, 'Jurisdictional Overreach? Prosecuting Treason in the post-Union Scottish Legal Environment, 1708–48'

Panel C3: Coal, Sea, and Horses (chair: Katie Halsey): **room C23**

Robbie Tree, 'The Collier, the Natural Philosopher and the Black, Black Gold: Sustainability and Environmental Thought in the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Coal Fields'

Scott McFie, 'Coal and the Agricultural Revolution in Central-West Scotland, 1750–1815'

Florence Petroff, 'The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the Sea, and Improvement'

Miriam Bibby, 'From "Golden Age" to "totally worn out" and vanishing from the landscape: the changing fortunes of Scotland's Galloway Nag in the Eighteenth Century'

Panel C4: 'Tyrannic man's dominion': Earth, Environment, Ecology and Robert Burns (chair: James J. Caudle): **room C22**
The Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow
Ronnie Young, 'Composing in August: Ecology and Dominion in Burns's Early Verse'
Nigel Leask, '"Gie mi ae spark o' Nature's fire": Robert Burns and Climate'
John Watson, '"Her Mantle large, of greenish hue"*:* Robert Burns and the Bioregional'
Matt Rowney, 'Holding the Thread at Both Ends: Robert Burns as Industrial Tourist'

3.30–4pm **Tea:** Crush Hall

4–5.30pm **Keynote lecture: Noelle Dückmann Gallagher, 'The Rise and Fall of "Scotch Itch": Disease and the Environment in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'** (Chair: Katie Halsey): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

5.45–6.30pm **ECSSS AGM:** Pathfoot Lecture Theatre
Presentation of the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Leith Davis

6.30–7.30pm **Concert:** Pathfoot Lecture Theatre
Jennifer Reid
Brianna Robertson Kirkland and Jacques Carroll-Leitao

7.30pm **Dinner (own plans)**

Thursday 19 June

Thurs. 9–10.30am Panel Session D
Panel D1: The Clarendon Edition of Hume's History of England: *Observations and Preliminary Findings: a roundtable*: **room D1**
Mark Spencer
Marc Hanvelt
Mikko Tolonen

Panel D2: Leisure (Chair: Emma Macleod): **room D3**
Brycchan Carey, 'From *Scotia Illustrata* to *The Statistical Accounts*: Scottish Clerical Naturalists in the Long Eighteenth Century'
Edward Hardiman, ''The mischiefs of misapplied activity': Improvement, Industriousness, and Idleness in The *Lounger*'
Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, 'How the Corris influenced Edinburgh's Musical Environment'

Panel D3: Women Writers (chair: Moira Hansen): **room C23**
Katie MacLean, 'Jane Austen in Scotland'
Carmen-Veronica Borbely, 'Distilled Ecologies: Elizabeth Hamilton's Sense of Place'
JoEllen DeLucia, 'Frances Wright and the Scottish Enlightenment: Defining Women's Progress'

Panel D4: Adam Smith and James Beattie (chair: James Harris): **room C22**
Craig Smith, 'Adam Smith's Lectures on Natural Religion: Re-constructing what he might have said'
Eugene Heath, 'The Tragic Sense of Adam Smith'
Michael Brown, 'James Beattie's Political Thought'

10.30–11am **Coffee** (Crush Hall)

Thurs. 11am–1pm Panel Session E

Panel E1: Empire and Race (Chair: Paul Tonks): **room D1**

Nicola Martin, 'Scots and the Imperial Environment: James Murray, "improvement" ideology, and imperial governance in Canada'

Gioia Angeletti, 'Narratives and Images of Other Places and People: Lady Anne Barnard and the South African Environment'

Thomas Tyson, '"Gypsies" and the Transformation of the Scottish Landscape, 1770-1815'

Suchitra Choudhury, 'Sir Walter Scott and Paisley Shawls: Fiction, Industry, Empire'

Panel E2: Poetry and Environment (Chair: Pam Perkins): **room D3**

John Watson, 'Sublime Ecologies in James Thomson's *The Seasons*'

Amy Wilcockson, '"Auld Reikie's unofficial laureate": Robert Fergusson and Scotland'

Rosamund Paice, 'A Very English Eden: Echoes of Stephen Switzer in Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's 'The Country Seat'

Ellen Beard, 'The Music of Gaelic Nature Songs'

Panel E3: Science (Chair: Noelle Dückmann Gallagher): **room C23**

Tamás Demeter, 'Humean Chemistry'

Jeffrey Wolf, 'On (Scottish) Airs, Waters, and Places: Dr. William Cullen's (1710-1790) Rules for the Preservation of Health'

Alasdair Raffe, 'The Environment of Natural Philosophical Debate in Newtonian Scotland'

Panel E4: The Birth-Place of Value, the Country of Wealth: Improvement Policies in the Long Eighteenth Century and their Environmental Legacies in the Scottish Highlands (chair: Jean-François Dunyach): **room C22**

Thomas Archambaud, ''Improvers and backbenchers: the Macphersons, East India Company capital and the improvement of nature, 1780-1821'

Tom Pye, 'Rethinking the Origins of 'Liberal' Political Economy: Adam Smith, Enclosure, and Feudal Land Law'

Juliette Desportes, 'The Moral Ecologies of Improvement: the Forfeited and Annexed Estates (1745-1782)'

1–2pm Lunch (Pathfoot Dining Room)

2–3.30pm Keynote lecture: Gerard Lee McKeever, 'Regionalism and the Logic of Improvement in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' (Chair: Matthew Sangster): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

3.30pm Expeditions to the Leighton Library (by coach), or to historic Stirling (walking tour)

7.00pm Conference Dinner: Stirling Court Hotel (on campus)

Friday 20 June

Friday 9–11am Panel Session F

Panel F1: Translation and Memory (Chair: Emma Macleod): **room D1**

Paul Tonks and John Frankl, ‘‘Translating Scottish Authors for Korean Readers: Intellectual and Literary Legacies of Eighteenth-Century Scotland in Korea’

Beatriz Leitão, ‘There and Back Again: Unearthing the Rural Memory of the Scottish Highlands through the Bothy’

Panel F2: Readers and Writers (Chair: Michael Gavin): **room D3**

Jacqueline Imrie, ‘Scots, Libraries, and the Socioeconomic Environment: Orkney’

Josh Smith, ‘Reading and Writing the Land: Readers, Writers and Farmers at the Leighton Library, Dunblane, 1780–1830’

Michael Ratnapalan, ‘Robert Louis Stevenson, Religion, History, and Scottish Political Economy’

Panel F3: Environments of Remembrance (Chair: JoEllen DeLucia): **room C23**

Pamela Ahern, ‘Complicating Memories of Britain’s Queens in David Hume’s *History of England*’

Tanner Ogle, ‘Ruins & Remembrance: Jacobite Impressions on the British Environment’

Bonnie Soper, ‘Covenanter Memory, the Construction of Sacred Sites, and the Scottish Landscape’

Leith Davis, ‘Memories of the Environment and Environments of Memory in Robert Forbes’s “The Lyon in Mourning”’

11–11.30am **Coffee:** Crush Hall

Friday 11.30am–1pm Panel Session G

Panel G1: Books & Borrowing (Chair: Josh Smith): **room D1**

Katie Halsey, ‘Demonstration of the “Books and Borrowing” Database’

Matt Sangster, ‘Re-Framing the Scottish Literary Environment, 1750–1800’

Cleo O’Callaghan Yeoman, ‘Feminist Librarianship: Female Borrowing Patterns in the *Books and Borrowing Database*’

Panel G2: Thomas Innes (Chair: Gregory Todd): **room D3**

Kelsey Jackson-Williams, ‘Thomas Innes and His Books’

Dylan Fowler, ‘“A pen dipped in vinegar and gall”: George Buchanan, Thomas Innes, and the Deposing Doctrine’

Clotilde Prunier, ‘The Not so Discrete Personas of Thomas Innes’

1.00pm Travel to Blackie House Library, Edinburgh for those who have booked this option: Visit kindly hosted by Bill Zachs.

ECSSS Annual Conference 2025: Scots and the Environment
Pathfoot Building, University of Stirling, 17–20 June 2025—Paper Abstracts

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Full Programme

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4–6pm **PGR Lightning Talks** (Chair: Michael Brown): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

6–7.30pm **Gin Exhibition:** room D3

7.30pm **Dinner (own plans)**
ECSSS Board Dinner and Meeting

Wednesday 18 June

Wed. 9–10.30am Panel Session A

Panel A1: Travel (Chair: Eric Gidal): **room D1**

Catherine Jones, 'Foreigners in Muscovy and the Hetmanate in a Time of War and Popular Revolt (c. 1655-c. 1721)'

Studies of early modern travel have often focused on the Grand Tour, a journey undertaken by young gentlemen from northern Europe to southern Europe, with the art and antiquities of Italy, especially Rome, as its culmination.1 More recently, scholars have brought to light broader patterns of travel undertaken by people of more varied backgrounds, and with different motivations: for example, tours to the German courts and Vienna that might be intertwined with, or take place independently of, the Italian itinerary; travels in Russia, undertaken by men in military or other forms of service; or tours of Scandinavian countries, undertaken by enlightened radicals and others.2

This paper examines the art and inner lives of travel, not only for elites, but also for less exalted individuals seeking to further their education or find work abroad. I focus on the diary of Patrick Gordon (1635-1699), Scottish mercenary officer in Russian service from 1661 to 1699, who was based in Ukraine for part of the 1670s and 1680s; the journal of Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeld (1655-1727), Swedish scholar and diplomat, who travelled to Muscovy in 1684 as a member of a Swedish embassy to Moscow, and who remained in the country until 1687 to study the Russian language and Russian affairs; and the correspondence of Alexander Gordon (1669-1752), Scottish mercenary officer in Russian service from 1698 to 1711, and author of The History of Peter the Great, Emperor of Russia, posthumously published at Aberdeen in 1755.

The life-writing of Patrick Gordon, Sparwenfeld, and Alexander Gordon is generally categorised in Western European and Russian history and historiography under the heading of 'foreign' accounts of Russia. However, as Paul Bushkovitch notes, this classification 'ignores the radical differences among the foreigners' as well as 'the unique features of the records of foreigners who to a greater or lesser degree integrated themselves into Russian life'.3 This paper analyses the modes of description and (self-)representation of Patrick Gordon, Sparwenfeld, and Alexander Gordon; their local and international networks; and the insight their writing provides into knowledge circulation in Muscovy, the Hetmanate, and beyond in an age of war and popular revolt.

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Matthew Lee, 'From Seascape to Landscape: Travel, Environment and Scottish Perceptions of Colonised Places'

This paper examines texts produced by three Scots who undertook sea voyages to colonised places during the first decades of the nineteenth century. It is based on three manuscript sources: David Maule's journal concerning his passage to Demerara in 1801; Alexander Warden's manuscript account of his 1816 voyage to Java via Ile Saint-Paul in the Indian Ocean; and Alexander Innes' journal of his voyage to Jamaica – via the Azores – and tour around the island between 1823 and 1824. The paper examines how each of them monitored and measured the marine environment, recorded their visits to islands on route to their destination, and portrayed the landscapes and people they encountered in Demerara, Java and Jamaica. In so doing, it demonstrates the influence of discourses associated with natural history and the picturesque on each text. The paper argues that stints at sea were not mundane transits, but rather essential opportunities to witness the power of nature, visit hitherto unseen places, and encounter new wildlife. Crucially, these stints at sea allowed Maule, Warden and Innes to undertake practices associated with natural history, which were central to their forming a sense of the 'otherness' of the colonised places. The naturalist impulse they inculcated while at sea drove them subsequently to describe colonial landscapes, categorise their inhabitants and record their cultural practices. Overall, the paper offers insights into the importance of travel, the practice of natural history and discourses linked to Romanticism in shaping Scottish perceptions of colonial landscapes and colonised people.

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Pam Perkins, 'Northern Environments: Charles Fothergill's Travels in Orkney and Shetland'

In this talk, I propose to discuss an unpublished travel journal describing a seven-month tour of Orkney and Shetland in 1806 by an ambitious Yorkshire traveller, Charles Fothergill. Deeply interested in natural history, and intending to produce a definitive account of British zoology, Fothergill decided to explore the northern Scottish islands, which (as he argued in a draft introduction) had been overlooked or misrepresented by earlier travellers, most notably Thomas Pennant. Although he never succeeded in publishing an account of his northern travels (much less the magnum opus on British zoology), records of Fothergill's time in Orkney and Shetland survive in several manuscript sources. These include what is apparently the working journal that he kept during much of his time in Shetland; accounts of Orkney and Foula that were at least partially revised for publication; drafts of an introduction; and an account of the flora and fauna of Orkney and Shetland that appears more or less ready for press.

My central argument will be that the state of the manuscript offers some insights into the challenges of integrating natural and human environments in late eighteenth-century travels. In his journals, both the working and the revised versions, Fothergill records as much factual detail as he can – the temperature, the weather, any flora and fauna he encounters, especially if they strike him as rare or unusual. The human environment proves more challenging however, and the sometimes chaotic state of his revised narratives of encounters with local hosts or informants suggests the difficulty that he found in establishing an idiom or a satisfactory literary mode in which to frame those observations. The contrast with both the relatively polished section on natural history and the immediate, often uncomplimentary, observations that he makes about the local communities in his working Shetland journal makes clear how much easier Fothergill found it to represent the non-human environment in a publishable form.

Yet the fact that Fothergill was not content to publish a work simply on the flora and fauna of the northern islands, despite claiming that his primary interest was zoological, also suggests that he saw the human and natural environments as inextricable. His reason for this assumption might be implied in the repeated attempts that he made to assert the value of his work in his various drafts of an introduction. Ultimately, he tried to make a case for the commercial and economic importance of a knowledge of the northern islands: both the inhabitants and the produce of their lands and oceans are, he argues, underappreciated resources. As I will argue in this paper, this tension between the natural environment, as something that is representable and understandable within the discourse of late Enlightenment Britain, and the unfamiliar cultural landscapes that Fothergill encounters, is important. It undercuts any attempt either to maintain a purely utilitarian vision of the islands and their inhabitants or to draw any neat line of separation between the natural and the human environments.

University of Manitoba Pam.Perkins@umanitoba.ca

Panel A2: James Hutton and David Skene (Chair: Craig Smith): **room D3**

Adrian Shaw, 'Why no shock and horror? The response of Church of Scotland ministers to James Hutton's Theory of the Earth'

In 1785 James Hutton's Theory of the Earth was presented to the Royal Society of Edinburgh. In suggesting that the earth was of great, maybe infinite age, he blatantly contradicted any literal reading of the creation story in Genesis: how did the Church of Scotland and its ministers respond to this shocking development? In the

volumes of the Old Statistical Account published in the decade following Hutton's Theory (1790-1797) there is an unrivalled source of ministerial writings on the natural environment. This paper examines the accounts to assess their utility as a guide to ministers' interests and attitudes towards the environment, and their response to Hutton. The accounts contain compendious descriptions of flora, fauna and the physical environment in parishes across Scotland and give insights into ministers' attitudes towards earth history. What emerges from the accounts is a clergy interested and knowledgeable about the natural environment and some 'minister naturalists' who were expert. A number, including David Ure (palaeontology), Robert Rennie (peat moss) and James Meek (meteorology) made important contributions to our understanding of Scotland's environment and one, Patrick Graham, provided a reasoned criticism of Hutton's theory. Ministers were not shocked by Hutton's theory or other developments in natural sciences. Rather, as products of Scottish Enlightenment universities they were committed to 'improvement' and embraced a scientific understanding of the natural environment.
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Gregory Todd, 'James Hutton: Philosophical Improver, Theorist of the Earth'

James Hutton was in many ways representative of the 18th century Scottish improver. But his particularly philosophical perspective led him to insights that appear as anticipations of environmental concerns we address today. This paper will focus on three of these insights - on environmental resources, environmental adaptations, and environmental systems.

On resources, Hutton focused early on the importance of what others considered waste products. His principal source of income was from a partnership that manufactured sal ammoniac – then an important industrial chemical – for which the principal feedstock was a dirty, seemingly useless product: the soot from Edinburgh's chimneys. Later, as an agriculturalist, he was keenly aware of the importance of animal waste to enrich the soil, and even studied with fascination Chinese practices of using human waste from urban centers, which was used as agricultural fertilizer throughout China. In today's terminology, Hutton was keenly focused on recycling.

His focus on adaptation followed from his agriculture and animal husbandry, as he experimented to find crops and breeds suitable for the relatively poor soil of his farm in southern Scotland. His philosophically scientific bent, however, coupled with his awareness of the great age of the Earth, led him to an understanding of the mechanism of species change, much ahead of his time. In passages little noticed, he described clearly the mechanism by which traits arise through chance variation, which, if well suited to changing environmental conditions, are passed down to successor generations and so permit survival by the individuals with such favorable traits, while those without such traits perish. His descriptions anticipate Charles Darwin's later writings on the mechanism of natural selection.

Hutton focused on system early, in his medical thesis on circulation of the blood. Through his agriculture, he studied seasonal change and crop rotation, but above all he studied system in his geological theory. He saw the operations of the Earth as an ongoing cycle of destruction and regeneration, over a vast time, by which the Earth had become habitable for life and humankind. From his chemistry study in Paris, he understood that the limestones of England evidenced ancient worlds of once-living sea creatures, and that there was an alternation of land and sea, as he disclosed only in 1785 in his dissertation to the Royal Society of Edinburgh on "the System of the Earth". Hutton's idea of an integrated, and regenerating, Earth system was revived in the 1970s, by James Lovelock as the GAIA Hypothesis – and Lovelock himself acknowledges Hutton as a forerunner. Here again, Hutton anticipated a matter of keen debate, and hope, in efforts to address today's environmental challenges.

One concern that Hutton apparently did not anticipate, however, was the extent to which human activity could itself become a destructive element in the "System of the Earth". Hutton died in 1797, just as the steam engines of his friend James Watt were being widely introduced into British industrial society, so Hutton did not live to see Blake's "dark satanic mills", Malthus's worried writings on population, or the smoke-filled skies of Coalbrookdale. One wonders what Hutton would say today.
University of Edinburgh gtodd@gfwtesq.com

Bradford Bow, 'David Skene's "Study of Mankind" and Natural History in the Wise Club'

As a founding member of the Aberdeen Philosophical Society, known as the 'Wise Club', David Skene conceived of a 'common sense' approach to natural history and the 'study of mankind'. He authored twelve philosophical discourses and contributed to over twice as many collaborative discussions in response to pre-circulated queries at the Red Lion Inn and Lemon Tree Tavern. And yet, Skene did not publish a refined version of his philosophical discourses, which partly explains why he did not rival the intellectual legacies of Reid, Campbell, Gerard, and Beattie. This paper interrogates Skene's understanding of self-evident knowledge as well as the novel ways in which he categorised flora in the natural world.
University of Aberdeen bradford.bow@abdn.ac.uk

Panel A3: Roundtable: David Hume's Account of James VI & I (chair: David Raynor): **room C23**

Pamela Ahern
University of Delaware pahern@udel.edu

Alasdair Raffe
University of Edinburgh Alasdair.Raffe@ed.ac.uk

Jean-François Dunyach
Sorbonne Université jean-francois.dunyach@sorbonne-universite.fr

Panel A4: From Boswell to Muir through Politics (chair: Emma Macleod): **room C22**

David Purdie, 'Classical quotation & allusion in James Boswell's Life of Samuel Johnson'

In May 1791, James Boswell, Advocate, published *The Life of Samuel Johnson LL.D*. Widely regarded as the finest biography in the language, it has never been out of print. For this paper we have utilized the standard scholarly edition of L. Powell (Oxford. OUP,1971). In overview, we have identified 162 Latin quotations from the classical period, the principal sources being: Horace (79 quotations); Virgil (43) and Juvenal (19). Such quotes, plus classical allusions, pepper the *Life* both literally and metaphorically. We cite examples of their spicing remarks on, or by, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Edmund Burke and Oliver Goldsmith, often at The Mitre in Fleet St where Johnson and Boswell were wont to dine. They enliven debates at 'The Club' founded by Johnson in 1764 for such literary savants as Adam Smith, Charles James Fox and Edward Gibbon. Classical references are not scattered randomly. They are targeted, some with malice aforethought and with deadly accuracy. Boswell (1740-94) opens up on the title page of the *Life* with a Horatian epigraph to display his grand design.

Quo fit ut omnis votiva pateat veluti descripta tabella vita senis.

'Whereby the life of the great man is laid out as upon a votive tablet.'

Given Johnson's classicism, it was as well that his biographer had mastered Latin at the High School of Edinburgh. Boswell could trade him quote for quote in both prose and verse. Indeed, just as Horace famously described Virgil as *dimidium animae meae*, 'one half of my soul', so did Boswell regard his friend and subject. The Life contains many Latin substitutions for English, thus allow Boswell simply to show off. Farrago 'A getherup!' appears, italicized to indicate its Latinity, this loan-word being then unknown in English or Scots. Latin phrases often appear without translation, indicating the level of classical education assumed by Bosell in his 18th century readership. For example, *genus irritabile vacuum*, 'the fretful tribe of poets', appears just so, thus sparing versifiers yet further irritation.

Quoting Horace, Boswell says to the actor David Garrick who has been savaged in debate by Johnson: *faenum habet in cornu*, 'he has hay on his horn' alluding to the Roman practice of avoiding bulls who charged haystacks. A moving Latin compliment was paid by Johnson to Bennet Langton, soon to be his executor: *te spectem suprema mihi cum venerit hora*, 'may it be you that I see at the coming of my last hour…'.

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James J. Caudle, 'Making Sense of James Boswell's Politics'

James Boswell is generally acknowledged to be an important pioneer in biography and life-writing, but he is certainly not a canonical political writer. He did not make it into the Skinnerian Valhalla of the Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, where his friend Edmund Burke was honoured with two volumes — though in fairness, neither did Samuel Johnson. Yet Boswell did write a considerable amount on politics during his adult life from 1762, when he was in his early twenties, until his death in his middle-fifties, in 1795. Outside his traditional political pamphlets, the remainder of his political writing can be difficult to define and to delimit, since it was concealed in forms not so commonly used for political thought. His is not a simple case of a man who started out as a fiery radical and became a stodgy old conservative as he aged. There is something else at stake in this system-averse Boswell who is not fixed to one factional party line, who is prone to kicking the hornet's nest with newspaper squibs and provocative pamphlets nobody made him write, and writing public-interest interventions and making speeches which earned him no pay. Can we, then, discern in Boswell's political writings what Backscheider found in the chameleon Daniel Defoe, namely, that 'a set of core principles and opinions runs through all his works regardless of the reader being addressed'?

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Rémy Duthille, 'The Forgotten Hero? The Reception of Thomas Muir (1765-1799) in France'

In recent years the figure of Thomas Muir has attracted much scholarly and popular attention, especially in Scotland and Australia (see especially G. Carruthers, D. Martin, eds., Thomas Muir of Huntershill : Essays for the Twenty First Century, Edinburgh, Humming Earth, 2016). A vocal advocate of parliamentary reform in Scotland, he was condemned for sedition during the 1793 trials and deported to Botany Bay; his subsequent escape and

long odyssey through America all the way to France, where he died near Chantilly in 1799, compose a very colourful and adventurous life. In a 2016 essay on 'The Posthumous Lives of Thomas Muir', Gordon Pentland presented Muir 'a case study of how, when and why revolutionary figures of the 1790s have become politically usable' to groups as diverse as Scottish nationalists and Australian republicans.

This paper examines the hitherto neglected French reception of Muir. Muir was fêted as a hero on his arrival in Bordeaux in 1797, and became a symbol of Pitt's victims. As such he could become the instrument and the symbol of a republican, Franco-Scottish alliance against tyrannical England. This is borne out by press reports and by the rare, undigitized pamphlet Histoire de la tyrannie du gouvernement anglais, exercée envers le célèbre Thomas Muir, écossais (Paris, 1798). Though the pamphlet is ultimately disappointing, focusing on Australian botany rather than on its ostensible subject matter, Muir did reappear in the influential Revue des deux mondes, in a romantic heroic garb which Alexandre Dumas would not have disowned. In the late nineteenth century and in the early twentieth century, Muir was dutifully quoted in accounts of the Anglo-French Wars of the 1790s, though his heroic status waned in contrast with other figures.

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10.30–11am **Coffee:** Crush Hall

Wed. 11am–12.30pm Panel Session B

Panel B1: Urban and Garden Improvements (Chair: Rosamund Paice): **room D1**

Tony Lewis, 'In the name of improvement – planning and building new cities, harbours and transport systems and their impacts on the environment'

This paper assesses the environmental impacts of Edinburgh's New Town on the city in the 1770s and 1780s and the importance of carters and labourers as a workforce. Other Scottish cities will be included in this review of engineering and workforce management.

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Alex Benchimol, ''The foremost commercial city in Scotland': Constructions of an Industrial Urban Environment in the Glasgow Advertiser, 1783-1800'

Influential recent scholarly constructions of the Scottish Enlightenment, like Christopher Berry's The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment (2013) have emphasised how key thinkers like Adam Smith, David Hume and Adam Ferguson placed the idea of commercial exchange at the centre of a new stage of human development in the eighteenth century. The cultural, economic and material hubs for this idea of commercial modernity were modelled on Scotland's expanding urban centres in the period. This commercial-urban model of human development was tested by some of the unintended consequences of rapid industrialisation and population growth in the late eighteenth century, most notable in the Glasgow industrial urban area. This paper will explore one case study for the evolution of Scotland's modern urban environment in the late eighteenth century, embodied in what Glasgow printer John Mennons called the 'foremost commercial city in Scotland' in the inaugural January 1783 issue of his newspaper, the Glasgow Advertiser. The paper will examine how the foremost print manifestation of eighteenth-century urban commercial identity—the newspaper—mediated a new sense of the Scottish urban environment in 1790s, with a review of the Glasgow Advertiser's projection of the developing West of Scotland industrial region. The wider cultural identity of this new Scottish urban landscape will be assessed via the newspaper's reports on material infrastructure projects like the Forth and Clyde canal, political-commercial projects like the Glasgow Chamber of Commerce, and social initiatives like Glasgow Royal Infirmary. The paper will conclude with a consideration of the social and material limits for this Scottish urban model at the end of the eighteenth century, with a focus on the newspaper's coverage of social unrest and police reform in Glasgow, culminating in the Glasgow Police Act of 1800.

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Camilla Allen, 'A Most Enlightened Structure: Sir James Hall's arboreal architecture'

In 1797 Sir James Hall read his essay on 'The Origins and Principles of Gothic Architecture' to the gathered members of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, in which he set out his theory that the high arched windows and vaulted ceilings of Medieval cathedrals had hitherto unrecognised arboreal roots. This idea of trees being cathedral-like, or cathedrals being tree-like was something that had gained traction in the poetry and gardening of figures like Alexander Pope earlier in the 18th century but had never been so exactingly detailed. For Sir James, these ideas were not to be confined to the lecture hall, and he went on to plant a scale model to demonstrate the validity of his ideas. This willow cathedral is now the work for which Hall is best remembered,

eclipsing the contribution that he made to geology and the science of plate tectonics (Ranalli, 2001). Seen in isolation, Hall's project could be seen as an architectural folly, but this paper makes the contention that the structure and the thinking behind it says much about the networks and interests of the period, in which the environment played a significant part (Stout, 2022). Drawing upon sources from art and garden history, and contextualised by examples from the twentieth century, the argument is made that Sir James sylvan temple is more than an oddity, but instead was a structure that reflected the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment in ways that have not been hitherto explored.

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Panel B2: Family, Food and Credit (Chair: Florence Petroff): **room D3**

Jocelyn Zimmerman, ''Into the Hilly Country': Hills, Sexuality and Kinship in Eighteenth-Century Expeditions of Discovery'

In 1774, Glasgow-born East India Company emissary George Bogle praised Tibetan fraternal polyandry—the marriage of one woman to multiple men, oftentimes brothers. He also likened the hilly Himalayas to a 'state of nature', the supposed ground zero of human history, free from the 'hustle and bustle' of Calcutta or London. Scholars have long investigated the connections between sexuality and environment in Scottish Enlightenment theories of progress, where the 'tropics' or
'torrid zones' were supposedly indicative of lewd and hyper sexuality. They have yet, however, to consider what meaning was ascribed to 'hilly' environments. This paper investigates the association between 'hilly' environments and kinship through three late eighteenth-century instances of colonial expedition: George Bogle's 1774 expedition to Tibet, Samuel Johnson and James Boswell's journey to the Western Isles of Scotland in 1773 and East India Company General Lieutenant John LeCouteur's survey of Malabar in the 1780s. All three remarked upon a form of kinship that was unique to 'hilly' environs. All three also agreed with the Enlightenment notion that hilly environments, for their natural barriers, favored women because those societies had not progressed to 'savage' or 'barbaric' forms of patriarchy. Drawing upon intertextual archival reading methods, queer and feminist analytical theories and deep contextualization, this paper shows how, why and with what lasting effects eighteenth-century 'explorers' rendered polyandry and matrilineal kinship permissible in 'hilly' environments.

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Lucy Henry, '"The extreme dearth and scarcity of the times": Food Scarcity and Crime in the Inverness Sheriff Court, 1782–4'

This paper will investigate the topic of food scarcity and crime in Inverness-shire, as seen through the records of the Inverness sheriff court. It will focus on the period of 1782-4, a period of pronounced food scarcity throughout Inverness-shire. The field of Highlands environmental history, particularly the work of Robert Dodgshon, has demonstrated the detrimental impact of climatic instability - particularly to rural inhabitants of the Highlands. The court records under examination in this paper illuminate how weather events such as the 1783 eruption of the Icelandic Laki volcano, along with successive poor harvests, compounded the climatic precarity experienced by the lower orders in Highland communities. The impact these climatic conditions had on crime will be examined, with a particular focus on the impact of scarcity on women. Food and livestock theft became more prominent in the court record, and the poor conditions in the Inverness tolbooth were frequently commented on in petitions submitted to the court by prisoners. In addition to food scarcity, theft of basic resources such as salt and flax became prominent in the court record, with the procurator fiscal in one case acknowledging the severity and depth of the crisis as the likely motivation behind the crime.

A variety of court documents will be qualitatively analysed, including trial records and pre-trial witness statements, and several case studies will be covered in detail. The documentary value of a source which demonstrates how the lower orders coped with periods of dearth and scarcity is clear. These documents allow a fuller understanding of the range of responses to crisis, eschewing an approach which seeks to establish a monolithic lower order or women's experience. This will be balanced with the limitations of the records, and the methodological difficulties faced when utilising court documents to discover individual lives and experiences. For example, the highly standardised legal language used in these documents obscures the authentic voices of those testifying before the court, and therefore the legal, and patriarchal, lenses these case studies are viewed through will be paramount in the analysis.

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Leïla Cheurfa, 'Environment and credit relations in the eighteenth century Scotland'

The environment can be considered as all the natural elements that surround a community. This can be done at different levels of spatial scale. In this case it is a matter of animal and plant species, as well as ressources such as water and soil. However, it should not be forgotten that the environment can also be defined as socio-

economic elements that create the living conditions of societies. In this paper, through the study of credit relations in the north of Scotland in the
eighteenth century, I would like to link these two aspects.

Indeed, in a society where coins are scarce, community life is based on a network of daily loans. In both towns and villages, the provision of credit was essential to social life. Through debt and the potential legal disputes that follow, it is possible to observe the importance of credit in the development of the Scottish territory. The renting of land, the renting of crops, but also the building of walls to enclose fields were often done on credit. Credit is at the heart of Scotland's
socio-economic environment.

The environment can also be perceived as a landscape. The landscape of the north of Scotland is specific, with small towns, large countryside, but also island archipelagos such as Orkney and Shetland. How does this particular landscape influence economic and social relationships? Individuals move in the environment, such as the messenger who has to both deliver legal letters from Edinburgh to the debtor and imprison him if he does not comply with their decisions. It is
therefore necessary to consider strategies for the avoidance of the judiciary by the debtors in order to avoid confiscation of property and imprisonment at the local tolbooth. Is the North a favourable environment for avoiding prosecution? Are the archipelagos a natural border of isolation because of their insularity and lack of access?

Once the debtor is imprisoned, what happens to his environment? Incarceration creates a confinement: a physical wall stands between the individual and the outside. But although the prison is designed as a closed border, it is in fact a porous one. Between revolt and adaptation, Scottish men appear inextricably linked to their environment.

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Panel B3: Text and Environment (Chair: Gerard Lee McKeever): **room C23**

Michael Gavin, 'Scottish Geoinformatics: Sir John Sinclair and the *Statistical Account of Scotland*'

This paper will offer an overview of Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland as an early foray into geoinformatics. It treats Sinclair's impressive feat of data curation (21 volumes published over the 1790s with parish reports from 938 ministers) not only as a valuable historical record, but as an innovative approach to information management and, consequently, environmental geography. What Sinclair experienced from the beginning as a social problem - how to get the clergy to do the work of compiling parish reports and how to enforce regularity across the reports - was always also a textual problem - how to organize information to facilitate both search-based selective reading and statistical compilation. The spatial data structures that he developed, both in the Account and in subsequent publications through the 1820s, take the shape of semi-structured textual forms (with words gathered into sentences and paragraphs divided into sections) that function like attribute tables in a GIS database. Because each entry corresponds to a position in space, the data structure of the Account makes it possible to visually map economic and environmental patterns across the whole of Scotland. Sinclair's Account contributed to the information infrastructure of an industrializing economy and organized data in a fashion that continues to support multi-scalar reading within and across texts. Understood as a functional contributor and creative response to environmental transformations, the Statistical Account of Scotland indexes in both content and form an unfolding ecological catastrophe.

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Siobhan Carroll, 'James Hogg and the Demons of Improvement'

This paper reads James Hogg's The Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner (1824) as a Gothic reflection of Scottish improvement's fossil fuel politics. As Fredrik Albritton Jonsson observes in Enlightenment's Frontier, members of the Scottish Enlightenment identified coal as the fuel of modernity and saw its widescale adoption as a precondition for urbanization. Conversely, as elaborated in John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, improvers identified peat as one of Scotland's main antimodern antagonists. This clash between old and new sources of energy informs the famously divided actors of Hogg's Justified Sinner, as the sinister Wringhim, animated by the burning "coal of revolutionary principles," invites his demonic double to pursue his secret desires. A satire of improvement, Justified Sinner serves as a cultural indicator of ongoing resistance to Scotland's vexed energy transition. As such, it serves as an important example of cultural mobilization against national energy narratives at the dawn of the Anthropocene.

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Eric Gidal, 'Design with Nature: Sir John Sinclair to Ian McHarg'

This paper will extend forward the panel's account of textual ecologies in Sinclair and Hogg by attending to Ian McHarg, a native Glaswegian whose *Design with Nature* (1969) was a landmark publication in urban and

regional planning and a visual and conceptual forerunner of geographical information science. The book is wildly experimental, not only in its graphic juxtapositions of sectional displays, 'layer-cake' composites, and photographic montage, but in the claims that McHarg makes for these visualizations as media for environmental perception and cooperative evolution. He aligns regional planning with ecological science through a textually realized philosophy of complexity that seeks to re-integrate human cultures within natural systems. This paper approaches McHarg not just as an urban planner but also as a book artist working in a long history of Scottish geoinformatics. Like Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, *Design with Nature* is an experimental media project whose aim is to record changes in earth and world systems. Rather than reduce complex systems to instrumental knowledge, however, McHarg's experimental art book produces a radically ecological morphology of meaning. As creative engagements with new media landscapes of information retrieval and circulation born of critical moments in environmental history, Sinclair and McHarg's publications are worth considering in tandem, not simply for the information they convey, but for the textual ecologies they begin to imagine.

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12.30–1.30pm Lunch: Pathfoot Dining Room

Wed. 1.30–3.30pm Panel Session C

Panel C1: Built Environment (Chair: Camilla Allen): **room D1**

Ann V. Gunn, 'Paul Sandby's Formative Depictions of Scotland's Buildings'

Paul Sandby (1731-1809) began his career as a military draughtsman working on the Roy "Great Map," surveying the Scottish landscape and its fortifications from strategic and military communications points of view after the Jacobite uprising of 1745. This immersion in the country helped form his artist's eye, and the castles, tower houses and ruined churches of Scotland provided him with material with which to develop his landscape practice as a painter and pioneering printmaker. He also learned etching and engraving during his years in Scotland and his engraved set of Views in Scotland mark his debut into the artistic community in London in 1751. This paper will examine his early, utilitarian and informational depictions of Scotland's buildings and the way they provided subject matter and became picturesque elements and objects of antiquarian interest in his printmaking practice.

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Reva Wolf, 'Architecture as Nature and Nation: Roslyn Chapel in Word and Image, 1761–1830'

'A place formed by nature for heavenly contemplation' is how the setting of Rosslyn Chapel was characterized in the earliest extensive study of the building, published in the Edinburgh Magazine in 1761. The never-completed Gothic-style chapel, constructed in the fifteenth century, has long been a source of myth and lore, and the 1761 account set the tone for much of what followed. From this point forward, the chapel was often understood as being entwined with nature. Thomas Pennant, in his 1776 Tour of Scotland, exclaimed that it was "not less admirable … than the works of nature." The association of the chapel with nature, while not unexpected during this time, when the aesthetic concept of the picturesque was on the rise, has a special place in writings about and depictions of Rosslyn Chapel. This paper explores the significance of these verbal and visual associations of the building with its surroundings.

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Samantha Carrie, 'The Role of Painting in William Henry Playfair's Development of the Urban Picturesque'In 1811, the architect William Henry Playfair (1790-1857) outlined in his diary a methodology for colouring landscape 'pictures' and architectural drawings. Playfair's urban arcadia relied upon the principles of the urban picturesque, notably the features of roughness, sudden variation and irregularity. However, his architectural watercolour visions and their material and spatial compositions have yet to be assessed for their significance in Playfair's construction of urbanity. This paper will demonstrate Playfair's construction of the picturesque through the manipulation of colour, light and the landscape to create grand urban vistas in Edinburgh. His watercolours reveal his intimate engagement with the philosophical, scientific and cultural notions which underpinned the urban picturesque in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century.

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Clarisse Godard Desmarest, 'The Early Work of William Burn: Style and Identity in Urban Scotland, c. 1810-1830'

William Burn (1789-1870) is primarily known as Victorian Britain's most successful country house architect. However, Burn's prominence as a country house architect has tended to obscure the importance of the urban

environment to his architectural career. This paper focuses on understanding better this less appreciated aspect of his oeuvre, looking at his major commissions in Greenock, Leith and Edinburgh of the second and third decades of the nineteenth century. The intention is to explore how Burn was able to design such important buildings, showing in particular that Burn's early, urban work is, in its own way, no less pioneering or influential than his later more well-known work in the Scottish Baronial style. Focusing on the 19th-century building scene in an urban environment also offers direct insight into the social composition – and social competitiveness – of the late Georgian city. Everywhere in these commissions we see signs of rivalry between the elites with different geographical, political or professional affiliations. Yet, all were seeking advancement through works that explicitly expressed a commitment to civic life and to the charitable endeavours that supported it. By exploring these themes through the prism of Burn's early career, this paper will shed light on the architectural response to social, political and economic forces at the beginning of an era of unprecedented urban and imperial expansion.

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Panel C2: Jacobites (chair: Leith Davis): **room D3**

Kang-yen Chiu, 'Sir Robert Strange, His Print Works and the Jacobite Cause'

This article re-examines the early artistic career of Sir Robert Strange (1721–1792), situating his printmaking within the political and cultural milieu of mid-eighteenth-century Jacobitism. While previous scholarship has largely emphasised Strange's technical achievements and his role in disseminating classical art, this study foregrounds his formative engagement with the Jacobite cause. Drawing on visual culture studies and the political iconography of images, it interprets Strange's prints—especially his portraits of Prince Charles Edward Stuart and his designs for Jacobite banknotes—as acts of political reproduction that articulated dynastic loyalty through aesthetic form.

The article is structured in two parts. The first explores Strange's politically charged engravings during the 1745 Rising, highlighting how classical idioms were mobilised to craft a visual language of Stuart legitimacy. The second examines his Continental exile (1748–1753), tracing his artistic development in France and Italy, as well as his collaboration with artists and patrons sympathetic to the Jacobite cause. Through close readings of both visual and textual sources—including *Memoirs of Sir Robert Strange, Knt., Engraver, and of His Brother-in-Law, Andrew Lumisden* (1855)—the study reveals how Strange's images functioned as material expressions of political allegiance, as well as tools for cultural memory and restorationist hope.

Ultimately, this article argues that Strange's oeuvre is not only a significant chapter in British print history but also a vital component of Jacobite visual culture. His career exemplifies the intertwined trajectories of artistic practice and political identity, demonstrating how acts of reproduction can serve as instruments of resistance, remembrance, and ideological transformation.

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Michael Ray Taylor, 'Charlwood Lawton and Whiggish-Jacobite Latitudinarianism'

Recent Jacobite scholarship led chiefly by Daniel Szechi and Paul Hopkins has revealed a group of Whiggish Jacobites attempting to initiate a Stuart restoration to create a second Glorious Revolution. This group was mostly recruited from Radical Whigs who helped William III gain the throne but quickly grew disillusioned with his administration. Yet their existence has raised several other questions. How were they able to justify support of King James II and VII when they had recently decried him as a Catholic absolutist? How influential were they in the Jacobite movement, and particularly on the exiled Stuart Court?

This paper uses new evidence from the writings of Charlwood Lawton to answer these questions. Lawton was a Whig who turned from support of William to James and became one of the most prolific authors of the early phase of the Jacobite movement. He used a wide range of arguments to explain his transition, often mirroring the Radical Whiggism of John Locke. He centred these on a radical theological expression of Latitudinarianism that included the salvific nature of Catholicism and need for its toleration. The paper also traces Lawton's correspondence with the Stuart Court via Jame's Secretary of State John Drummond, 1st Earl Melfort. Lawton's attempts culminated in a public Whiggish turn of the Jacobite Court via James' 1693 manifesto, His Majesties Most Gracious Declaration. Whether genuine or not, future Stuart claimants to the throne mimicked this attempt to gain Whig support by pitching themselves as aligned with Whig principles.

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Alanna MacTavish, 'A House Divided: Factionalism and the Fall of a Jacobite Education'

Following the failed 1715 Jacobite Rising, King George's Hanoverian government ruthlessly purged Jacobitism from King's College in Aberdeen. Almost overnight, the college transformed from a hotbed of rebellion into an institution aligned with Whig Presbyterian loyalties. Yet beneath this dramatic shift, this paper argues, lay a more insidious force—one not merely of political decree but of entrenched parochialism and factional strife.

These underlying tensions not only hastened the college's transformation but left a lasting imprint on its Jacobite educational legacy.

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Calum Cunningham, ''Jurisdictional Overreach? Prosecuting Treason in the post-Union Scottish Legal Environment, 1708–48'

This paper will discuss the ensuing legal and cultural complexities of trying Jacobites for high treason in Scotland following the Union of 1707. It shall emphasise the swift creation of several Anglocentric 'British' treason laws conceived as a direct response to the grave threat Jacobitism posed to the embryonic Kingdom of Great Britain. This legislation originated from a suppressive and reactive policy concerning how the recently created British nation-state would deal with this severest of crimes. The paper will argue that while the endurance of Scottish Jacobitism paved the way for biased laws established to diminish it, the new state's choice to pursue the implementation of a new treason law had an immediate effect on the post-Union Scottish legal environment. Consequently, the prosecution of Jacobites for high treason became a particular problem to solve in Scottish courts until the aftermath of the Forty-Five. The state took the Jacobite threat seriously, evidenced in a specific legal context by the British state's unwavering determination to continue pursuing absconded Scottish Jacobites for several years after the Fifteen and Forty-Five risings.

The paper will show that Jacobite trials and proceedings held in 1708, 1718, and 1748 after respective insurrectionary attempts demonstrated how Scots from across the political spectrum responded to the feeling that the British state rapidly undermined their autonomous judicial system and laws. Much of this conflict arose because of the Crown's presumed jurisdictional overreach. Examining the application of British state treason legislation on Jacobites in Scotland reconsiders the centrality of Scottish Jacobitism as the motivator of treason-related Whig legal doctrine in the years after the Union. As the two legal systems continued evolving throughout the eighteenth century, the state employed the harmonised treason laws to a much greater effect on Jacobites after the Forty-Five, which established the fundamental treason legislation that informed British treason trials in later decades and beyond. This paper will reveal that through the legal suppression of Jacobitism, the enduring precedents established in the Treason Act of 1708 remain the legal basis and the enduring 'national' legacy of Scottish Jacobitism Scotland's surrounding legal environment, especially in establishing the treason law that remains on the United Kingdom statute book to this day.

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Panel C3: Coal, Sea, and Horses (chair: Katie Halsey): **room C23**

Robbie Tree, 'The Collier, the Natural Philosopher and the Black, Black Gold: Sustainability and Environmental Thought in the Eighteenth Century Scottish Coal Fields'

Colliers in eighteenth century Scotland were constantly digging deeper into the ground in search of 'subterranean treasure'. This black gold fuelled the Scottish industrial revolution and the quest for it influenced the simultaneous development of a body of scientific literature. While the coal industry had experienced something of a boom in the seventeenth century – as one of the few growth sectors in what is considered a relatively under-developed industrial economy – concerns were increasingly raised into the eighteenth century about the sustainability of mining. The salt industry had previously been the main consumer of coal in the seventeenth century but the introduction of iron in the following century led to drastic changes. Prevalent issues for colliers included the viability of deep mining and changes to the landscape. As mines became deeper and the built environment around them also changed, so thought and practice advanced. Coal mine workers contributed to a body of literature on subjects like natural gases, they questioned the potential sustainability of their work searching for a finite resource, and they were deeply engaged with their natural environment. Workers often lived in close proximity to their mines, in direct contrast with a growing trend of absentee landlordism, and they experienced first-hand the impact of technological advancement, such as the building of Scotland's first industrial railway in the 1720s. This experiential knowledge was then conveyed to natural philosophers and reproduced into printed works. The aim here is to focus on those who worked in the industry rather than solely on the production of printed works in a narrow sense. Workers' experiences have often been overlooked, but their knowledge of and connection with an adapting environment was paramount to broader understanding. An under-developed historiography on coal mining in eighteenth century Scotland has been slow to take up the mantle of environmental history. Inspired by the approaches recently employed by Ted McCormick and James Fisher to the study of demographic thought and the development of agrarian capitalism respectively, this paper seeks to outline how bound labourers in the Scottish coal mines of the eighteenth century contributed to advanced industrial thought and practice, with particular attention paid to notions of sustainability and ideas concerning the environment. It will chiefly concentrate on eastern-central Scotland through manuscript evidence, such as account books and estate papers, but will additionally draw on printed

material relating to the coal mining industry. In doing so it will also speak to the themes of industrial development, energy politics, land ownership, and labour in the eighteenth century.
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Scott MacFie, 'Coal and the Agricultural Revolution in Central-West Scotland, 1750-1815'
The importance of coal as a source of fuel for heavy industry means that it is typically considered as an industrial commodity, but this paper will highlight its relatively overlooked role in the history of Scottish agriculture in the eighteenth century. Coal was essential for the manufacture of lime, which was formed when limestone was burned in a coal-fired kiln. This was scattered on fields to lower the acidity of the soil and boost crop yields on farms across the Lowlands, which in turn played a vital role in feeding Scotland's rapidly growing urban population.

The paper will focus on the western counties of Ayrshire, Buteshire and Renfrewshire, which forms the ideal regional case study to illustrate the importance of coal in the agricultural revolution. While much of Ayrshire had plentiful deposits, there was very little in neighbouring Renfrewshire, and the islands in the Firth of Clyde were entirely devoid of coal. Examining landed estates from across the three counties, each with varying levels of access to coal, will help to illustrate its importance in 'improving' the state of farming on an estate. The aim is to highlight the close connection between the commercialisation of agriculture and the development of the carbon economy in the eighteenth century.
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Florence Petroff, 'The Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, the sea, and improvement'
This paper explores how the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, founded in Edinburgh in 1780, viewed Scotland's marine environment. The society aimed at identifying Scotland's culture and identity, as William Smellie stated in the first volume of its Transactions. This was to be achieved through surveys and by collecting traces of the past for their museum. From both a naturalist and antiquarian perspective, the members of the society endeavoured to improve their understanding of Scottish territory and of human societies in Scotland, as well as defining ways to foster economic and social progress. The scope of their interests was large, and this paper will focus on how they addressed the sea, which is everywhere in a country almost entirely surrounded by water that comprises about 800 islands. It will assess the significance of the marine environment in the collection of findings in the society's museum and in the papers presented at meetings and sometimes later published. It will also examine the society's views on the sea as a possible way of improving the living conditions of Highland working classes in order to forestall emigration. The paper will conclude on how the learned men of the Society of Antiquaries included the sea in their definition of the Scottish identity.
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Miriam Bibby, 'From "Golden Age" to "totally worn out" and vanishing from the landscape: the changing fortunes of Scotland's Galloway Nag in the Eighteenth Century'
Although little known today, the Galloway horse, or Galloway nag, was the name given to individuals of a famed landrace of equines from southwest Scotland. Extremely fast, enduring, reliable and easy to keep, they were known as far away as north Africa. From his research into newspaper and journal entries, the historian Innes Mcleod concluded that the years between the 1680s and the 1740s were "the golden age of the Galloways". He also suggested that "(t)he Galloways do seem to have lived up to their almost legendary reputation for speed and stamina and reliability – for going on for 10 to 15 miles without breaking trot and for tackling as routine a 60 mile journey in one day". By the end of the eighteenth century - and significantly in the post-Culloden landscape – the Galloways appear as "totally worn out" in the Statistical Accounts, and in the process of being replaced by larger horses more suitable for the progress of agricultural improvement that was to bring about economic, social, and cultural change in Scotland. In this paper I will outline the rise, fall, and transformation of the Galloway as new types of horse emerged to fulfil different requirements in the eighteenth century. This paper also shows how the reputation and contribution of the Galloway, particularly to horse racing, was overwritten by new political narratives. As background, I will also briefly refer to the role of the Galloway in mainly English-produced commentary, a development that I designate Galloway Nag satire, visible in literature from the late sixteenth to the late seventeenth century.
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Panel C4: 'Tyrannic man's dominion': Earth, Environment, Ecology and Robert Burns (chair: James J. Caudle): **room C22**

The Centre for Robert Burns Studies, University of Glasgow

Ronnie Young, 'Composing in August: Ecology and Environment in Burns's Early Verse'

Building on recent readings of Burns as an ecologically-minded poet noted for 'natural historical' accuracy, this paper aims to examine the extent to which Burns's early verse can be considered a form of 'Local Ecological Knowledge'. Areas such as conservation, biodiversity, and land management have recognised the value of the traditional, local and 'inidigenous' knowledge and experience of users of natural resources. In this paper, I will explore the potential of 'LEK' for examining the engagement with nature in eighteenth-century literary history, focussing in particular on Burns's 'Song: Composed in August' and his depiction of indigenous species of birds and their habits at a point in his career when he was very much developing as a regional poet.

I will also consider how literary representations of specific ecosystems point towards broader issues concerning landownership and power, as suggested by the direct model for Burns's song: Alexander Pope's Windsor Forest. Moving beyond the local to consider the wider and even 'glocal' dimensions of Burns's work, I wish here to explore human environmental impact as represented in Burns's deployment of 'man's dominion' – a notion derived from Pope - across his early poems. I also aim to look at the wider power dynamics of land use through Burns's depiction of grouse shooting and fowling in his early verse, taking into account Burns's relation to 'elite' field sports and later links with the Caledonian Hunt.

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Nigel Leask, '"Gie mi ae spark o' Nature's fire": Robert Burns and Climate'

'Gie mi ae spark o' Nature's fire, /That's a' the learning I desire', wrote Robert Burns in his famous lines from the 'Epistle to John Lapraik'. The paper explores how the bard and his poetry were shaped by one aspect of 'nature's fire', the climatic conditions affecting late 18th century Ayrshire. As a struggling tenant he was especially vulnerable to the vicissitudes of 'that auld capricious carline, Nature', and especially to extreme climate events. I borrow Tobias Meneley's title 'Late Holocene Poet' to describe Burns, who lived just before the industrial era at the dawn of the Anthropocene, and had limited use for coal and fossil fuels, still dependent on the diurnal and seasonal rhythm of nature. The organic energy of solar radiation, soil and rainfall nurtured crops to provide foodstuffs, in turn metabolised into human and animal energy, especially (for an Ayrshire ploughman) 'horse-power'. Burn's enlightenment education in agricultural improvement sought to mitigate the consequences of extreme climate events, but with uneven success. My paper compares Coila in 'The Vision' (a female figure for georgic improvement), with the folkloristic 'Carlene' or 'Cailleach' (witch of extreme weather). It was the latter who triumphed in terms of the catastrophic climate events of the early 1780's, in part caused by the Laki volcanic eruptions, which devastated 'the best-laid schemes o' Mice an' Men'

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John Watson, '"Her Mantle large, of greenish hue": Robert Burns and the Bioregional'

The works of Robert Burns (1759-96) can be viewed as contemporaneous motifs of a bioregional and ecological identity as much as the 'afterlife' motifs of Scottish national identity. His form of linguistic bioregionalism brings us new perspectives on ecological interconnection and brings to eighteenth-century studies deeper maps on the geopolitics of culture and the environment.

Bioregionalism was a 1970s ecological movement promoting local sustainability and 'watershed' environmental identity against threats of globalism, which helped define the early movement towards contemporary ecocriticism. The works of Robert Burns exemplify many similar tensions between the local and the global, reflecting both the identity of a lived local environment but also the colonising technologies of modernising ideas.

Robert Burns was born into a revolutionary eighteenth-century world where intellectual and technological ideas of the Enlightenment were ploughing their way through a country bound to a Union eager for expanded national resources. Any notions of a literary, or indeed national, idyll of resourceful infinitude were rapidly being pressured by a colonising tide of 'agronomic' improvement, yet Burns still hung onto many primitivist ideals of folk ecology and traditional environmental knowledge.

This paper explores examples of Burns's bioregional mindset, tracking ecological sensibility through the poem 'The Vision' of 1786. It reveals an environmental aesthetic in Scottish literary culture of the eighteenth century, at a comparative moment in time when regional sustainability and identity was responding to the threats of globalism, climate, and colonialism.

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Matthew Rowney, 'Holding the Thread at Both Ends: Robert Burns as Industrial Tourist'
Culture increasingly moved indoors in the late eighteenth century, but not without various forms of resistance. Robert Burns, someone who knew what it meant to be out in the weather, was uniquely situated to comment on this general cultural development. In this essay, I examine Burns' 1787 tour of the Highlands as a pivotal moment in his life and career, focusing specifically on his visit to Carron Iron Works, an incubator of the industrial revolution and popular tourist destination. The poem that he scratched on the window of the inn near the works simultaneously comments on what it means to be on the outside looking in (in terms of class) and on the inside looking out (in terms of the moving of culture indoors). To quote Michel Serres, "the essentials take place indoors and in words, never again outdoors with things" (), and Burns' carving of poetry into the glass of the window registers this change as it is taking place.

This movement indoors occurs alongside a vast expansion of British empire. That Burns was considering emigrating to Jamaica as an overseer on a sugar plantation at the time of his visit to Carron is significant in this context. I seek in this essay to examine how early industrialization in Britain and its ties to plantation practices offer an underappreciated context through which to view Burns' poetic production.
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3.30–4pm **Tea:** Crush Hall

4–5.30pm **Keynote lecture: Noelle Dückmann Gallagher, 'The Rise and Fall of "Scotch Itch": Disease and the Environment in Eighteenth-Century Scotland'** (Chair: Katie Halsey): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

5.45–6.30pm **ECSSS AGM:** Pathfoot Lecture Theatre
Presentation of the ECSSS Lifetime Achievement Award to Leith Davis

6.30–7.30pm **Concert:** Pathfoot Lecture Theatre
Jennifer Reid
Brianna Robertson Kirkland and Jacques Carroll-Leitao

7.30pm **Dinner (own plans)**

Thursday 19 June

Thurs. 9–10.30am Panel Session D
Panel D1: Roundtable: The Clarendon Edition of Hume's History of England: *Observations and Preliminary Findings:* **room D1**
Mark Spencer
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Marc Hanvelt
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Mikko Tolonen
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Panel D2: Leisure (Chair: Emma Macleod): **room D3**
Brycchan Carey, 'From Scotia Illustrata to The Statistical Accounts: Scottish Clerical Naturalists in the Long Eighteenth Century'
The figure of the clerical or 'parson' naturalist is superficially familiar to scholars of Enlightenment science through individuals such as Gilbert White, the celebrated author of The Natural History of Selborne (1789). Until now, however, clerical naturalists have been the subject of only one study: Patrick Armstrong's problematic The English Parson Naturalist (2000) which asserts, quite incorrectly, that 'the tradition is

distinctively an English one'. In this paper I will demonstrate the important contribution to the environmental sciences made by Scottish ministers in the long eighteenth century, both through their individual efforts to understand the Scottish environment and through their contribution to collaborative projects from Robert Sibbald's aborted Scotia Illustrata (1684), through John Lightfoot's Flora Scotica (1777), to John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-99). Indeed, the old and the new Statistical Accounts alone, which harnessed clerical knowledge on a scale not seen in England or elsewhere, demonstrate persuasively that the tradition of the clerical naturalist was as much if not more distinctively Scottish than it was English.

To make my case, I will share research from my British Academy/Wolfson-funded project 'The Parish Revolution' in which I examine the personal, rhetorical, and cultural history of clerical naturalism as it was practiced in the British Isles and Empire between 1660 and 1859. Drawing on data I have collected on over 1100 clerical naturalists (available at https://www.brycchancarey.com/naturalists/), I will focus on some of the approximately 10% of the individuals in the database who were associated with Scotland in various ways, drawing on notable or revealing examples from the long eighteenth century. This list includes celebrated figures such as John Walker, the minister of Colinton and Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh University, John Playfair, minister of Liff and Benvie and also Professor of Natural History at Edinburgh, David Landsborough, minister at Stevenston and Saltcoats and author of Arran, A Poem (1828) and Excursions to Arran (1851), and Thomas Chalmers, leader of the Great Disruption of 1843, but also a natural theologian and author of a Bridgewater treatise in 1833. I shall also reveal some less well-known figures, from Hugh Leigh, the minister of Bressay, Shetland, who quietly collected botanical data in the late seventeenth century to William Bennet, the botanist minister of Duddingston, who in 1805 drowned while skating on Duddingston Loch. The Scottish clerical naturalist, I conclude, was an integral part not just of the Scottish Enlightenment but also of the revolution in the environmental and life sciences that was taking place across the European world.

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Edward Hardiman, '"The mischiefs of misapplied activity": Improvement, Industriousness, and Idleness in *The Lounger*'

The late eighteenth century was a period of profound socio-economic change for Scotland. Landowners enthusiastically adopted agricultural practices which commercialised the rural landscape: communal lands were abolished, fields were enclosed, and rents were increasingly paid in cash. In print, agricultural writers imagined farming as a science or a techne which was practiced by enlightened and educated men who turned wasteland into profit. At the same time, urban centres were expanding. The number of working professionals and businessmen grew, populating the streets of Edinburgh and filling its coffeehouses. This emergent middling order sought to promote their labour as both lucrative and virtuous through a myriad of periodical print. Equally, they lambasted members of the landed gentry who lived in idleness and refused to industriously apply themselves to the improvement of their estate. Although these developments had yet to resemble the industrialism of the nineteenth century, the marks of emergent capitalism were evident in print culture and etched into the landscape eighteenth-century Scotland.

Although many prominent figures of the Scottish Enlightenment spearheaded agricultural improvement, extolled the virtues of industrious labour, and were denizens of urban centres, there was a distinct anxiety surrounding the effects of modernisation in Scotland and Britain more generally. The novels of Edinburgh-born lawyer, Henry Mackenzie, tackled the themes of alienation as well as the corrosive effects of commercial and agrarian capitalism. Although his novels were enormously successful – particularly The Man of Feeling (1771) – Mackenzie was frustrated with the limitations of the genre and the ability of readers to derive meaning from his work. This did not deter him from continuing his literary career, however, it was through the genre of the periodical – The Mirror (1779-80) and The Lounger (1785-87) – where he would continue to develop his thoughts surrounding the changing rural and urban environs of Scotland.

This paper will focus specifically on The Lounger, considering how Mackenzie and his fellow contributors engaged with the subject of modernisation and emergent capitalism in Scotland. This paper will pay particular attention to Mackenzie's conception of idleness as a means of interrogating the industrious labour of the middling orders. Through his eidolon Mr. Lounger, as well as sundry characters and letters to the editor, Mackenzie developed his conception of 'dignified' idleness which valued emotional sensitivity, internal reflection, and a withdrawal from the world of commerce and industrious labour. This refashioning of idleness was not imagined abstractly but located in rural and urban spaces. For example, Mackenzie inverted the criticism aimed at the idle gentry by suggested that industriousness gentlemen turned the rural landscape 'topsy turvy' through their obsession with enclosing fields and making nonsensical improvements to their estates. His work laments the loss of rural tranquillity and harmony, anticipating the Romantic poetry of William Wordsworth and John Clare.

In sum, my paper is interested in print culture, as well as social and environmental history. Although historians such as John Dwyer and Denise Gigante have highlighted the popularity of Mackenzie's periodicals and their importance to the Scottish Enlightenment, these sources have been largely underutilised by social

and environmental historians. I believe that this paper is well suited to the themes of the ECSSS conference and will prompt compelling discussion about Scottish writers and environment.
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Brianna Robertson-Kirkland, 'How the Corris influenced Edinburgh's Musical Environment'
Domenico (1746-1825) and Francesca Corri née Bacchelli (1753?-1802) came to Edinburgh in 1771 to take up their positions with Edinburgh's Musical Society (EMS). Already celebrated amongst the Anglo-Scots nobility in Rome, Francesca was hired as the EMS's leading singer for the 1772-73 season, with her husband employed 'to perform on the Harpsichord or Violin as occasion requires' (EMS minutes, 9 May 1771). While the EMS did not typically hire a husband-and-wife team, with them making sure to offer the couple the same salary as the leading singer the previous season (a two-for-one deal as it were), hiring Italian musicians to perform for them each season was common practice. Over the next 15 years, Domenico and Francesca became a fixture of not only the EMS, but the city's wider musical scene, with Domenico successfully becoming a music master, and establishing his own publishing house, as well as engaging in less successful ventures, which included manager of the Theatre Royal, the New Ranelagh Gardens. As a publisher, he initially set up a house with his brother, John Corri (1756?-1798), before partnering with James Sutherland until his death in 1790. Thereafter, the company became Corri and Co. with Domenico, John and their younger brother, Natale who joined the company in 1783, now running the business together. The three-way partnership solidified the Corri family as a powerhouse of Edinburgh's music industry working in the three key areas: performance (which included directing and producing), teaching, and publishing.

They were extremely aware of what was popular with their audiences, with Francesca praised for her rendition of Scots song, performed with a unique Italian flare. This hybrid Italian-Scots song became a fixture of the Corris publications, with several song collections published that incorporated Italian expression and ornamentation into Scots song. While blending the Scots and Italian styles was not invented by the Corris, they were pivotal in popularising it in Edinburgh, with amateur musicians' keen to perform such music at home. In this paper, I will outline exactly how the Corris popularised the Italian-Scots song style through performance, teaching, and publications, thus allowing them to directly influence Edinburgh's musical environment in the latter half of the eighteenth century.
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Panel D3: Women Writers (chair: Moira Hansen): **room C23**

Katie MacLean, 'Jane Austen in Scotland'
In a 2022 interview for the Scottish Herald, Isobel McArthur recounts a patronising appraisal of her play, *Pride and Prejudice* (*sort of)* (2018): 'If you can do Austen for Glasgow audiences, you can do anything.' It is no surprise that an author who has been dubbed 'England's Jane' and the 'author of home' has little association to Scotland, and only some scholarly attention has been paid to the Scottish reception of her novels. Evidence of Austen's thoughts on Scotland is mainly figured through the environment: In an 1813 letter, Austen writes on her brother Henry's trip to the country, he was met with 'Scenes of higher Beauty in Roxburghshire than I had supposed the South of Scotland possessed,' although she wished that he might have gone 'farther north.' Further allusions to Samuel Johnson's *A Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland* (1775) and James Boswell's *Tour to the Hebrides* (1785) in her letters shows Austen's engagement with works on the Scottish landscape, and this can provide greater insight into Scotland's role in her writing. Scotland features in Austen's adult novels as a dangerous and erotically charged environment through mentions of Greta Green, becoming almost synonymous with social ruin. This paper will analyse how Austen portrays the Scottish environment positively in her juvenile works *Lesley Castle* and *Love and Freindship* [sic], and how adaptations on the Scottish stage may address or reconfigure this relationship between Austen and Scotland.
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Carmen-Veron Borbely, 'Distilled Ecologies: Elizabeth Hamilton's Sense of Place'
Dependent on tropological rather than sentimental approaches to nature, Elizabeth Hamilton's satirical and didactic fictions touch on the ethics of human interventions in natural settings (terrestrial, coastal or riparian). In Translation of the Letters of a Hindoo Rajah (1796), the 'Oriental' focalisers' culturally dissonant gazes are pivoted against one another to adjust a properly lensed image of England against the backdrop of James Thomson's 'Hymn on the Seasons'. The poem is partially quoted as a testimonial to the existence of globally interthreaded local environments in the opening letter of this multiply conducted epistolary exchange. In Thomson's poem, the mystic flight' of the imagination converts the endless greeneries stretching from the 'gild[ed] Indian mountains' to the 'Atlantic isles' into a trope of interiorised infinity. In the novel, however, Zāārmilla's gradually accentuated (and disenchanted) historical sensibility becomes alert to 'land affect', as his region of birth suffers colonially-induced calamities. Moreover, his views of England's distressed shores,

depleted agrarian fields and disruptive practices of dwelling increasingly overlap the environmental observations of the voyaging pioneer, Brahmin Sheermaal. Zooming in on the 'wilderness' of the Highlands, The Cottagers of Glenburnie: A Scottish Tale (1808) also explores, this time through a national rather than transnational prism, a set of adjacent ecologies: the big house and its manicured garden, the city and its nature-voided structures, and the hills and glens in which the cottagers' unobtrusive habitation takes place. Despite Mrs Mason's expansive repertoire of analogies between what counts as the appropriate education of industrious individuals and communities, on the one hand, and the weeding out of gardens-in-the-making, on the other hand, there is an undeniable sensibility to nature, which is often inevitably filtered through the aesthetically 'compulsory' perspectives of the picturesque and the sublime. This is especially evident in the chapter on 'domestic sketches – picture of Glenburnie'. Here the narrator breaks the storytelling frame and addresses the reader directly, suggesting that the dynamic landscape of rhythmically networked burns comes to life almost to the point of subduing or obliterating the presence of the human. Drawing on place philosopher Edward S. Casey's concept of 'interaffective attunement' (Turning Emotion Inside Out. Affective Life Beyond the Subject, 2021), this paper looks at Hamilton's distillation of coherent or perturbed place ecologies into ideological and pedagogical arguments in the writer's novelistic fiction and in her correspondence, included in the two volumes of Memoirs of the Late Mrs Elizabeth Hamilton, published by Elizabeth Benger in 1818.
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JoEllen DeLucia, 'Frances Wright and the Scottish Enlightenment: Defining Women's Progress'
When Frances Wright was buried in Cincinnati in 1852, the epitaph placed on her tombstone captured her commitment to progressive ideas and causes: 'I have wedded the cause of human improvement, staked on it my fortune, my reputation and my life.' This paper explores the roots of her understanding of 'improvement' in her early education in Scotland, particularly the household of her great-uncle James Mylne, who was Professor of Moral Philosophy at Glasgow and the son-in-law of John Millar. Wright's early books were born of her immersion in Scottish Enlightenment ideas. Her Epicurean treatise *A Few Days in Athens* (1822) contributes to debates over the value of Stoic and Epicurean traditions and establishes the contributions of Thomas Brown and David Hume to Wright's own proto-feminist philosophy. As Jane Rendall has argued, her *Views on Society and Manners in America* (1821) borrows from the architecture of Scottish stadial histories such as Millar's *Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* (1779), situating women's progress as key to establishing what she understood as the utopian potential of settler society in the United States. At the same time, Wright's understanding of women's progress was shaped by the colonial and racist ideas of development built into stadial history and circulating within eighteenth-century Scottish thought. Drawing on the work of Gail Bederman and Silvia Sebastiani, this paper explores the irresolvable contradictions at the heart of Wright's ideas about women's equality and the progress of society.
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Panel D4: Adam Smith and James Beattie (chair: James Harris): **room C22**

Craig Smith, 'Adam Smith's Lectures on Natural Religion: Re-constructing what he might have said'
Adam Smith is famously difficult to pin down when it comes to his views on religion. One reason for this is the absence of any student notes on that part of his moral philosophy lectures that covered natural religion. This paper attempts to re- construct an outline of what Smith may have covered in these lectures by examining the circumstantial evidence available to us. The paper examines the structure of similar moral philosophy courses by Francis Hutcheson and Adam Ferguson and combines this with findings from recent work on Smith's Library and the Books and Borrowing Project surveying Scottish library records including Smith and the books he signed out for students. By combining this material we may identify a broad outline of the sort of material that Smith taught under the heading of natural religion.
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Eugene Heath, 'The Tragic Sense of Adam Smith'
In the sixth edition of his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, while examining how uncertainty regarding one's own opinions leads one to value the endorsements (sympathy) of others, Adam Smith mentions Jean Racine's consternation over the apparent lack of success of his drama, *Phèdre*. Smith then declares *Phèdre* to be "the finest tragedy, perhaps, that is extant in any language" (*Moral Sentiments*, III.2.19). Smith's affirmation has not been explored by scholars. I will note the editorial context of this judgment, briefly summarize Smith's views (and those of other literati) on the comparative qualities of the dramas of Racine and of Shakespeare, and offer some specific, albeit speculative, considerations that might explain Smith's willingness to include this judgment. I then utilize some examples from his Smith's works that illustrate his sense of the tragic. I conclude by illuminating aspects of *Phèdre* that might have attracted Smith.
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Michael Brown, 'The Political Thought of James Beattie'

James Beattie's political opinions are largely overshadowed by his commitment to abolitionism. While he published his views on chattel slavery in the Elements of Moral Science (1790-3) the topic was in fact treated in the subsection devoted to economics. Turning to the pages on politics, one finds a rather different figure, one whose commitment to the constitution and the established order shaped his reflections on the legal system.

Yet this is to underplay the pressures under which Beattie was working. Professor of Moral Philosophy at Marischal from 1760 until 1797 he delivered his reflections on politics through the tumult of the Age of Revolution. This can be revealed through an examination of his chapter on 'The Origin of Nature of Civil Government', in which Beattie explored the nature of monarchies, and democracies, republics and despotisms. It also contains his most direct ruminations on the British system of government, which he calls 'the most curious, the most complex, and the most excellent form of human policy'. (Elements, paragraph 746)

This paper explores Beattie's published remarks, his private correspondence and an array of unpublished student lecture books to excavate the evolution of his thinking over matters of political authority, legitimacy and the rise of democratic norms. It argues that far from being an unthinking defender of the Whig oligarchy, Beattie's position was nuanced and reflective, being often cognisant of the difference between Scottish and English legal requirements for example. He at once understood and sought to balance the changing times and the demands of his position as a moral educator.

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10.30–11am **Coffee** (Crush Hall)

Thurs. 11am–1pm Panel Session E

Panel E1: Empire and Race (Chair: Paul Tonks): **room D1**

Nicola Martin, 'Scots and the Imperial Environment: James Murray, "improvement" ideology, and imperial governance in Canada'

Britain's possession of Canada was secured with the capitulation of Montréal on 8 September 1760 and Brigadier James Murray was tasked, as military governor of Quebec, with pacifying an imperial population of 'others' who had until recently been Britain's enemy but were now considered subjects of the Crown. That status was confirmed through the 1763 Treaty of Paris and Murray was appointed civil governor of the province of Quebec. As Stephen Conway has argued, the British actively sought an Irish model of governance in Quebec, with a minority Protestant population enjoying control over government and administration (Conway, 2012). Yet the ministry provided Murray with little guidance regarding how to achieve this in a manner that aligned with Britain's treaty obligations to the French-Canadian population. Murray was further constrained and undermined by a family association with Jacobitism in the wake of the failed Elibank Plot of 1752 and the broader Scottophobia of the period, which was underscored by Wilkes' attacks on Bute's 'four hungry Scottish governors' in the colonies (Wilkes, 1763).

Despite these challenges, Murray did enjoy significant autonomy over the direction of policy in Quebec and he drew heavily on his family interest in improvement, as well as recent, direct examples from the post-Culloden Highlands, as he sought the natural 'enlightenment' of the French-Canadians as a way to assimilate them more closely within the empire. This paper will examine those transatlantic 'improving' influences Murray drew upon and consider how those, within the broader context of the situation and circumstances he found himself in, influenced both his actions in Quebec and his advice to the ministry. It will argue that, whilst the British favoured the Irish model, Murray advocated, and indeed implemented, a Minorcan model of governance, allowing the Catholic elite to retain significant control. In doing so, the governor provided important precedent both for his successor Guy Carleton and for the framing of the 1774 Quebec Act.

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Gioia Angeletti, 'Narratives and Images of Other Places and People: Lady Anne Barnard and the South African Environment'

Between 1797 and 1802, Lady Anne Barnard lived in South Africa with her husband Andrew Barnard, then colonial secretary. During this period, she produced a substantial body of writing — poetry, diaries, and a wide-ranging correspondence that included letters to Henry Dundas, the British Secretary of State for War. Though remembered chiefly as the author of the ballad "Auld Robin Gray", published in a collection edited by Walter Scott for the Bannatyne Club in 1825, Barnard deserves broader recognition as a perceptive travel writer. Her Cape writings — produced from within the contradictions of colonial privilege and gendered constraint —

reveal a nuanced perspective on alterity. Barnard's representations of both human and nonhuman Others are filtered through the sensibility of a woman negotiating the limits imposed by her social role. Expected to exhibit discretion, especially on matters of politics or empire, her voice nonetheless carries a latent, often ironic, subversiveness. This paper examines Barnard's tone, style, and descriptive strategies in her accounts of the South African landscape and its indigenous cultures. Drawing on transcultural and migration studies, it argues that Barnard's narratives of exile complicate the binaries of colonizer and colonized, feminine modesty and authorial authority, offering a distinctive voice in early colonial literature.
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Thomas Tyson, '"Gypsies" and the Transformation of the Scottish Landscape, 1770-1815'
This paper examines the connection between the decline of state-sanctioned 'Gypsy' persecutions of Scottish Travellers in the late eighteenth century, the romanticisation of 'Gypsies' in the early nineteenth century, and the transformation of the Scottish landscape between 1770 and 1815. It considers how the emergence of Romantic conceptions of Scotland, alongside the physical transformation of rural environments through 'improvement', shaped how Scottish Travellers were perceived and treated by Scottish elites. In doing so, the paper interrogates the extent to which the period should be viewed as a 'golden age' for Gypsies and Travellers in Britain, as well as the relationship between the Romantic reimagining of Scotland and material changes to the rural environment during the period.
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Suchita Choudhury, 'Sir Walter Scott and Paisley Shawls: Fiction, Industry, Empire'
Cashmere shawls were popular accessories in the early nineteenth century; what we know as Paisley shawls today, were their cheaper imitations made in Edinburgh, Norwich, and Paisley. Writing in the 1820's, Sir Walter Scott describes the vogue for these shawls in St. Ronan's Well (1823) and The Surgeon's Daughter (1827). At first sight this discourse seems to be an attempt to write in the style of fashion–forward authors such as Jane Austen. However, a close look reveals how this light–hearted depiction in fact hides deeper historical insights.

Scott belittles the Paisley wrap as a cheap copy of an expensive textile in St. Ronan's Well. However, published a few years later, The Surgeon's Daughter paradoxically depicts the same shawl as a laudable product. I find this less an example of Scott's well-known habit of self-reflexivity; instead, observed closely, it offers a microcosm of the way in which imperialism governance of India was changing character. As such, while the first work refers to the importation of Indian shawls mimicking practices of mercantile trade, the second celebrates a culture of industrial production that used only raw materials brought in from the subcontinent. Examining Scott's use of material culture to explore models of global expansion, the study furthers the significance of dress and textiles in current scholarship in Scottish literature.
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Panel E2: Poetry and Environment (Chair: Pam Perkins): **room D3**

John Watson, '"The Restoration of Nature": James Thomson and Ecology'
James Thomson's epic poem *The Seasons* (1726-1730) connects an Anglo-Scottish Enlightenment identity with the internationalization of environmental concerns in the eighteenth century. Indexing his attention to ecology in *The Seasons*, this paper shows the growth of an *eco-aesthetics* in Thomson's major work. This nascent aesthetic, I argue, begins in Thomson's impulse to write a romantic ecology based on site and memory (his Roxburghshire childhood), eventually transforming through the editions of The Seasons into a British Scot's colonial encounter with environmental issues such as globalization, natural history, provision, exploitation, meteorology, and pandemics. Thomson's cosmopolitan London literary life only seems to have highlighted a Scottish intellectual nostalgia for a pastoral, georgic life of commune with and sensibility to nature. The tensions between this nostalgia and the exploitative realities of an industrializing and globalizing eighteenth-century Britain creates a tensile poetry of contradictions and hypocrisies, such as his support for British military protectionism for the 'liberty' of natural resource. *The Seasons* more broadly sets the stage for a literary aesthetics of the environment which inspired later Scottish romantics such as Burns, and other environmental romanticists such as John Clare and the Wordsworths. Thomson's project, I argue, was to restore nature to literary consciousness as a sublime muse mediating rationalism and spiritualism.
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Amy Wilcockson, '"Auld Reikie's unofficial laureate": Robert Fergusson and Scotland'
October 17 2024 saw 250 years since the death of the Scottish poet Robert Fergusson (1750-1774). A key Edinburgh poet, whose works influenced Robert Burns, Fergusson wrote distinctive and lively poems including his magnum opus 'Auld Reikie', which detailed the raw reality of city life. He discussed the fashion and consumer culture of the city in 'Braid Claith'; commented on drink culture in the metropolis in 'A Tavern Elegy'

and his manuscript 'Cape Club' poems; and satirically compared pastoral Scotland to glorious Arcadia in 'The Rivers of Scotland: An Ode', and 'The Complaint: A Pastoral'. Fergusson's surroundings are at the heart of his poems, and his professional career is forever intertwined with the city, as he published verse in nearly every issue of the Weekly Magazine, or Edinburgh Amusement from 1771 to 1773. This led to him becoming not just the unofficial house poet for the periodical, but the unofficial laureate of the city.
Using research gathered as part of the ongoing The Leverhulme Trust-funded project 'The Works of Robert Fergusson: Reconstructing Textual and Cultural Legacies' based at the University of Glasgow, this paper will examine Fergusson, his immediate surroundings, and the ways in which he uses his environment, landscapes, and places he is familiar with in his poetry. It will go on to discuss the influence of his poetry of place on later figures including Robert Burns and the neglected poet Rebekah Carmichael.
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Rosamund Paice, 'A Very English Eden: Echoes of Stephen Switzer in Sir John Clerk of Penicuik's "The Country Seat"'
Ill and reclusive, in his mid-20s Sir John Clerk, Bart, retired to his father's Penicuik estate. There, he embraced the milk and vegetable diet subsequently made famous by George Cheyne and threw himself into gardening, which he records in his Memoirs (published by the Scottish History Society in 1892) and valorises 'mod'rate Labour' in his long poem, 'The Country Seat' (1726, 1736). In particular, Clerk cultivated multiple plantations at Pennicuik and, after his father's death, also at Mavisbank.

Little has been written about 'The Country Seat'. It remains unpublished and accessible only at the National Records of Scotland, where it sits alongside letters and other documentation that document not only gardening's restorative effect on Clerk's mental and physical health, but also his father's encouragement of his new 'humure of planting and making of nurseries'. 'The Country Seat', though, is especially noteworthy for the way in which it poetically constructs – and provides instruction on the physical construction of – the ideal country seat and its heavy emphasis on the estate grounds. It is therefore a good source of information on how a prominent member of the Scottish landed gentry viewed his estate environment in the early to mid-eighteenth century.

Those who have commented on Clerk's poem have sought to place it in a neoclassical tradition that aligns with the idea of Clerk as a key player in the Scottish Enlightenment. This paper, however, will show that Clerk's poem actually reflects the other thing he is known for: his support of the Union and bias towards English taste. The poem draws heavily, I show, on the English garden writer Stephen Switzer's Ichnographica Rustica, or The Nobleman, Gentleman, and Gardener's recreation (1715–18), a work that in turn draws heavily on John Milton, placing him as gardening genius in a manner that became central to his characterisation as the forefather of the English landscape garden. Clerk's emulation and quotation of Clerk and his sources indicates a conscious attempt not only to emulate a growing English garden fashion but also to place himself, as a gentleman but not a nobleman, on the escalator to a very English model of nobility that Switzer's title implies.
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Ellen Beard, 'The Music of Gaelic Nature Songs'
This paper will examine the music, themes, and background of four well-known eighteenth-century Gaelic nature songs, all of which remain in the repertoire of Gaelic singers today and can easily be found in published song collections and recordings. The first is Alexander MacDonald's 'Allt an t-Siúcair' (The Sugar Brook), a joyful description of a May morning set to a Lowland melody, 'The Lass of Patie's Mill'. Next is Duncan Bán MacIntyre's 'Moladh Beinn Dóbhrain' (In Praise of Ben Doran), a jubilant panegyric to a mountain and its denizens set to a traditional píobaireachd (bagpipe) air. Third is Rob Donn MacKay's 'Gleann Gollaidh' (Glen Golly), another praise song with a Lowland air, and finally Anna Campbell's 'Ailein duinn' (Brown-haired Allan), a lament for her betrothed lost at sea in the form of a traditional Gaelic women's work song. Among other things, I will discuss the poets' contrasting depictions of land and sea, where the land is a friendly source of exuberant fertility and growth, and the sea a dangerous and capricious force. But both can lead to loss – death at sea was common in all periods, and dispossession from the land increased over the course of the eighteenth century in the aftermath of Jacobite risings, the introduction of commercial sheep farming and the beginning of the Clearances. In that regard, while Anna's personal loss by drowning is described explicitly in her song, the other three poets all suffered dispossession from place during their lifetimes for other reasons that can only be understood fully from their biographies and overall bodies of work.
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Panel E3: Science (Chair: Noelle Dückmann Gallagher): **room C23**

Tamás Demeter, 'Humean Chemistry'

Roger Emerson is said to have said once that the only true disciple David Hume ever had was William Cullen. While this could have been a mere bon mot intended only for the entertainment of a conference crowd, it rings as if there is some truth in it. Donovan (1975) and Christie (1981) see connections between them in terms of their epistemological and metaphysical commitments, but this talk will attempt to substantiate Emerson's claim at a different level: the level of chemical doctrines.

My historical claim in this talk is that Cullen and Hume had access to the same sources, lived in the same raising culture of chemical and physiological theorising in Edinburgh and Glasgow. Hume had a documented interest in physiology underlying psychological processes, and also a more general interest in natural philosophy and mathematics. Cullen had a chance to read much of Hume and esteemed Hume's philosophy. He had interests in the metaphysical, theological, and epistemological foundations and consequences of the philosophical chemistry and medical theory he developed. Many of these ideas, as Donovan and Christie have shown, can be labelled Humean.

My interpretive claim in this talk is that a) Hume's conceptualisation of mental and social phenomena is in several crucial respects congruent with eighteenth-century conceptualisations of chemical phenomena that Cullen would adopt, develop and refine, and that b) Hume's methodology in analysing mental phenomena and the mind is similarly congruent and have affinities with Cullen's broader methodological considerations, but more importantly with his methodological precepts for specifically chemical analysis.

These congruences may be due to common influences on their views, but it remains remarkable what and how similarly they did absorb from their possibly common sources. For the purposes of the present talk, the fruits of the congruence are more important than its roots. Emerson's inspiring remark draws attention not only to a substantive link between Hume and Cullen, but also to our rudimental understanding between Hume's philosophy and his contemporary natural philosophy. Exploring the implications of the chemical bent in Hume's account of human nature has the potential to shed new interpretive light on his philosophy and its philosophical implications – and beyond that, on the undercurrents running back and forth between natural and moral philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment.

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Jeffrey Wolf, 'On (Scottish) Airs, Water, and Places: Dr. William Cullen's (1710-1790) Rules for the Preservation of Health'

In a letter dated October 16th, 1784, Dr. William Cullen (1710-1790), the eminent Professor of the Practice of Physic at the University of Edinburgh Medical School, praised his former pupil, Benjamin Rush, for overseeing the publication in Philadelphia of the first two volumes of his textbook First Lines of the Practice of Physic. He then gave Rush a 'Literary History' of his recent activities, concluding with some hints about a new work he was writing:

The only other work that I would be anxious to finish before I die is a Treatise on the Preservation of health but it must be a large one and whether I shall ever be able to finish it to my mind is very uncertain. I have thus given you my own Literary History.

In his response later that year, Rush wrote to his former mentor: 'I want words to convey to you the pleasure I derived from your very friendly letter by Mr Dobson. It has revived in me all that enthusiasm for Science with which you inspired me in the years 1766, and 1768...I shall not cease to pray that you may not only live to finish your work upon "the art of preserving health", but that you may stamp a value upon it that shall ensure (not its Sale only) but its immortality, by living 'till you are an hundred years old — and much longer — if it shall please God to continue to you your powers of Usefulness and happiness.'

The work on the preservation of health that both men refer to in this exchange lay unfinished and unpublished at Cullen's death in 1790. It is mostly a matter of luck—and the efforts of John Thomson to collect materials for his biography of Cullen—that Cullen's Treatise on the Preservation of Health survives at all. But it does exist, and it, along with a number of other unpublished works, detail a picture of Cullen's approach to a topic in medicine variously known as 'hygiene', 'regimen', 'dietetics' or the 'art of health'.

Since the Greek physician Hippocrates' On Airs, Water and Places (c. 400 BCE), medical practitioners had understood the significance of the environment for sickness and health. Through the end of the eighteenth-century, this was still very much the case. Using never before published material, I will show in this paper how Cullen used his understanding of medicine and regimen – and his detailed knowledge of climate, diet, and natural remedies (like bathing and spa waters) – to treat the ailments of his patients and encourage them to avoid disease in the first place.

In Cullen's medical consultations as well as his unfinished Treatise, we see how the relationship between the (upper-class) Scots and their environment was increasingly mediated through the prism of sickness and health.

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Alasdair Raffe, 'The Environment of Natural Philosophical Debate in Newtonian Scotland'
This paper assesses the culture of natural philosophical discussion in Scotland in the first half of the eighteenth century. It has long been recognised that Isaac Newton's achievements in physics inspired Scottish intellectuals studying human minds, morals and society. By presenting Newtonianism as an influence on moral and social thought, however, most studies of the Scottish Enlightenment have paid little attention to the pluralism of Newtonian discussions of the natural world. And yet Newton's philosophy stimulated considerable debates among its followers. It also gave rise to an opposing subculture inspired by the writings of John Hutchinson, which had Scottish supporters including Duncan Forbes of Culloden and the physician Andrew Wilson. This paper interprets the advent of Newtonianism as a stage in the evolution of greater pluralism in natural knowledge, a process that had been growing progressively more pronounced since the Restoration. Key features of the environment of natural philosophical debate included the publication of works in English to appeal to a broad audience, and the involvement of non-professional philosophers such as Andrew Baxter and Henry Home, Lord Kames. Newtonian thinkers made important contributions to the defence of Christianity against deism, and there was a wide public interest in natural philosophical debates.
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Panel E4: The Birth-Place of Value, the Country of Wealth: Improvement Policies in the Long Eighteenth Century and their Environmental Legacies in the Scottish Highlands (chair: Jean-François Dunyach): **room C22**

Thomas Archambaud, ''Improvers and backbenchers: the Macphersons, East India Company capital and the improvement of nature, 1780-1821'
This paper explores the importance of the British Empire, and the English East India Company (EIC) in particular, for understanding the transformations of the Highland landscape in the long 18th century. It focuses on the estate management of two Scottish MPs and natives of the Gàidhealtachd, James 'Ossian' Macpherson (1736-1796) and his kinsman Sir John Macpherson (c. 1745-1821). In the 1780s, their association with the lucrative business of the EIC enabled them to establish themselves as landowners. This paper seeks to determine how the Macphersons, both products of the Scottish Enlightenment and the British Empire, responded to the 'rival ecologies of global commerce' and studies their ambivalent and contrasting attitudes towards agrarian reforms. While James's re-establishment in his native county of Badenoch shows a deliberate and brutal strategy of agrarian modernisation in the guise of sentimental neo-clanship, John Macpherson's decision to establish himself permanently in Sussex, rather than his native Skye, reveals a different attitude towards the ecologies of the land. Contrary to John, who sought to emulate the physiocratic model of Voltaire in Ferney, James adopted a more practical attitude towards land and afforestation, using Gaelic topography and a primitivist philosophy of nature to re-indigenise colonial capital and justify depopulation.

Based on the correspondence of the Scottish MP Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster, this paper also studies how the Macphersons' estate management coloured their political activity at the House of Commons in the 1780s and 1790s. Their association with Sinclair's cross-partisan coalition, advocating a global neo-feudal ancien regime response to land redistribution, shows how imperial profits, Highland improvements and anti-revolutionary politics intersected in the late 18th century.
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Tom Pye, 'Rethinking the origins of 'liberal' political economy: Adam Smith, enclosure, and feudal land law'
Late eighteenth-century Scotland is often pinpointed as the geographical and historical origin of 'liberal political economy', with Adam Smith being the obvious exemplar. It is easy to find support for this view in Smith's major work, The Wealth of Nations (1776): he is caustic about feudalism, glorifies private property rights, and offers a paean to the small landowners of colonial North America. This paper aims to unsettle this view by situating Smith in a pan-British debate about the politics of landownership and enclosure that shot through the two decades before the Wealth of Nations was published. Set him alongside its participants, like David Hume, Arthur Young, Richard Price, and a litany of agronomists called 'John', and Smith's political economy begins to take on a different colour. Rather than eulogising the small owner-occupier, Smith re-emerges as a defender of large-scale tenant farming and the feudal land order in which it had hatched. Karl Marx would later dismiss this order as ürsprungliche Akkumulation, the 'original expropriation' of the world.
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Juliette Desportes, 'The Moral Ecologies of Improvement: the Forfeited and Annexed Estates (1745-1782)'
The history of agrarian improvement in Scotland is usually framed as one of linear and radical change hinging on the transformation of the country from a feudal backwater to a commercial society. This paper looks at eighteenth-century improvement thought and practice as forms of conservationist discourses predicating on the preservation, as well as exploitation, of the human and non-human Highland landscape. The 1745 Jacobite

rising and British state's annexation of thirteen properties owned by attainted Jacobite proprietors offered the Scottish landed elite and literati the perfect opportunity to manufacture progress at the scale of the Highland landed estate. Between 1752 and 1784, the Board of Annexed Estates tested out the limits of improvement and the often-diverging paths taken to implement it. For the Board, the environment was not simply to be managed but also to be preserved to create an industrious heartland peopled by hardworking cottagers. These 'cottagers' or, as they became more commonly known as the century progressed, 'crofters', embodied the tensions that characterised agrarian improvement thinking as it struggled to find epistemic unity in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Commissioners of the Annexed Estates tapped into the language and rhetoric of conservation, simultaneously condemning customary attitudes to land and landscape as unlawful and harmful, and celebrating the Highland peasant as capital to be protected from the unrestrained evils of commerce. Their vision hinged on the creation of a new class of smallholders who were to materially 'unearth' progress from muirs, bogs, and peatland. For a time at least, tenants on the Annexed Estates were to forge an alternative path towards progress, turning the Highlands into a moral reserve for the Scottish nation.
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1–2pm Lunch (Pathfoot Dining Room)

2–3.30pm Keynote lecture: Gerard Lee McKeever, 'Regionalism and the Logic of Improvement in Eighteenth-Century Scotland' (Chair: Matthew Sangster): Pathfoot Lecture Theatre

3.30pm Expeditions to the Leighton Library (by coach), or to historic Stirling (walking tour)

7.00pm Conference Dinner: Stirling Court Hotel (on campus)

Friday 20 June

Friday 9–11am Panel Session F

Panel F1: Translation and Memory (Chair: Emma Macleod): **room D1**

Paul Tonks and John Frankl, ''Translating Scottish Authors for Korean Readers: Intellectual and Literary Legacies of Eighteenth-Century Scotland in Korea'

Our paper will bring into fruitful dialogue Scottish and Korean Studies by examining the academically neglected historical evolution of Korean translations and receptions of leading Scottish authors of the long Eighteenth Century.

In recent years both Scottish and Korean Studies have become truly international. At the heart of this welcome progress is translation. Korean Literature, for example, has now achieved hitherto unprecedented global prominence, symbolised by the awarding of the Nobel Prize in Literature to Han Kang (an alumna of Yonsei University's Department of Korean Language and Literature). Yet Western, particularly Anglophone, scholarship has paid scant attention to the significant appeal and influence of Scottish writing for Korean readers and indeed authors. Our research presentation thus engages with the immensely valuable project of The Bibliography of Scottish Literature in Translation (BOSLIT): Creating Digital Futures & Networks. BOSLIT lists almost 300 translations of Scottish texts into the Korean Language. Providing basic publication information, it certainly constitutes a very significant scholarly resource. We believe, though, that it is crucial for experts in literary translation and intellectual and cultural history to build on such initiatives to provide in-depth analysis of how, why, by whom, and for whom eighteenth-century Scottish authors were translated into Korean and what impacts their writings have had on Korean readers. Our presentation will thus survey the translation and reception of renowned and influential Scottish texts from the late Chosun dynasty period at the end of the Nineteenth Century when Korea first 'opened' to the West and Koreans began to study, read, and translate texts in English and other European languages, through the complex and contested Colonial era of Korea's incorporation into the Japanese Empire, down to the present day. We shall look at works of both fiction and non-fiction. Our talk will address translations of the poetry of Robert Burns and the novels of Sir Walter Scott,

alongside the philosophical and historical works of Adam Smith and David Hume, as well as the major texts of other luminaries of the Scottish Enlightenment.
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Beatriz Leitão, 'There and Back Again: Unearthing the Rural Memory of the Scottish Highlands through the Bothy'
Scattered amongst the wilderness of the Scottish Highlands, what once were dwellings for agricultural labourers are now simple shelters for hikers and outdoor enthusiasts - the Bothy has become a place that evokes the simplicity of a remote life, alongside a nostalgic desire to reconnect with a simpler past, using the resources at one's disposal. However, this romanticised view often overlooks the historical hardships and social complexities faced by rural communities. As visitor narratives begin to replace local memory, both the structures and their surrounding landscapes risk becoming detached from their true identities. By reframing the landscape and contextualizing these shelters, this presentation encourages a more meaningful and responsible engagement with the Highlands, using bothies as cultural and educational vessels for preserving rural memory and promoting historical awareness, thus benefiting both visitors and communities alike.
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Panel F2: Readers and Writers (Chair: Michael Gavin): **room D3**

Jacqueline Kennard Imrie, Scots, Libraries, and the Socioeconomic Environment: Orkney
This paper considers some ways in which libraries in early nineteenth-century Scotland might be situated within their socioeconomic environments; that is, the local socioeconomic structures and developments that might have affected and been affected by library access.
In the long eighteenth century, libraries in Scotland weren't free to access like they are today. Rather, many different types of libraries existed with distinct administrative structures, collections, and user demographics.
This means that library type was closely associated with social status. In juxtaposition to this, library history scholarship often assumes that the democratisation of libraries in the long eighteenth century was socially progressive. This paper will interrogate this notion by exploring records from libraries that appeared around the Orkney isles in the first half of the nineteenth century. It will first explain the socioeconomic transformations that stimulated the emergence of numerous libraries around the isles, before comparing the administration, collection, and membership of two libraries: Orkney Library and Sandwick Parish Library. It will argue that, in general, library access reinforced socially-stratified structures on Orkney in the early nineteenth century.
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Josh Smith, 'Reading and Writing the Land: Readers, Writers and Farmers at the Leighton Library, Dunblane, 1780-1830'
This paper will assess the interest of a group of readers in rural Perthshire and Stirlingshire in the natural world and their local environment at the end of the eighteenth century. Using bibliographical borrowing data from the AHRC-funded Books and Borrowing 1750-1830 project, this paper will examine the environmental reading interests of members of the Leighton Library, a rural subscription library in Dunblane. Leighton members read about the aesthetic beauty of the Trossachs and the lower Highland landscape they lived in, but they were also deeply interested in furthering the agricultural exploitation of the land and the best means to develop and improve this. Leighton members read about these matters, but they also contributed to their creation by writing and publishing, for example, on descriptive accounts of their local environment or with agricultural accounts of the local counties of Perthshire, Stirlingshire, Kinross and Clackmannan.
This paper will examine the reading practices of Leighton members such as Patrick Graham (1750-1835), the minister of Aberfoyle, and author of the Sketches of Perthshire (1810) which is widely credited with popularising the Highlands to a new generation of domestic tourists in the 1810s, as well as Christopher Tait (1744-1812), the minister of Kincardine-in-Menteith, an agricultural writer, member of the Royal Society of Edinburgh and a trustee of the 'Gargunnock Farmer Club'. As Tait's associational activities make clear, Leighton members combined their bibliographical interest in the natural world with their active participation in agricultural clubs and societies, including one local to Dunblane, the Strathallan Farmers Club. This paper will therefore also assess the overlap in participation in these kinds of clubs with the popular borrowing of library books such as The Statistical Account of Scotland (1791-99). It will also compare the borrowing habits and library participation of these intellectual agriculturalists with that of the farmers and factors who physically worked on the land.
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Michael Ratnapalan, 'Robert Louis Stevenson, Religion, History, and Scottish Political Economy'
Robert Louis Stevenson's (1850-1894) historical thought has been extensively studied, but his views on political economy are less well appreciated. To some extent, this is a product of the author's own seeming indifference to the subject. In spite of his interest in Scottish history, Stevenson barely mentions important Scottish economists such as Adam Smith in his writing. But Stevenson had read and praised the work of Smith's contemporary, the historian William Robertson and, as scholars such as Stewart Brown and Richard Sher have shown, historical writing was important to the Scottish Enlightenment as well as to Scottish Presbyterianism. In this paper, I shall present the intertwining of cultural history and religious thought as Stevenson's unique appropriation of Scottish political economy. Critics of Stevenson's historical fiction have compared works such as Kidnapped and The Master of Ballantrae unfavourably with the novels of Sir Walter Scott by claiming that Stevenson was less interested in interpreting history than in delineating morality. Stevenson was interested in the past, and especially the eighteenth century in Scotland, but less for itself than as a way of understanding the present. In this respect, he shared the moral imagination of the author of The Theory of Moral Sentiments. Although he was never an outward exponent of political economy as practised by his eighteenth-century Scottish predecessors, Stevenson adopted their principles in his assessment of contemporary Ireland and Hawai'i. His views about economic and social progress were framed within the context of historically-grounded religious cultural change. Stevenson suggested to Samoans a religiously-inspired vision of national development as a means by which they could escape the fate of other colonized nations. In a similar way, he adapted his eighteenth-century Scottish intellectual patrimony to defend the institution of the tabu as a means of preserving community in Pacific cultures that were under threat from the depredations of foreign powers. Important aspects of Stevenson's religious thought may therefore be seen as an experiment and engagement with the tradition of Scottish political economy.
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Panel F3: Environments of Remembrance (Chair: JoEllen DeLucia): **room C23**

Pamela Ahern, 'Complicating Memories of Britain's Queens in David Hume's *History of England*'
How did David Hume represent Britain's most notorious queens in his *History of England*? This paper answers this question by examining Hume's gendered treatment of Elizabeth I and Mary Queen of Scots in the context of the two queens' very different historical memories in eighteenth-century historiography. In both popular collective memory and especially within national debates concerning the balance of monarchical and parliamentary power, eighteenth-century historians generally viewed Elizabeth's reign as a golden age and the origin of their current liberties. On the other hand, Mary's memory was contested between those who sought to use her as an example of the right to depose a monarch, and those—most notably Jacobites—who viewed her as a Catholic martyr and as unjustly persecuted. Hume challenged these popular currents of memory as part of his project to combat what he viewed as fanatic historical interpretations that dangerously distorted historical writing. From Hume's representations we can also glean how the historian might have applied his philosophical understandings of feminine emotions and virtues to the experiences of actual women, complicating not only the memory of these two queens, but modern interpretations of Hume's apparent gender constructivism.
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Tanner Ogle, 'Ruins & Remembrance: Jacobite Impressions on the British Environment'
Historians have long viewed British victory in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 and its subsequent policies in Scotland as completing the Act of Union of 1707. However, scholars of Jacobitism, travel literature, and the British Empire have yet to fully appreciate the destructive nature of the '45 and how the ruins left in its wake kept its memory alive through the 1770s and 1780s. Using travel narratives to trace ruins left by the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, I contend that the '45 was a traumatic event that directly affected much of Great Britain and consequently became a formative moment—not just in British history—but throughout the empire. As Britain's most destructive domestic conflict between the Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1653) and the World Wars, the '45 was exceptionally traumatic and experienced by much of the British populace, while imperial subjects watched anxiously from the periphery. In assessing ruination, I define ruins as any entity physically or psychologically marred by a past experience. Consequently, people encountered the past through ruined estates, landscapes, and human bodies. Britain thus provided what Pierre Nora referred to as an environment of memory where living memories of the '45 abounded among the populace in both Scotland and England. At these sights people encountered the 'historical sublime', or the incomplete traces the past made on the present, which laid an epistemological foundation for people to better understand their past and themselves. Although scholars of Jacobitism, the British Empire, and the American Revolution rarely consider the persistent influence of the '45 and Jacobitism into the 1770s, the ruins of the Jacobite Rising not only reminded Britons of a formative moment in their recent past, but changes in imperial politics.
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Bonnie Soper, 'Covenanter Memory, the Construction of Sacred Sites, and the Scottish Landscape'
Upon his death, notorious Covenanter preacher Alexander Peden went from being a rabblerousing extremist in the Presbyterian movement to a legendary figure of resistance. His exploits in life, from run-ins with the law to escaping Dragoons, and his imprisonment on the Bass Rock, contributed to the mystique surrounding his death. But it was the treatment of his body and the location of his burial that truly made Peden a Covenanter martyr. Following his death in his home of Auchincloich in Ayrshire, soldiers took his body from his family's tomb and "suspended it on a gibbet" and then Peden was "buried afresh in contempt, like a criminals, at the foot of a gallows-tree". Upon witnessing the desecration of Peden's body, men and women of the area "began to carry their 'unforgotten dearest-dead' out to the 'Hill of Reproach' that they might sleep the sufficient sleep by the side of Alexander Peden". Covenanters not only turned Peden into a martyr for the late-seventeenth-century radical Covenanting cause, but also a fascinating figure for eighteenth-century chroniclers that illustrated the cruelty of the state in their treatment of Presbyterian leaders during the Restoration. Peden is one example of how Covenanter historians associated Presbyterian perseverance in the wake of state attempts at their subjugation with fixed locations on the Scottish landscape. This paper explores the role of the environment in Covenanter lore using concepts from public history such as the Power of Place, developed by Dolores Hayden. Whereas in her work, Hayden emphasized the role of a changing urban landscape in people's lives and public memory, my work will focus on how Covenanters changed the environment around them, creating sacred spaces and sites of memory that linked their beliefs to the land itself for generations. This paper uses sources from the University of Guelph Scottish Collection but also incorporates analysis of eighteenth-century historical works and an examination of memory associated with the landscape portrayed in the works of Walter Scott.
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Leith Davis, 'Memories of the Environment and Environments of Memory in Robert Forbes's "The Lyon in Mourning"'
This paper explores representations of the natural world in a number of eye-witness narrative accounts recorded in 'The Lyon in Mourning' manuscript, a 10-volume compilation of Jacobite materials compiled by Episcopalian minister Robert Forbes between 1747 and 1775. In the accounts of informants such as Ned Burke, the natural world, including the wind, water and other elements, are interpreted as offering providential help to the Jacobites, especially to Charles Edward Stuart during his five-month journey around the Highlands and Islands after Culloden. Other accounts, such as that by Alasdair Mac Mhaistir Alasdair/Captain Alexander MacDonald, indicate how the government troops commit atrocities not just against those suspected of being Jacobites, but against the very land itself. Finally, this paper considers how memory itself becomes an environment throughout 'The Lyon in Mourning' as Forbes draws together a network of loyal Jacobite followers at his house in Leith, using the collection and recitation of accounts in the manuscript to forge new connections in the face of the devastating cultural loss.
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11–11.30am **Coffee:** Crush Hall

Friday 11.30am–1pm Panel Session G

Panel G1: Books & Borrowing (Chair: Josh Smith): **room D1**

Katie Halsey and Matthew Sangster, 'Demonstration of the Database'
Here, we will demonstrate the various functions of the database, and the different ways into our dataset, focusing on examples of both books and borrowers which illuminate the cultural landscape of eighteenth-century Scotland in new ways.
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University of Glasgow Matthew.Sangster@glasgow.ac.uk

Katie Halsey and Matthew Sangster, 'Re-Framing the Scottish Literary Environment, 1750-1800'
In this paper, we will present research findings relating to the most popular texts, authors, and genres of the latter half of the eighteenth century. We will argue that these research findings help us to understand the Scottish Enlightenment in new ways, and provide us with new ways of conceptualising the Scottish literary environment in this period.
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Cleo O'Callaghan Yeoman, **'Navigating Responses to the Scottish Literary Environment, 1800-1830: Novel Reading, Reviewing, Borrowing, and Improvement'**
The final paper on this panel will discuss the methodological application and potential of the *Books and Borrowing* database within literary and library history studies. Centring on recent analysis of female borrowing patterns within Chambers' Circulating Library borrowing records, this paper reveals findings that will be published as a chapter in *Feminist Librarianship: Principles, Practices and Provocations* (ed. Kirsten MacQuarrie, Facet Publishing, 2026). It demonstrates how the database can be deployed in tandem with textual analysis of novels, correspondence, and periodical reviews from the period 1800-30 to nuance longstanding stereotypes pertaining to circulating libraries and the figure of the female novel reader, in ways that are of relevance to library and information professionals in Scotland today.
University of Stirling cleo.o.callaghan.yeoman@stir.ac.uk

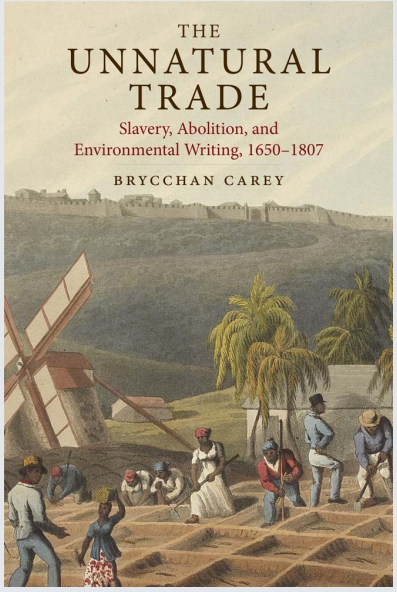
Panel G2: Thomas Innes (Chair: Gregory Todd): **room D3**

Kelsey Jackson Williams, 'Thomas Innes and His Books'
Thomas Innes spent most of his life in Paris, a city filled with libraries. When he was in Scotland, he famously had access to and made use of many additional collections, both national and private. Despite this, and perhaps unsurprisingly, he also owned his own books, perhaps even a small private library. No catalogue survives and the books are dispersed, but this paper examines for the first time those books which can confidently be identified as Innes's - everything from a 1516 Golden Legend printed by Wynkyn de Worde to a 1701 Sedulius gifted to him by the Scottish polymath Robert Sibbald - discussing their materiality, their contents, and their histories. In doing so, it recovers a previously unknown side of Innes's scholarly life and materially adds to the literature on that rara avis: the private Scottish Catholic library in the Age of Enlightenment.
University of Stirling k.j.williams@stir.ac.uk

Dylan Fowler, '"A pen dipped in vinegar and gall": George Buchanan, Thomas Innes, and the Deposing Doctrine'
The 16th-century humanist scholar George Buchanan has long stood as a titan of Scottish historical scholarship. His texts De Jure Regni and Rerum Scoticarum Historia were key tools utilized in deposing Mary Stuart, and from then after his works were used to establish a narrative that Scots had for centuries had the right to reject unfit monarchs. The first significant assault on Buchanan's scholarship came from the Catholic Jacobite historian Thomas Innes' 1729 Critical Essay, which cast Buchanan as a partisan historian whose beautiful Latin prose obfuscated dangerous politics and shoddy scholarship. This paper explores the central antagonistic role which George Buchanan played in Innes' Critical Essay, examining why Buchanan was seen as a threat to the Jacobite cause and the ways in which Innes' innovative use of paleography helped him to discredit Buchanan as an accepted authority.
Open University dylan.fowler@open.ac.uk

Clotilde Prunier, 'The not so discrete personas of Thomas Innes'
The many facets of the versatile Thomas Innes have tended to be studied in isolation. This paper attempts to adopt a more holistic approach by bringing together his various personas and seeks to explore the ways in which, far from being discrete, they in fact converged to give forceful expression to Innes's convictions. Taking his belief in the essential role of the episcopal order as an example, it investigates how his notion of the importance of bishops reverberates in the work of the historian whose Civil and Ecclesiastical History of Scotland was published posthumously but written before the mid-1730s, in the views of the Roman Catholic priest on the handling of the Jansenist controversy by both Propaganda Fide in Rome and the Scottish bishops, and in the Jacobite's role as intermediary between the warring Non-juring bishops in Scotland and the Jacobite court in exile.
Université Paris Nanterre cprunier@parisnanterre.fr

1.00pm Travel to Blackie House Library, Edinburgh for those who have booked this option: Visit kindly hosted by Bill Zachs.



The Unnatural Trade

Slavery, Abolition, and Environmental Writing, 1650-1807

Brycchan Carey

A look at the origins of British abolitionism as a problem of eighteenth-century science, as well as one of economics and humanitarian sensibilities

How did late eighteenth-century British abolitionists come to view the slave trade and British colonial slavery as unnatural, a "dread perversion" of nature? Focusing on slavery in the Americas, and the Caribbean in particular, alongside travelers' accounts of West Africa, Brycchan Carey shows that before the mid-eighteenth century, natural histories were a primary source of information about slavery for British and colonial readers. These natural histories were often ambivalent toward slavery, but they increasingly adopted a proslavery stance to accommodate the needs of planters by representing slavery as a "natural" phenomenon. From the mid-eighteenth century, abolitionists adapted the natural history form to their own writings, and many naturalists became associated with the antislavery movement.

Carey draws on descriptions of slavery and the slave trade created by naturalists and other travelers with an interest in natural history, including Richard Ligon, Hans Sloane, Griffith Hughes, Samuel Martin, and James Grainger. These environmental writings were used by abolitionists such as Anthony Benezet, James Ramsay, Thomas Clarkson, and Olaudah Equiano to build a compelling case that slavery was unnatural, a case that was popularized by abolitionist poets such as Thomas Day, Edward Rushton, Hannah More, and William Cowper.

Brycchan Carey is professor of literature, culture, and history at Northumbria University in Newcastle upon Tyne. He has published numerous books and articles on the cultural history of slavery and abolition.

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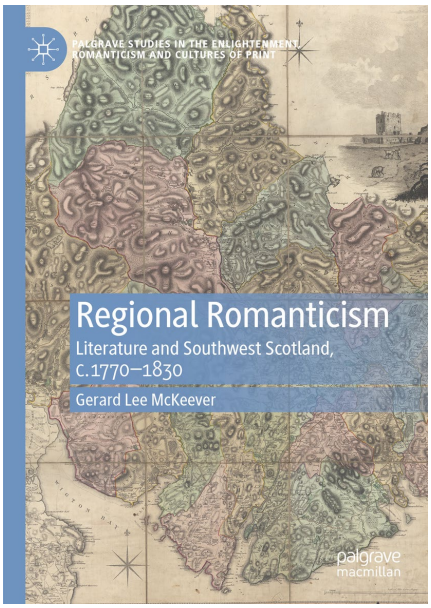

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G. L. McKeever

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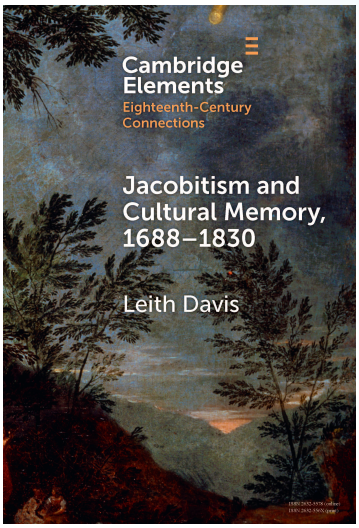
This book tracks the rise of modern cultural regionalism across the turn of the nineteenth century. Attending specifically to literature and literary culture, it examines how a particular region—southwest Scotland—was reimagined between 1770 and 1830. Regionalisms were a vital, emergent force in this period, in dialogue with the local, the national, the transnational and the imperial. In the case of southwest Scotland, the literary inscription of the region was generated in a blossoming periodical press; by visitors like Dorothy Wordsworth and John Keats; by resident icon Robert Burns; by homesick emigrants such as Allan Cunningham; by adventurers, colonialists and pirates looking back from within and beyond the formal limits of empire; by the unprecedented success of Walter Scott; and by many others navigating the opportunities presented by rapidly evolving economic, environmental and infrastructural conditions. Regional Romanticism illuminates a neglected aspect of anglophone literary history, acknowledging regions and regionalism as a primary frame of reference in late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century culture.

Jacobitism and Cultural Memory, 1688–1830

Leith Davis

Simon Fraser University, British Columbia



This Element has three objectives. First, it highlights the diversity of the nature of Jacobitism in the long eighteenth century by drawing attention to multi-media representations of Jacobitism and also to multi-lingual productions of the Jacobites themselves, including works in Irish Gaelic, Latin, Scots, Scots Gaelic and Welsh. Second, it puts the theoretical perspectives of cultural memory studies and book history in dialogue with each other to examine the process through which specific representations of the Jacobites came to dominate both academic and popular discourse. Finally, it contributes to literary studies by bringing the literature of the Jacobites and Jacobite Studies into the purview of more mainstream scholarship on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century literatures, providing a fuller perspective on the cultural landscape of that period and correcting a tendency to ignore or downplay the presence of Jacobitism. This title is also available as Gold Open Access on Cambridge Core.

February 2025

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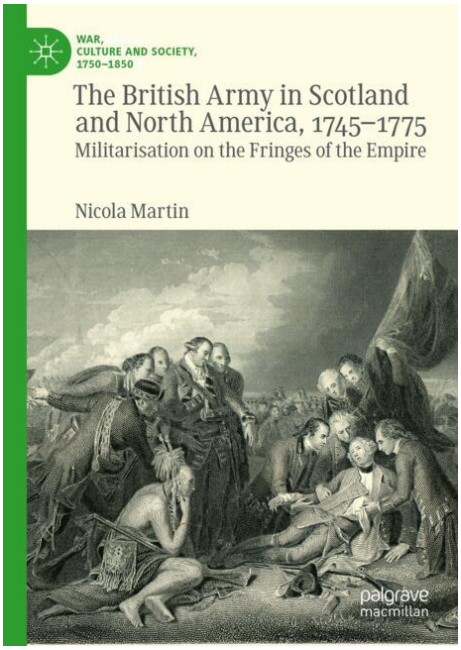

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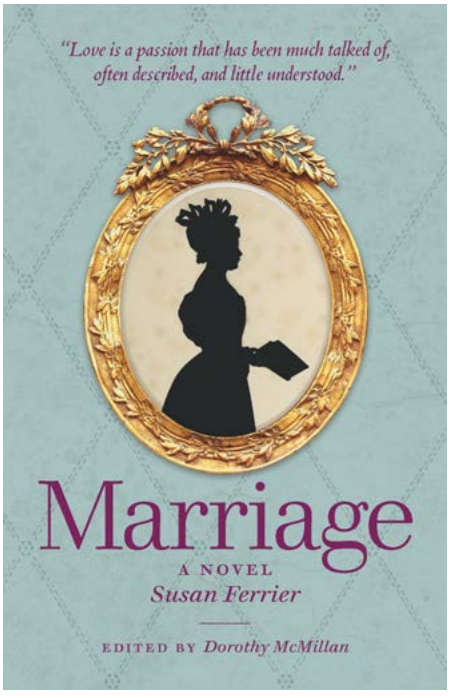

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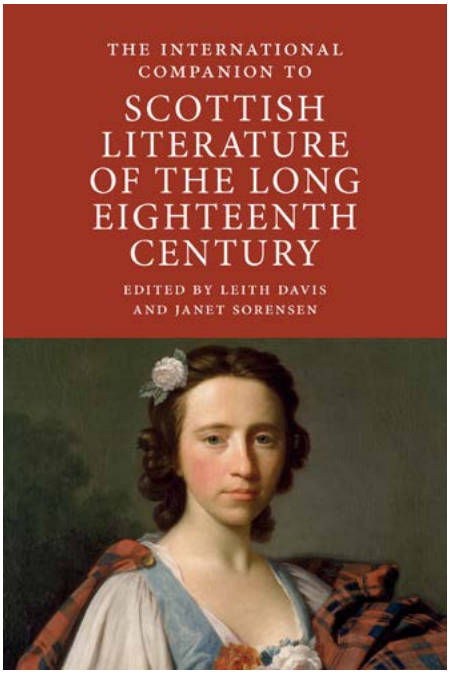

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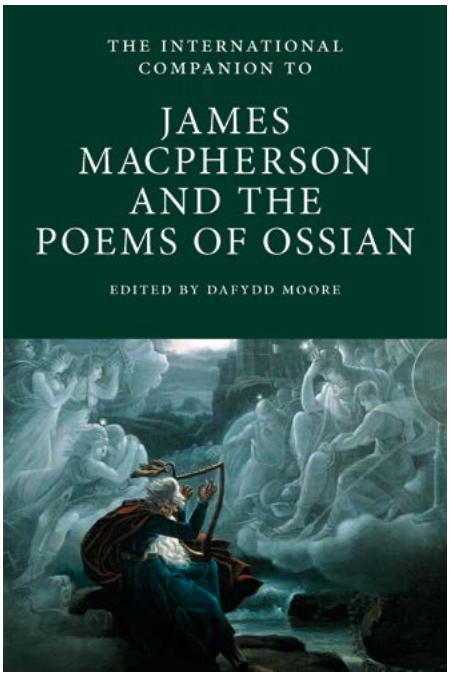

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Mosaic Outlooks: New Directions in Studies of Scottish Literature, Culture, and Society

Guest Editors: Kang-yen Chiu, National Yang Ming Chiao Tung University
Shu-fang Lai, National Sun Yat-sen University

Publication Date: June 2026 (Issue No. 55)
Submission Deadline: October 31, 2025

Scotland is a nation renowned for its remarkable literary and cultural heritage. From its breathtaking landscapes—spanning Highlands and Lowlands, islands and lochs—to vibrant cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow, serving as intellectual hubs of imagination and innovation, Scotland has cultivated a legacy of leading writers, philosophers, scientists, engineers, and medics. The distinctiveness of Scottish identity is woven from a rich tapestry of influences, blending its ancient Gaelic traditions, the profound intellectual legacy of the Scottish Enlightenment, and a forward-thinking spirit that continues to shape its cultural landscape.

Scotland is also a land where tradition meets transformation. Politically, the country's quest for greater autonomy within the United Kingdom reflects a blend of historical pride and progressive ambition. Since the opening of its Parliament in 1999, Scotland has taken steady strides toward self-determination, with many cherishing the dream of independence. Meanwhile, such an inclination is balanced by the open-mindedness exemplified by many Scots' reaction to the death of Queen Elizabeth II, who held "deep and abiding affection" for Scotland. This connection was poignantly reflected in the thousands of Scots who paid tribute to her cortege during its six-hour journey from Balmoral Castle to Edinburgh on 11 September 2022.

Scotland's global influence in literature, art, science, and technology is profound. Historically, connections between Taiwan and Scotland date back to the mid-nineteenth century, facilitated by government officials, traders, medics, and missionaries. These interactions inspired diverse works across literature, science, art, architecture, journalism, and educational reform. Despite these historical ties, the field of Scottish studies awaits further exploration. In the past decade, though, this field has undergone significant growth in new directions. Academically, its scope has expanded through initiatives such as the International Association for the Study of Scottish Literatures (IASSL), which was established in 2014 to foster global engagement with Scottish literary studies and has hosted three biannual conferences so far. A lot of research has been done on subjects such as Scottish women writers, children's literature, periodicals (such as *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* and *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*), global reception, or diaspora, while more and more new materials have been uncovered. With this special issue,

we aim to contribute to the development of Scottish Studies, shedding new light on its contemporary relevance.

This special issue invites scholars to investigate Scotland's rich heritage from any perspective within the humanities, particularly within literary and cultural studies. Collectively examining Scotland's contributions and complexities, we hope to offer fresh insights into Scottish literature, culture, and society in local and global contexts.

Topics may include but are not limited to:

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