EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SCOTLAND

The Newsletter of the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society

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GET READY FOR GLASGOW

In 1990 ECSSS held its first major conference (after two small ones in 1988 and 1989) at the University of Strathclyde in Glasgow, which was then the European City of Culture, on the theme of "Glasgow and the Enlightenment." On 17–21 July 2018 we return to Glasgow for the first time in almost thirty years for another major conference, this time at the University of Glasgow. It promises to be one of our best ever!

Housed in the newly remodeled and repurposed Kelvin Hall, a magnificent 1927 building near the university, the conference will focus on the theme "Networks of Enlightenment." It will feature an opening keynote lecture by Emma Rothschild on the conference theme in a European context, followed by a civic reception at Glasgow City Chambers. Over the next four days there will be about three dozen concurrent panels and roundtables, including several commemorating the tricentenary of the births of Hugh Blair (1718–1800) and William Hunter (1718—83), and roundtables in memory of Nicholas Phillipson and in celebration of the work of Alexander Broadie, who will receive the society's Lifetime Achievement Award at the conference dinner on the 20th. The Centre for Eighteenth-Century Studies at Stirling University will sponsor a gin tasting on the evening of the 18th at Glasgow University Library, which will display a William Hunter book exhibition. There will also be a keynote lecture on the 20th by Jane Rendall on the Scottish networks of Maria Edgeworth and, on the morning of the 21st, a reception sponsored by the Hunterian Museum and a closing keynote lecture by Anita Guerrini on "William Hunter's Collecting Networks." An optional excursion to Ayrshire on the afternoon of the 20th will enable conference-goers to visit Burns country in Alloway and the Adam brothers' Dumfries House, while another optional trip that morning will take others to the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre for a special guided tour led by Anthony Lewis.

Conference organizer Ronnie Young, assisted by Rhona Brown and other members of the conference organizing committee, have done a remarkable job planning this conference. We look forward to seeing many of you there!

EDINBURGH CONGRESS IN 2019

We are delighted to release news about ECSSS's annual conference in 2019, which will be held as part of the quadrennial meeting of the International Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (ISECS). ECSSS is collaborating with the British Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies (BSECS) in co-organizing the 2019 International Congress of the Enlightenment, to be held at the University of Edinburgh from Sunday 14 July to Friday 19 July 2019—and we hope that the venue and the theme ("Enlightenment Identities") will make this one of our best gatherings in recent years. A list of plenary speakers (including Silvia Sebastiani, Thomas Munck and Dena Goodman), a welcome from the organizing committee, and some preliminary advice on travel and accommodation are available in English and French on the conference homepage (https://www.bsecs.org.uk/isecs/en/), together with the Call for Papers.

Although the final deadline for submission of paper and panel proposals is not until 1 February 2019, the Congress planners are providing early approvals for those colleagues who need to secure funding or confirm travel plans further in advance. Proposals for single-author papers are welcome, but ECSSS members are particularly encouraged to submit proposals for pre-formed panels of three or four papers, or for roundtables with between four and six participants. If you have an idea for a pre-formed panel or a roundtable and would like help in identifying additional speakers, please feel free to contact Mark Towsey (towsey@liverpool.ac.uk), who is the ECSSS representative on the program committee. Further information about the congress, including accommodation, registration, and bursaries, will be announced as it becomes available. For any other queries, please email the organizing committee: ice@bsecs.org.uk.

DIALOGUES & DIASPORAS!

ECSSS held its 30th annual conference in style in Vancouver, BC, on 21–25 June 2017, and it was a smash. Hosted by ECSSS President Leith Davis, the conference was held jointly with the second World Congress of Scottish Literatures, which meets every three years, and was convened by Murray Pittock of Glasgow Uni-

versity. There were more than two dozen panels and roundtables, including plenary panels on "Scotland and Indigenous People in Canada"—highlighting Métis culture forged out of unions between indigenous people and European (often Scottish) settlers—"Scotland and Cultural Memory," "Eighteenth-Century Gaelic Literature's International Networks: The Rev. James McLagan (1728–1805)," and "Perspectives on the Hudson's Bay Company" (complementing the optional excursion to the company's Fort Langley). There were also plenary lectures by Miranda Burgess on Sir Walter Scott and Caroline McCracken-Flesher on science fiction diasporas, as well as roundtables to launch two new books: *The Scottish Enlightenment and Literary Culture*, edited by Ralph McLean, Ronnie Young (who was present), and the late Ken Simpson (the latest volume in the ECSSS Studies in Eighteenth-Century Scotland book series) and *Adam Ferguson and Ethical Integrity*, by Jack Hill. Another highlight was the banquet in memory of ECSSS founding Founding President and former member and chair of the University of British Columbia English Department, Ian Simpson Ross, attended by his lovely widow Ingrid.

It was a wonderful conference, and we have Leith and her hard-working staff to thank for it.

DAICHES-MANNING FELLOWSHIP

The 2018 recipient of the ECSSS/ASECS Daiches-Manning Fellowship is Elizabeth Ford, who intends to be in residence at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities from September 2018 to March 2019, working on "The Musical Culture of Coffee Houses and Taverns in Eighteenth-Century Edinburgh." As noted elsewhere in this issue, Elizabeth received her Ph.D. from Glasgow University in 2016, with an award-winning thesis on the flute in eighteenth-century Scotland, and she is active in the Eighteenth-Century Arts Education Research Network (EAERN).

ECSSS AT ASECS 2018

A snowstorm that hit the Atlantic coast of the USA on 21 March caused delays and some cancellations, but the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies, at the Hilton Buena Vista Palace in Orlando, Florida, was a warm and welcome site for those who managed to attend. On Friday 23 March ECSSS sponsored two panels and a luncheon. It began with "Rediscovering Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson*." In "The Hottentot Episode in the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Debates on Boswell's Accuracy," James J. Caudle, now of the Burns project at Glasgow University, presented new evidence on the response of Boswell's childhood tutor and Auchinleck parish minister, John Dun, to Boswell's telling of an incident involving Samuel Johnson. Then Celia B. Barnes of Lawrence University presented a talk she co-authored with Jack Lynch (who could not attend because of the storm), about problems associated with editing a student edition of the *Hebrides Journal* for the Oxford World Classics series. In addition, the panel chair and organizer, Richard Sher, spoke about the contributions to our understanding of Boswell's *Hebrides Journal* by the late John Radner, to whose memory the panel was dedicated.

After the Boswell panel, the annual ECSSS/Irish Studies Caucus luncheon was held in the lovely veranda space outside the hotel. Although the group present was somewhat depleted due to the storm, it was a pleasant event. Among others, we were happy to welcome Rivka Swenson of Virginia Commonwealth University, the ASECS Affiliate Societies Coordinator (and also a longtime ECSSS member) and Brycchan Carey of Northumbria University, organizer of the International Enlightenment Congress in Edinburgh in July 2019.

The second ECSSS panel, "Rediscovering Adam Ferguson: Humanity, Faction, Knowledge," took place later on Friday afternoon. It was chaired by Rivka Swenson, who also read the paper of one panelist who could not attend, Max Sjönsberg of the University of York, on "Adam Ferguson on the Perils of Faction and Demagogues in a Roman Mirror." Other papers were delivered by Mike Kugler of Northwestern College on "Adam Ferguson's Providentialist Science of Human Nature and the Enlightenment Twilight of the Augustinian Tradition" and Xandra Bello of University Aberdeen on "'Other Worlds like Earth': Natural Philosophy and Modern Scholarship in Adam Ferguson's Thought." Then the organizer of the panel, Mike Hill of State University of New York at Albany, responded to the three papers with perceptive remarks. After the Ferguson panel it was off to the ASECS Affiliate Societies Cash Bar!

At the ASECS meeting in Denver next year, ECSSS will sponsor a roundtable on "Archives, Mediation, and Publication," organized by Juliet Shields. Those wishing to participate should look for the Call for Papers on the ASECS website this summer or contact Juliet directly at js37@uw.edu.

NEW TOWN REDUX

Last year's issue of the newsletter announced a conference in Amiens in October 2017 on the Edinburgh New Town and New Towns of Scotland, organized by Clarisse Godard Desmarest to mark the 250th anniversary of James Craig's plan for the Edinburgh New Town. Clarisse and John Lowrey have organized a follow-up conference at the Patrick Geddes Centre, Riddle's Court in the Lawnmarket, on 14 June 2018. Murray Pittock (Glasgow University) will deliver a plenary lecture on "Edinburgh: Smart City of 1700."

ALLAN RAMSAY PROJECT

In August 2017 the AHRC announced a grant of one million pounds to Murray Pittock and his team (including ECSSS members Rhona Brown and Steve Newman) for a massive project on the poet, dramatist, and cultural entrepreneur Allan Ramsay (1684–1758).

In addition to a multivolume edition of his works, to be published by Edinburgh University Press, the project will encompass performance of Ramsay's musical settings, a book on aspects of the Edinburgh Enlightenment during Ramsay's time, and outreach to promote greater awareness and appreciation of Ramsay and his equally brilliant son of the same name (1713–84), the portrait painter.

AFTER THE ENLIGHTENMENT AT SA

As the Glasgow-based Allan Ramsay project mentioned above will throw new light on the early Scottish Enlightenment, a St. Andrews-based project funded to the tune of nearly a half-million pounds by a Leverhulme Research Grant will perform a similar function for another under-researched topic: Scottish intellectual life in the period 1790–1843. "After the Enlightenment" is a three-year project (2018–21) led by the Head of the School of History, Colin Kidd. It is divided into three topical areas, each directed by leading scholars at St. Andrews: 1. Moral Philosophy and Political Economy (Richard Whatmore and Knud Haakonssen)—with a focus on Dugald Stewart; 2. Natural Philosophy (Aileen Fyfe)—with a focus on David Brewster; and 3. Learning and Unbelief (Colin Kidd)—with a wide-ranging focus on Robert Chambers, J. M. Robertson, William Robertson Smith, Sir James Frazer, and others. Each research area will have its own research assistant, and each will seek to answer similar questions about how Scotland's intellectual life was transformed and reconceptualized between the end of the eighteenth century and the Victorian period.

STATISTICAL ACCOUNTS ONLINE

ECSSS members will find it worthwhile to visit the new and improved Statistical Accounts of Scotland Online (SASO) website, launched in November 2016 (http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/home). Hosted by EDINA in the University of Edinburgh, it is a wonderful resource both for original scholarly work and for teaching undergraduate and graduate students. Subscribers have access to a range of supplementary content, including essays, biographies, manuscripts, and correspondence that have been collated by the Editorial Board of the Statistical Accounts service. A full list of available materials can be accessed at http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/support/about#content.

The site uniquely hosts a complete digital collection of the late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Statistical Accounts of Scotland—rich and detailed parish reports for every parish in Scotland. Written hy local parish ministers, they offer a fascinating picture of local life at key points in Scottish history, during the agricultural and industrial revolutions. Topics covered include agriculture, local history, education, trades, religion, folklore, and social customs. Along with a more attractive user interface, the front page now exhibits new feature articles on Sir John Sinclair (1754–1835), the originator of the project; the *Old Statistical Account* (*OSA*) which originally appeared from 1791 to 1799; the *New Statistical Account* (*NSA*) of 1834–45; maps, boundaries and the historical parishes; and the wider context of the accounts. There is also a blog discussing topics connected with the accounts and their context, and how people use them in their research.

Among the new and improved features available to subscribers (or those using the service from within a subscriber institution) are (1) enhanced search capacities across the OSA and NSA, and appendices, images, and related resources and scholarly material; (2) capability for limiting a search to the OSA or NSA, and for searching by geographical area (north, northeast, etc.); (3) better display of search results, including the context of each result; (4) dedicated pages for each county and each parish; (5) more illustrations; (6) interactive, high resolution maps, courtesy of the National Library of Scotland (the Thomson Map of Scotland of 1832 has been incorporated into the site with all the parishes identified, which can be clicked on to access each account); (7) improved transcript quality, available for most pages of the Statistical Accounts, in html; (8) capability for saving, tagging, annotating, and sharing searches, in a personal user space; and (9) a responsive user interface which works across desktop computers, laptops, tablets, and smart phones.

Do check it out, and contact the team if you have comments on the service—they are keen to hear feedback on their work. Subscriptions are offered to individuals and both UK-based and overseas organizations, such as universities, national and public libraries, family history groups and genealogy societies. Individuals can subscribe at this website: http://stataccscot.edina.ac.uk/static/statacc/dist/support/subscription. Costs for institutions vary depending on size. Contact EDINA to find out the cost for your organization: edina@ed.ac.uk or (+44)131 650 3302.

Emma Macleod, U. of Stirling (member, SASO Editorial Board)

Editor's Note: SASO is sponsoring a panel (organized by Editorial Board member Alasdair Raffe) at the ECSSS conference in Glasgow this July, on the OSA *and the County Agricultural Surveys in the 1790s and early nineteenth century .*

EAERN PROMOTES ARTS EDUCATION

The Royal Society of Edinburgh-funded Eighteenth-Century Arts Education Research Network (EAERN), based in the music subject area at the University of Glasgow, has now completed its first series of practice workshops, and has begun planning for its second year. An interdisciplinary network working in different areas of arts education, EAERN seeks to bring together practitioners and scholars to investigate new approaches in using eighteenth-century arts educational materials.

Eighteenth-century authors concerned with arts education attempted to provide a legacy for their work in the form of treatises and manuals. These have played a huge role in establishing the environments in which modern arts education currently reside, such as music conservatories, schools of art, dance academies, and university history and literature departments. Though in the period arts education was part of a broader disciplinary context, this is no longer necessarily the case, with many practitioners and scholars working in isolation toward understanding how to use these manuals for practical application, recreation, and restoration. By establishing a forum where scholars and practitioners from all arts disciplines can come together to examine and discuss the use of eighteenth-century materials, we can begin to create new methodologies, which embrace the interdisciplinary nature of the arts and establish new areas of collaboration and research.

EAERN's activities include colloquia, workshop series, a blog series, and publications. The project team consists of Elizabeth Ford and Brianna Robertson-Kirkland (who will be speaking about EAERN at the Glasgow conference) and John Butt, along with a larger core network, including Mark Towsey, David McGuinness, Gillian Dow, Andrew Talle, Thomas Ahnert, Jennifer Thorp, Karol Mullaney-Dignam, Kirsteen McCue, and Karen McAulay. To learn more about EAERN's activities, please visit our website at https://eaern.wordpress.com/ or email us at arts-eaern@glasgow.ac.uk.

Elizabeth Ford, EAERN

A FOND FAREWELL TO CSSP

The journal *Reid Studies* was launched at Aberdeen University in 1986–87 and expanded in the next decade into the Reid Project, which aimed to counterbalance philosophers' fixation with David Hume and promote study and discussion of his greatest contemporary critic, Thomas Reid. In 2004 it was expanded into the Centre for the Study of Scottish Philosophy (CSSP), which aimed to cast the philosophical net even wider, to include not only other important Scottish Enlightenment thinkers but also their nineteenth-century successors, including Thomas Brown, Sir William Hamilton, and James Frederick Ferrier. To this end, *Reid Studies* was incorporated within a new *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*, published by Edinburgh University Press. With financial support from the Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland, a Library of Scottish Philosophy was established. Published by Imprint Academic, a series of six expertly edited and inexpensive paperback selections from Scottish philosophical authors appeared at the first CSSP conference in Aberdeen in 2005.

When Gordon Graham left Aberdeen for a new post as Henry Luce III Professor of Philosophy and the Arts at Princeton Theological Seminary in 2006, the CSSP moved with him, and extended its remit to include the influence of Scottish philosophy in America. The inaugural Princeton conference in September 2007 proved to be the first of many. March became the fixed month for the CSSP spring conference, and in several years there was a second meeting of some sort. In June 2010 a conference on "Thomas Reid, William Cullen and Adam Smith: The Science of Mind and Body in the Scottish Enlightenment" was organized jointly with the Eighteenth-Century Scottish Studies Society and the International Adam Smith Society (commemorating the tricentenary of the births of Reid and Cullen), and in September 2012 a Scottish philosophy conference was one of three major events marking the 200th anniversary of the founding of Princeton Theological Seminary.

Over the years, the CSSP publishing program also expanded. From 2008 the *Journal of Scottish Philosophy* was published online as well as in print, and in 2013 it increased from two to three issues each year. The Library of Scottish Philosophy, still published by Imprint Academic, commissioned many more volumes (see pp. 18–19 and 20–21 below), including selections on Scottish Philosophy in America. In addition, a multivolume and multi-authored *Oxford History of Scottish Philosophy* was launched in 2007 under the general editorship of Gordon Graham, published by Oxford University Press. Like many multi-authored projects, it proved to be complicated, and the first two volumes did not appear until 2015, including *Scottish Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century, Volume 1: Morals, Politics, Art, Religion*, edited by Aaron Garrett and James A Harris. The next two volumes are expected in 2019, and the fifth and final volume shortly after that. A further book series—Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy, published by Edinburgh University Press—was inaugurated in 2014, and the first volume, Ryu Susato's *Hume's Sceptical Enlightenment*, appeared in 2015. Two other volumes are now in print and three more in press.

With Gordon Graham's retirement from Princeton Seminary in June 2018, the CSSP will cease to function. A closing conference—the sixteenth in a series of conferences and workshops—was held at the seminary from 9 to 11 March 2018, with the broad theme "The Scottish Tradition: Explaining Its Rise, Understanding its Legacy." Plenary speakers and panelists numbered many well-known scholars. One panel, to which Gordon Graham was responder, took a critical look at Gordon's own work in Scottish philosophy. As usual, the paper presenters in concurrent sessions formed a welcome mix of well-established scholars alongside the graduate students and assistant professors who will form the next generation of experts in the field.

Although the CSSP ceased to exist on 1 May 2018, many of its activities will continue under new auspices. James Foster, who teaches philosophy and theology at the University of Sioux Falls in South Dakota, will be the Director of a new Institute for the Study of Scottish Philosophy (ISSP). James completed a doctoral dissertation on Reid at Princeton Seminary

in 2011. He subsequently spent a year as a Fulbright Fellow at the Research Institute for Scottish and Irish Studies at Aberdeen University, and he has served as both Editorial Assistant and Reviews Editor of the *Journal of Scottish Philosophy*. As Director of the ISSP, he will assume editorship of that journal, and he will be replaced as Reviews Editor by Timothy Costelloe of the College of William and Mary, author of a forthcoming volume in the Edinburgh Studies in Scottish Philosophy series on the role of the imagination in Hume's philosophy. Chris Shrock, author of another Edinburgh Studies volume (*Thomas Reid and the Problem of Secondary Qualities*, 2017), will be Digital Editor of the extensive ISSP website. The five-volume Oxford History of Scottish Philosophy will be completed under the general editorship of Gordon Graham, who is expected to hand over the series editorship of Edinburgh Studies in the next year or so. The conference program, under James Foster's leadership, will continue, collaboratively with other organizations in a number of different places. The first conference will take place in March 2019 in Lausanne, Switzerland, and the second conference, in conjunction with ECSSS, will return to Princeton Seminary in June 2020. Thereafter ISSP conferences are planned for Tokyo (2021) and St. Andrews (2022).

Looking back on the CSSP and its accomplishments, it is clear that Gordon Graham has been the driving force behind most of its many endeavors. It is therefore fitting that the 2020 ECSSS conference in Princeton will honor Gordon, who will receive the Society's Lifetime Achievement Award on that occasion.

MEMBERS ON THE MOVE

Daisuke Arie, now Professor Emeritus at Yokohama National U., is working on Adam Smitb's annotations and marginalia in books Smith owned (with help from **Shinji Nohara**, **Craig Smith**, and the late **Nick Phillipson**)...last year **Xandra Bello** received her Ph.D. at Aberdeen U. with a thesis on Adam Ferguson's *Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic*...this spring Edinburgh U. sent **Adam Budd** to India, to continue his remarkable work with the Salaam Baalak Trust in support of street children in Delhi, as he also works to complete his edition of the correspondence of the London publisher Andrew Millar...**Toni Vogel Carey**'s article on Adam Smith in the *Adam Smith Review* (see list of articles in this issue) was awarded an Elizabeth Eisenstein Prize by the National Coalition of Independent Scholars...**James Caudle** is now a Research Associate for the AHRC project "Editing Robert Burns for the 21st Century" at Glasgow U.... **Jeng-Guo Chen**, now a full Research Fellow and Deputy Director of the Institute of History & Philology at Academia Sinica in Taiwan, organized an Adam Smith workship at Zhejiang U. in Hangzhou, China, in Sept. 2017...at the Sorbonne on 26 June 2017 **Jean-François Dunyach** successfully defended his dissertation on "The Strange Case of William Playfair and France" for the "habilitation" for the rank of professor, and is now in the process of transforming his work on Playfair into a book...at press time the editor learned from the spring 2018 issue of *Retour: The Newsletter of the Scottish Records Assn.* of the death of **Alastair Durie** (1946–2017), a former ECSSS member (until 2008) who will be remembered by its members for his scholarship in several areas, including his 1996 SHS primary source volume, *The British Linen Company, 1745–1775*...**Elizabeth Ford**'s 2016 Glasgow U. Ph.D. thesis, "The Flute in Musical Life in Eighteenth-Century Scotland," was awarded the 2017 Graduate Research Award by the National Flute Association...**Gordon Graham** has retired as the Luce Professor at Princeton Theological Seminary (see the preceding article on the CSSP)...**Kathy Grenier** is looking forward to a sabbaltical leave next year after her term as History Dept. Chair at The Citadel ends this summer...**Mike Hill** has been promoted to Professor of English at SUNY Albany...**Catherine Jones** spent the past year in Leiden researching medical, literary, and ethical topics involving 18th-century Scotland and Europe, with fellowships from the Royal Society of Edinburgh and the Leverhulme Trust...After receiving her Ph.D. from U. of Rhode Island in 2016 with a dissertation on Scottish Enlightenment rhetoric which won the URI 2017 excellence in doctoral research award, **Rosaleen Keefe** has a new job as assistant professor of English (specializing in historical rhetoric) at Old Dominion U. in Virginia...**Colin Kidd** gave the Raleigh Lecture at the British Academy on 7 Nov. 2017 on "The Scottish Enlightenment and the Matter of Troy...**Karen McAulay** has been awarded an AHRC Networking Grant to track the survival of sheet music in British legal deposit libraries from 1710 to 1836...**Silvia Sebastiani** gave a plenary lecture on "The Scientific Tools of Scottish Realism" at the CSSP spring conference in Princeton in March (introduced by **James Harris**)...**Juliet Shields** organized and introduced a symposium on "Scottish Literature and Periodization" in a 2017 issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature*...**Joel Sodano** spent the past academic year as a Lecturer in English at Keele U....**Hideo Tanaka** has published Japanese translations of Lord Kames's *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion* (2016) and **Chris Berry**'s *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2017)...**Paul Tonks**, continuing as Associate Dean for International Affairs at Yonsei U. in Seoul, was elected a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society in March...**Mark Towsey** co-edited a 2017 volume of essays on community and private libraries (see **James Caudle**'s chapter in the list of articles in this issue)...**Mark Wallace** was awarded the 2017 Spencer Prize for Historical Research by Quatuor Coronati Research Lodge, London; in Nov. he received a much bigger prize when his wife gave birth to twin boys, Emery and Finnegan...**Paul Wood** retired from U. of Victoria in Dec. 2017 and has moved to nearby Pender Island.

William Hunter's Bones

By Anita Guerrini, Oregon State University

The bones of the anatomist and man-midwife William Hunter (1718–83) reside in St. James's Church, Piccadilly, a building designed by Christopher Wren. When Hunter died in 1783, he was lauded in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine* as a brilliant anatomist, a superlative man-midwife, and an admired teacher. His reputation has, however, suffered in comparison to that of his younger brother John (1728–93). Except for their short stature (probably around 5 feet 2 inches, or 1.57 meters), they could not have been more different: William was meticulous and elegant, shedding his Scots manners and his Scots accent soon after arriving in London in 1740. John was, and remained, rough-hewn and pugnacious, caring little for the sort of social climbing at which William excelled. William was miserly, John extravagant. Each has had his defenders and detractors, although John has seemingly won the historical popularity contest, with a popular biography by Wendy Moore, *The Knife Man*, in 2005. The brothers were often at odds. They quarreled about credit and priority, money and family. William cut John out of his will, leaving his considerable fortune to his nephew Dr. Matthew Baillie, son of his sister Dorothea.

Both William and John were prodigious collectors, following in the footsteps of physicians Hans Sloane and Richard Mead. Each collected natural specimens, including human and animal body parts, although William, befitting his gentlemanly persona, also collected antiquities, coins, books, and pictures, some of which those attending the ECSSS conference in Glasgow this summer will be able to see at The Hunterian collections. William was less interested than John in comparative anatomy. On the other hand, both owned various specimens from the South Seas that they had obtained from Joseph Banks, who had accompanied Captain Cook on his first voyage (1769–1772).

But William's professional concerns centered on the human body and his roles as a teacher of human anatomy and a man-midwife, and his collections reflect these interests. Beginning early in his career, he developed his skills in making anatomical preparations and models—skills he later taught to his students, including his brother John—and he also purchased the collections of others. When he left the household of his late mentor James Douglas in the mid-1740s, William probably took Douglas's preparations with him; he certainly took his manuscripts. William closely followed the career path of Douglas as an anatomist, naturalist, and man-midwife. We know about these interests and activities mainly through William's collected manuscripts, mostly in Special Collections at the University of Glasgow Library. William never published his lectures, and the first published catalogue of his anatomical collections only appeared in 1841. His biographer and champion, the late Helen Brock, published a two-volume selection of his correspondence in 2008.

In his lectures, William defined anatomy to include not only dissection but many other operations: "injecting, macerating, corroding, boiling, distilling, in a word, every operation by which we endeavour to discover the structure and use of any part of the body, is anatomical." It is not too much to say that he was obsessed with dead bodies, especially human bodies: with cutting them open, displaying them, and preserving them in various ways, as well as with making casts and models of bodies and body parts. John sometimes assisted in these activities and operations, as in the preparation of a cast of an *écorché* in 1775. William was particularly fond of the technique of the *écorché*, where a corpse is flayed to reveal the structure of the muscles, and in a portrait he is even depicted holding a small model of one. The procedure began with finding a freshly dead corpse with particularly good musculature. The body was then put into position and rigor mortis was allowed to set in, after which the corpse was stripped of its skin, and a plaster of Paris mold was made of the body. The 1775 *écorché* was cast from the body of a smuggler, and was ever after known as "Smugglerius." Several bronze models of the cast survive.

A manuscript catalogue of William's preparations, made shortly before his death and now in Glasgow University, runs to nearly four hundred pages and describes hundreds of specimens. Some are in jars, preserved in spirits, others injected with oil or turpentine or colored wax, still others dried and varnished. The collection included many human skeletons. William thought skeletons were essential to the teaching of anatomy, and he advised each of his students to have his own skeleton as well as several skulls. William never said much about the sourcing of all these dead bodies, but we know that John was particularly skilled at body-snatching (Hilary Mantel gives a bravura depiction of John instructing his pack of resurrection men in her 1998 novel *The Giant, O'Brien*). The association of William and other anatomy instructors with body-snatching was an open secret, and a caricature by William Austin in 1773, entitled "The Anatomist Overtaken by the Watch…Carrying Off Miss W--- in a Hamper," includes a figure who is undeniably the short, slender, bewigged William Hunter scuttling away from what was to be a handover of a body. Austin finely rendered the contrast between the large scruffy resurrectionist and the elegantly dressed William, complete with gold-headed cane.

William gave detailed instructions to his pupils in the making of skeletons, employing methods first described by the Flemish anatomist Vesalius over two centuries earlier. His ideal subject was an adult, probably male, between 25 and 35 years of age. Although William did not believe that the skeletons of fetuses or young children were very useful in anatomy teaching, they were highly prized commodities owing to their rarity. Hans Sloane had several in his collection of "Humana." Therefore William spent considerable time in his lectures de-

scribing a number of possible methods for the construction of infant skeletons, starting with the corpse of "a Foetus 9 months to a Child 5 years old" and proceeding with cringe-inducing detail.

The purpose of such skeletons, if not for instruction, was for display. Sloane had never taught anatomy but nonetheless had a large collection of human skeletons, including at least one he had commissioned. Skeletons and skulls, both human and animal, also made appearances in auction catalogues for libraries and other sorts of collections, indicating that they were widely available, at least among the elite circles of collectors. Most collectors did not go to the lengths of anatomist Joshua Brookes, whose auction catalogue of his collections in 1830 listed hundreds of human and animal skeletons. But an ability to make skeletons, like a talent in embalming, which William also taught his students, could be a lucrative skill for would-be physicians and surgeons. Although the use of "mumia" (dried human flesh, supposedly from ancient mummies) as a medicine faded in this period, Egyptian mummies became hugely popular collectibles in the eighteenth century, and there was much interest in embalming techniques. William publicly embalmed the dead wife of the London dentist Martin van Butchell in 1775 (the mummy, later bequeathed to the London College of Surgeons, remained until succumbing to the Blitz in the Second World War). Not to be outdone, John mummified the body of Princess Amelia, an aunt of George III, a decade later.

Earlier they had joined forces to inspect and, as far as possible, dissect the Royal Society's mummy. In December 1763 John and William were among a group of medical men (and one clergyman) who met at the residence of John Hadley, a young physician and fellow of the Royal Society. Hadley had obtained the mummy from the Society's collection of "rarities," where it had resided for the better part of a century, but it had been poorly cared for: the head was detached, as were the feet. Hadley wrote up a detailed description of the examination for the Society, published in the *Philosophical Transactions* early in 1764. The combination of anatomy and antiquity must have been very compelling to William, and he undoubtedly took notes on the materials used, which included "a vegetable resinous substance" and not, as had commonly been assumed, tar. Hadley's account, however, gives little information about the relative roles of the medical men at the mummy's unveiling.

Such joint activity on the part of the Hunter brothers became increasingly rare. Eighteenth-century science was littered with priority disputes and professional rivalries, but the disputes between the Hunters were legendary. William fiercely protected his status and priority in debates with the Edinburgh anatomist Alexander Monro *secundus* and others. He quarreled with his brother John for much of their lives about the ownership of anatomical preparations and about priority in various anatomical discoveries. At times they ceased speaking to each other. Although William had taken over the education of the feckless 20-year-old John in 1748, the younger brother chafed at the elder's supervision. John joined the army as a surgeon in 1760, abandoning his position as William's prosector, serving as classroom assistant for anatomy courses—and chief procurer of dead bodies. John's genius as a surgeon and an experimenter soon emerged, and he was elected a fellow of the Royal Society in February 1767, three months before his elder brother.

Later in 1767, however, William and John collaborated on solving a puzzle which would have large implications. The collaboration was based on a history that had begun at least forty years earlier. In the late 1720s Hans Sloane wrote up an account for the *Philosophical Transactions* of some very large bones and teeth that had been dug up in London. He believed that they, along with all other such bones, had belonged to an elephant. He also recounted a legend he had heard from some "old Siberian Russians" about an elephant-like animal they called a "mummoth," which lived and died underground. Occasionally the entire body of one of these beasts would surface in the tundra. Later, the French naturalist Georges-Louis Leclerc, Comte de Buffon related that a skeleton of one of these creatures had been on display in Irkutsk in 1723. Sloane commented that some thought these "mummoths" were the carcasses of elephants that had died in the Deluge and had been carried to Siberia by the Flood, but he did not endorse or refute this surmise.

Before the eighteenth century, such large bones had sometimes been attributed to human giants, who were as much as thirty feet tall. These claims had begun to be challenged by the early seventeenth century, when the bones of a supposed twenty-five-foot-tall giant found in southern France in 1613 became the subject of a five-year pamphlet war. The challenger, the eminent Paris anatomist Jean Riolan the younger, asserted that these bones may have belonged to elephants or whales, although he did not say how these animals might have reached the south of France. But he concluded that they had simply grown in the earth, following current ideas about fossils. Soon the default explanation for such bones became the Biblical flood, which, as Sloane later commented, redistributed animal remains across the globe. The idea of extinction, that a species which once existed could have disappeared, was unthinkable.

By the 1750s, however, the certainty that Sloane had expressed concerning the identity of such giant bones was eroding, replaced by puzzlement. North America became a focus for this uncertainty. The French explorer Charles LeMoyne, Baron de Longueil, made the first fossil findings along the Ohio River in 1739. He gathered up a very large femur, a tusk, and some teeth and sent them back to Paris, where Buffon had recently been installed as the new director of the Royal Botanic Garden and Royal Cabinet. In the early 1760s, as part of his anatomical work for Buffon's multi-volume *Histoire naturelle*, Jean-Louis-Marie Daubenton examined the bones from the Ohio, comparing them to the existing elephant skeleton in the royal cabinet. He concluded that the femur and tusk resembled those of an elephant, although they were much larger, but the teeth looked more like those of a

hippopotamus. Buffon agreed with these conclusions in his article on the elephant in volume 11 of *Histoire naturelle*, published in 1764. The hippopotamus jaw had simply been mingled with elephant remains. He added that even though these bones, as well as similar ones found in Siberia, were much larger than those of contemporary elephants, this could be attributed simply to natural variation. He continued to hold the theory that the productions of the New World were smaller and degenerate compared to those of Europe, so the idea of a race of giant elephants in North America did not sit well with him.

The British trader George Croghan discovered more large bones along the banks of the Ohio in 1766, in an area known as Big Bone Lick, in what is now northeastern Kentucky. He sent several shipments of bones to London, for Benjamin Franklin and William Petty, Earl of Shelburne, who was Secretary of State in charge of the American colonies (and much else). The naturalist Peter Collinson, who described some of the teeth Croghan had found in the *Philosophical Transactions* in November 1767, once more surmised that these elephant-like creatures had been washed into Ohio all the way from Siberia during the Deluge.

Meanwhile, when William Hunter learned that some of these "elephants' teeth" had arrived at the Tower of London in the spring of 1767, he obtained a loan of a tooth and a tusk from John Boddington or Bodington, who was a keeper of the Tower's treasures. William thought the tusk looked like that of an elephant, and showed it to his brother John, who agreed; but John, who was far more expert in comparative anatomy than William, said that the tooth was, in the words of William's subsequent account in the *Philosophical Transactions,* "certainly not an elephant's." William went to the Tower and looked at the rest of the teeth there, and compared them to the jaws of two elephants in John's collection. He also looked at the two living elephants in the royal menagerie, and "I examined a great number of African elephants teeth at a warehouse." William became increasingly skeptical that any of the teeth, bones, and tusks from the Ohio could be those of an elephant. His interest in such specimens soon became known, and Benjamin Franklin showed him the box of bones he had received from Croghan. Shelburne allowed William to examine his specimens as well.

William read his "Observations" on the bones to a meeting of the Royal Society in February 1768, and his account appeared in the first issue of the *Philosophical Transactions* for that year. He had been named a fellow only the previous summer, although he had given papers at meetings of the Society since the 1740s. Quite apart from its conclusions, William's essay offers a fascinating glimpse of the networks of eighteenth-century science and collecting, as well as a rare example of the Hunter brothers in collaboration rather than conflict. Reviewing the recent discussions of the bones, particularly Buffon's and Daubenton's, William seized upon the "very curious and interesting" point that his predecessors had explained away: if these were indeed the bones of elephants, then "some astonishing change must have happened to this terraqueous globe."

At this point in his career William was well known as an anatomy instructor, a man-midwife to royalty and the aristocracy, and a collector. He had no particular expertise in fossils, but his reputation as an anatomist, and perhaps more importantly, his network of social connections in London, allowed him to indulge his curiosity. Shelburne even offered his services to William in transmitting further inquiries about the bones to his connections in North America. He gave William a tusk and two teeth to keep, presenting the rest to the British Museum, which had opened a few years earlier, based on the vast collections of Hans Sloane.

Even before he had received the answers to these queries, William had concluded that the bones, tusks, and teeth from Big Bone Lick belonged to "an animal of another species, a *pseud-elephant,* or *animal incognitum,* which naturalists were unacquainted with." He surmised moreover that this was the same animal as the Siberian mammoth. He then examined all the fossil teeth and jaws he could find in the Royal Society's cabinet, as well as the teeth of contemporary elephants and hippopotamuses he found there and in private collections. He discovered teeth resembling those of the *incognitum* that had come from South America and even from Europe. Befriending a group of ivory workers, he examined yet more elephant teeth and tusks, and invited them to his house to look at the teeth and tusks he had obtained from Boddington and Shelburne. They assured him that the tusks came from elephants, and even cut through the tusk that Shelburne had given him to show that it was genuine elephant ivory and could be polished like any other piece of ivory.

Even though the tusk might have been made of ivory, William remained convinced that it did not come from an elephant. Going back to Daubenton's descriptions and illustrations, William returned to anatomy: the leg bones in Daubenton's engravings could not, he argued, have come from a single species. William chose to illustrate his article in the *Philosophical Transactions,* however, with engravings from drawings by his favorite anatomical artist, the Dutchman Jan van Rymsdyk, comparing the jawbones of the *incognitum* to those of elephants from his brother John's collection. The elephant jaws were not only smaller but quite differently configured.

William concluded that the *incognitum* was probably the same animal as the mammoth, and was not only very large but also carnivorous. Summoning the image of a giant carnivorous elephant pounding its path around the world, William concluded, "though we may as philosophers regret it, as men we cannot but thank Heaven that its whole generation is probably extinct." By raising the idea of extinction, which implied that the Creation was either incomplete, or imperfect, or both, William opened a new vista in paleontology, only taken up three decades later by the eminent French zoologist Georges Cuvier. While William gave credit to John for the use of his collections, he did not credit John with any of his conclusions, although the determination of the teeth as belonging to a carnivorous beast may have owed something to John's research.

William did not continue down this path himself. In 1770, John Boddington, the keeper at the Tower of London, published a letter in the *Philosophical Transactions* addressed to William that described some "petrified bones" he had received from the chief engineer of the British garrison at Gibraltar. The bones had emerged from the underlying rock when it had been blown up to allow for the building of fortifications. William replied briefly. While he had thought at first inspection that the bones were human, when he consulted with John and removed more of the encasing rock, he concluded that they were the bones of "some quadrupede." He did not speculate further.

While John largely lived his life in public, William Hunter was an exceedingly private man. We know almost nothing of his personal life; he may have been engaged at one point to James Douglas's daughter Martha Jane, but she died while he was studying anatomy in Paris, and he never married. He was acutely conscious of the distasteful and morally questionable aspects of the practice of human anatomy, and instructed his students to speak little of what they did in his anatomy school at Great Windmill Street in London. His memorial lies in the magnificent collections he left to the University of Glasgow, which form the basis of a number of world-renowned collections of science, art, and history, now in newly restored spaces across the city.

Anita Guerrini, Horning Professor in the Humanities and Professor of History at Oregon State University, will conclude the ECSSS conference at Glasgow University on Saturday 21 July 2018 with a plenary lecture on "William Hunter's Collecting Networks." She will be introduced by the Deputy Director of The Hunterian, Mungo Campbell, who has worked vigorously to promote the tricentenary of the birth of William Hunter.

IN MEMORIAM

NICHOLAS PHILLIPSON (1937–2018)

Nicholas ("Nick") Tindal Phillipson, who died of cancer after a short illness on 24 January 2018, was one of the most distinguished scholars of the Scottish Enlightenment of the past half century. A few years after his birth in England on 15 August 1937, his family moved to Aberdeen, where his father, Andrew Phillipson, a veterinary surgeon, took up a position at the Rowett Research Institute. Nick attended Aberdeen Grammar School and stayed on in the city for his first undergraduate degree in history. After graduating from Aberdeen with an M.A. in 1958, Nick read for a second undergraduate degree, at Cambridge University (B.A., 1962), where he took Duncan Forbes's famous Special Subject on the Scottish Enlightenment. His Cambridge Ph.D. dissertation on "The Scottish Whigs and the Reform of the Court of Session, 1785–1830" was supervised, nominally at least, by Sir John Plumb. By the time he finished his doctorate in 1967, Nick had been appointed to a lectureship at the University of Edinburgh. Along the way, he had done his national service in the RAF, even though he could have chosen not to. He spent his entire academic career at Edinburgh, retiring in 2004, but continuing to write and lecture as an Honorary Research Fellow until shortly before his death.

Nick's influence on the field of Scottish Enlightenment studies over the course of fifty years was transformative. His interests extended far beyond the history of Scotland, and he was able to view the Scottish Enlightenment in relation to a wider, British and Continental European, world. His appointment at Edinburgh was in the History Department, not in the then-separate Scottish History Department, some of whose members seem to have regarded him with a certain degree of suspicion. Many of his early publications emphasized the importance of provincial centers like Edinburgh in shaping the intellectual and cultural character of the Enlightenment. His groundbreaking chapters on "Culture and Society in the Eighteenth-Century Province: The Case of Edinburgh and the Scottish Enlightenment" (in Lawrence Stone's *The University in Society*, 1974) and "The Scottish Enlightenment" (in Porter and Teich's *The Enlightenment in National Context*, 1981) are examples of that approach. He was also deeply interested in the importance of Addisonian and Shaftesburian ideas of politeness for understanding the moral thought of the Scottish Enlightenment—a topic he explored, for example, in a chapter on "Adam Smith as a Civic Moralist" in Hont and Ignatieff's *Wealth and Virtue* (1983).

Aside from his doctoral thesis (which was published by the Stair Society in 1990) and an important collection of essays that he co-edited with Rosalind Mitchison in 1970 as *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (reissued in 1996), Nick wrote two books, which are not just important works of academic scholarship but—like the texts of the thinkers he studied—have also enjoyed great success with a wider, non-academic public. The first, *Hume* (initially published in 1989 and reissued, in the UK by Penguin Books in 2011 and in North America by Yale University Press in 2012, as *David Hume: The Philosopher as Historian*), continues to be an influential interpretation of the relationship between Hume's philosophical and historical works. The other is *Adam Smith: An Enlightened Life* (also co-published by Penguin and Yale University Press, 2010), which was joint winner of the Saltire Society's prize for the best Scottish research book of the year. As an intellectual biography of Smith, this too has had a far-reaching impact, within academic circles and beyond. Much of Nick's thinking on Smith was shaped by a major research project, funded by the Leverhulme Trust, on the "Science of Man in the Scottish Enlightenment," which he organized with the late Susan Manning between 2002 and 2006. At the time of his death, Nick was writing a new history of the Scottish Enlightenment as the collective biography of a particular generation of thinkers.

Throughout his career at Edinburgh, Nick held many visiting appointments elsewhere: at Princeton Uni-

versity's Shelby Cullom Davis Center, the University of Tulsa, Yale University, the Folger Institute, and the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität in Munich. From 2000 to 2002 he served as President of ECSSS. He was also a founding editor of the Cambridge University Press journal *Modern Intellectual History*, which he helped to establish as a leading publication in its field. An appreciation of his interpretation of the Enlightenment was published by Colin Kidd in that journal in 2014.

Nick was a brilliant teacher to several generations of undergraduates and graduate students, and an inspiring and generous mentor to many younger colleagues. He was also the very opposite of a scholarly pedant. His insights into some of the central questions in his field were often brilliantly intuitive. He was a wonderful host, whose dinner parties were never to be missed. He was also a generous patron of the arts. In his early life, he had been an oboist in the National Youth Orchestra and, for a time, had contemplated a career as a musician. For many years, he was closely involved with the Edinburgh International Festival. He owned an exquisite collection of art, including paintings by Calum Innes, whose talent he recognized from an early stage of that artist's career. In 2011 Nick was clearly moved when he was awarded ECSSS's Lifetime Achievement Award in the Aberdeen Art Gallery, which he knew well from his time as a schoolboy and student in the city. An elegant, sharp-eyed, and skeptical observer of human nature, Niek Phillipson was also extraordinarily accomplished, humane, and urbane. He will be deeply missed by his many friends and fellow scholars.

Thomas Ahnert, University of Edinburgh

MARLIES K. DANZIGER (1926–2018)

The Yale Boswell editor Marlies K. Danziger, a member of ECSSS from its first year in 1986 until 2013, died at her home in Scarsdale, NY, on 26 February 2018, at the age of 92. Born Marlies Kallmann in Berlin, she and her family left Nazi Germany for Switzerland in 1937, and later Britain, and emigrated to the USA in 1948. She did her undergraduate work at Queens College, a Master's degree at Stanford, and her Ph.D. at Yale (1956), where she encountered Frederick Pottle's graduate course in the Boswell papers. She began her teaching career at Smith College in Northampton, Massachusetts. In 1957 she married Erwin Danziger, business manager in the New York offices of Spiegel Inc. (the catalog company), who predeceased her. She joined the Yale Boswell Editions in the 1980s while a professor of English at Hunter College, CUNY, and brought the Yale "trade" edition of Boswell's journals to completion, co-editing with Frank Brady its thirteenth and final installment, *Boswell: The Great Biographer, 1789–1795* (1989). After Brady's sudden death in September 1986, she assumed overall responsibility for that volume, and contributed the introduction, front matter, and much of the editorial apparatus. She next undertook the editing of *James Boswell: The Journal of His German and Swiss Travels, 1764*, which appeared in 2008 as the first volume of Boswell's journals in the Yale Research Series, and was in her words "twenty years (with interruptions) in the making." The outcome of patient, dogged, and at times arduous archival sleuthing, much of it in Germany, it is a model of authoritative, scrupulous, thorough, and comprehensive editorial labor, deepening, expanding, supplementing, and in several instances correcting *Boswell on the Grand Tour: Germany and Switzerland, 1764* (1953), the "trade" volume to which it is the Research Series parallel. With her death, the world of Boswell scholarship has lost one of its most outstanding contributors.

Gordon Turnbull, Yale University

ISEABAIL CAMPBELL MACLEOD (1936–2018)

The death of Iseabail Macleod in Edinburgh Royal Infirmary on 15 February 2018, following an unexpected stroke, deprives ECSSS of a distinguished lexicographer and one of its friendliest and most hospitable members. The award of an M.B.E. to her in 2001, which she opted to receive in Holyrood rather than Buckingham Palace, was a tribute to her lexicographical work, but she had by then passed through three career phases. Underneath all lay the values of a Highland culture derived from Gaelic-speaking parents from Wester Ross. Although she and her brother Iain regretted that they were not brought up bilingual, Iseabail taught herself to read and speak Scottish Gaelic—the language closest to her heart. After surviving the Battle of the Somme as a young Seaforth Highlander in 1916 and being told that the family croft could no longer sustain him as a crofter-fisherman, her father had reluctantly migrated to the Lowlands to join the police, rising to senior rank in Dumbartonshire. He married relatively late, not long before the renewal of war, and bis young family had to migrate back to the Highlands for a spell to escape the Luftwaffe's bombing of Clydeside. Later in life the Highlands were always the refuge for Iseabail, a keen climber and skier.

Schooled in Clydebank and Lenzie Academy, Iseabail graduated M.A. from Glasgow University in 1957, specializing in languages. A year in Austria gave her fluent German, as au-pairing in France had honed her French. Later she added passable Italian and Russian. She became a schoolteacher from 1958 to 1964, then went to London to enter publishing. Starting with Europa Press, she spent two years editing European reference books. Returning to Scotland, she worked for Collins in Glasgow as an editor of foreign language dictionaries. However, the dictionary with which she made her professional name was a Spanish one done with Colin Smith, a Scottish Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. It was the first successful large one-volume dictionary to offer not just a list of head words with equivalents in the other language (which can lead to grotesquely inappropriate word choice) but also a range of examples of usage. In 1974 Iseabail moved to Edinburgh, where she became a successful dietionar-

ies editor and eventually an Editorial Director at W. & R. Chambers. She then became an outstanding freelance editor specializing in books about Scotland, with increasing commitment to Lowland Scots lexicography and the Scottish National Dictionary Association, of which she rose to be Editorial Director between 1986 and 2002.

She flowered as an author-editor in her later phase, starting with small but very successful books for Richard Drew on Scots words and place names before progressing to more ambitious scholarship. Her 1991 edition of *Mrs. McLintock's Recipes of Cookery and Pastry-Work 1736*—the first printed Scottish cookery book—was an act of love by an editor who loved to cook. She wrote brief guides to Edinburgh and Glasgow, as well as editing an excellent *Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Scotland* (2006). She edited a flow of smaller accessible dictionaries, including one for schools, derivative from the mighty *Scottish National Dictionary*. Among her more interesting works were *Scotland in Definition: A History of Scottish Dictionaries* (2012)—which she dedicated to the eminent lexicographer Jack Aitken, whose *Festschrift* she co-edited—and, with John M. Kirk, *Scots: Studies in Its Literature and Language* (2013).

The large turnout at Iseabail's funeral in arctic Edinburgh in March 2018 was a tribute to a great and much beloved Highland lady.

Bruce P. Lenman, University of St. Andrews

C. JAN SWEARINGEN (1948–2017)

Jan Swearingen, a long-time ECSSS member and frequent participant in its conferences, passed away from cancer in her home state of Texas on 1 June 2017, at the age of 68. Trained as a rhetorician, Jan obtained her Ph.D. in 1978 from University of Texas at Austin. She then taught at the University of Michigan, the University of Arizona, and the University of Texas at Arlington before finally accepting a position in 1998 as a Professor of Rhetoric at Texas A&M University, where she remained until her retirement in 2015. She published on various aspects of rhetoric, including her 1991 book with Oxford University Press, *Rhetoric and Irony: Western Literacy and Western Lies* (translated into Chinese in 2004). Jan served as President of the Rhetoric Society of America from 1998 to 2000 and was a Fellow for Life of that organization.

Jan's involvement with eighteenth-century Scottish rhetoric developed relatively late. In 2008 Jan obtained a fellowship from the National Endowment for the Humanities to study the influence of Scottish rhetoric on the American Founding Fathers, especially in Virginia. She pursued her work on this topic as a Fellow at the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh in the summer of 2008 and again in the winter of 2009. Among the publications that emerged from this research was her chapter on "Adam Smith on Language and Rhetoric: The Ethics of Style, Character, and Propriety" in the *Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith*, edited by Christopher J. Berry, Maria Pia Paganelli, and Craig Smith (2013). In 2012 Jan spoke on the rhetoric of Samuel Davies and John Witherspoon at the ECSSS conference in Columbia, South Carolina, and two years later she organized an ECSSS panel on "Scotland in Virginia: Rhetoric, Moral Philosophy, and Religion" at the annual meeting of the American Society for Eighteenth-Century Studies in Williamsburg, Virginia.

Jan Swearingen was an engaging teacher, a thoughtful scholar, and a lovely person who brought a unique perspective to the role of rhetoric in eighteenth-century Scotland and America.

Richard B. Sher, NJIT/Rutgers University, Newark

ECSSS Statement of Finances, 1 Jan. 2017–31 Dec. 2017

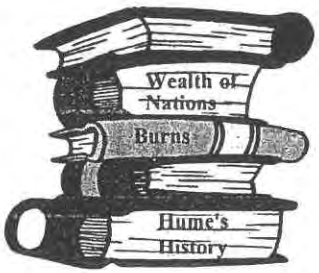
Bank of Scotland Chequing Account
Balance 1 Jan. 2017: £20,890.16
Income: +£941 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal)
Expenses: –£235 (conference travel grant)
Balance 31 Dec. 2017: £21,596.16

Bank of America Checking Account
Balance 1 Jan. 2017: $18,472.50
Income: +$8596 (dues, book orders, and donations other than PayPal: $3096; ASECS contribution to Daiches-Manning Fellowship: $1500; transfer from PayPal: $4000)
Expenses: –$7343.01 (newsletter printing & prep: $1386; newsletter mailing: $862.68; website fees (BlueHost): $507.51; equipment and supplies (Staples & Amazon): $461.71; Vancouver conference: $1016.61 [Exec. Board dinner meeting: $203.14; Exec. Sec.: $742.25; gift: $41.61; bank fees: $29.61]; Bank of America adjustments: $90.39; payments and donations to Daiches-Manning Fellowship Fund, U. of Edinburgh: $2591.68; Rowman & Littlefield for copies of books in our series: $426.43)
Balance 31 Dec. 2017: $19,725.49

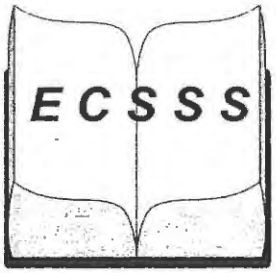
PayPal.com Account
Balance 1 Jan. 2017: $2601.56
Net Income (after PayPal and currency transfer fees): +$2933.26 (dues, book orders, and contributions)
Withdrawals: $4000 (transfer to Bank of America checking account)
Balance 31 Dec. 2017: $1534.82

Total Cash Assets as of 31 Dec. 2017 [vs. 31 Dec. 2016]: £21,596.16 [£20,890.16] + $21,260.31 [$21,074.06]

ECSSS/ASECS Daiches-Manning Memorial Fellowship at IASH, Fund at University of Edinburgh as of 31 Dec. 2017: £46,184



BOOKS in REVIEW



Tamás Demeter, ***David Hume and the Culture of Scottish Newtonianism: Methodology and Ideology in Enlightenment Inquiry***. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016. Pp. xi + 221.

In recent years, the commonplace that David Hume sought to become the Newton of the moral sciences has been challenged by a number of scholars. The significance of Tamás Demeter's book lies in the fact that he seriously weighs up this claim by considering the nature of Scottish Newtonianism, and its consonance not only with the writings of Hume but also with those of other Scottish moral philosophers. He contrasts Hume's application of the concepts and methodology of Newtonianism with that of other Scottish moralists such as Francis Hutcheson and George Turnbull. He argues that while they adopted Newtonian natural religion as well as the mathematization of Newton's *Principia*, Hume rejected the former and adopted qualitative metaphors and analogies drawn from Newton's *Opticks* in place of the latter. Also, Demeter considers developments in Scottish Newtonian natural philosophy throughout the eighteenth century, with particular reference to physiology and chemistry. He argues that Hume adopts a "vitalism" in his philosophy of human nature which parallels the vitalism of Scottish physiologists and chemists including, not incidentally, William Cullen.

The book is divided into four main parts besides the introduction and conclusion: 1) "The Unity of Scottish Newtonianism," 2) "Methodological and Ideological Context," 3) "Hume's Method and Project," and 4) "Moral Philosophy and Normative Morality." In discussing "The Conceptual Unity of Scottish Newtonianism" in Chapter 1, Demeter argues that natural and moral philosophy for many Scottish writers represented interdependent modes of discourse. Following Newton, and probably more directly Colin Maclaurin, George Turnbull held that the natural world was purposefully created for the sake of the moral world, so that they "make one strictly, connected system" (p. 17). Demeter notes that this teleological and theological view of the world order is also espoused in Hutcheson's 1742 lectures on moral philosophy and in David Fordyce's *Elements of Moral Philosophy* (1754). He argues that while Hume rejected the theological teleology adopted by these writers, he nevertheless "retains some of the rhetoric of the mutual dependence of parts for a common purpose" (p. 18). The continuity of physical and moral discourses is, Demeter argues, particularly apparent in medicine, as illustrated with discussions of the passion of anger by a number of Scottish writers, including George Cheyne, George Turnbull, Adam Smith, and Lord Kames, as well as Hume.

In Chapter 2, entitled "The Methodological Unity of Scottish Newtoninanism," Demeter contrasts Newton's methodology as it emerged from the *Principia* with that of his later *Opticks*. Rather than a reduction of the phenomena to "a quantifiable natural kind, i.e. force" in the former book, the method of analysis in the Opticks "is not mathematical but analogical" (p. 34). Demeter argues that the method of the *Principia* was applied, not only by the physician Archibald Pitcairne to medicine in the 1690s, but also to morals by Francis Hutcheson in the 1720s. In contrast, the analogical method of the *Opticks* emerges in the medical publications of Pitcairne's former student, George Cheyne, in the 1730s, and in the lectures in both physiology and chemistry of William Cullen in the 1750s. Demeter argues that Cullen's notion of "elective attractions" of chemical substances applies the analogical method of the *Opticks* (p. 43). In the last section of this chapter, Demeter follows social historians who connect the mathematization of the world picture with social coercion and unitary government, and its demise with liberalization after the Union of 1707. However, I must admit to my own skepticism concerning these connections, particularly as he has identified Francis Hutcheson as following the former methodology. While Hutcheson sought to apply mathematical methods to morality in his *Inquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, his political and social sympathies—and activities—were nothing like those of a Jacobite like Pitcairne.

Throughout the book there are careful and thought-provoking discussions of Hume's own writings. In Chapter 4, Demeter gives a careful analysis of the passage in Part 1 of Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* (*THN* 1.1.4.6), which many commentators view as arguing that the association of ideas is analogous to Newtonian universal gravitation (p. 75). Demeter points out that this interpretation does not hold up, because Hume writes not only that association is a kind of mental attraction which has a variety of effects like attraction in the natural world

but also that it shows itself "in as many and various forms." Rather than the principle of universal gravitation which acts uniformly throughout the universe through the inverse square law, the passage suggests "principles of elective attraction" such as those adopted by Scottish chemists, which vary from one substance to another. Like the association of ideas, the attractions of chemical substances vary with the content of what is attracted.

In Chapters 7 and 8, Demeter elaborates further on the claim that the science of man in Hume's *Treatise* is close to "the outlook of those eighteenth-century Scottish research traditions that were inspired by Newton's *Opticks*" (p. 134). He argues that this is particularly true of the imagery which Hume uses in Book II of the *Treatise*, where he contrasts the association of *ideas* with that of *passions*. In forming complex ideas, simple ideas, like corpuscular atoms, maintain their independence and identity. On the other hand, passions, like colors and chemical substances, combine to form new compounds which show no trace of their original ingredients (*THN* 2.2.6.1 cited on p. 141). In another passage from Book II of the *Treatise* to which Demeter calls attention, Hume writes that when opposing passions like grief and joy are associated with related objects or ideas, they cancel each other out "like an *alkali* and an *acid*." On the other hand, when passions are associated with contradictory views of the same object, they remain separate "like oil and vinegar" (*THN* 2.3.9.17). The upshot of these distinctions for Demeter is that "impressions and especially passions…are susceptible of qualitative transformations and, [unlike ideas] they are characterized by properties and interactions that are not explained in a corpuscular way" (p. 155).

Chapter 8 stresses the continuity between Hume's account of the mind and themes that were central in eighteenth-century Scottish physiology. Scottish physiologists stressed that living organisms (or more particularly, their muscles) do not react mechanically to stimuli like billiard balls being hit with billiard cues, but rather "are active in the sense that they respond with more energy than contained in the stimuli" (p. 151). This "active power" in living beings was ascribed by Scottish physiologists, including Robert Whytt and William Cullen, to an "active sentient principle" in the nervous system (cf. p. 44). In an analogous way, according to Demeter, the Humean mind exhibits "self-activity" as it constantly seeks stimulation outside of itself (pp. 132, 160; cf. *THN* 2.2.4.4). This provides justification for ascribing the term "vitalist" to the Humean mind—though this was not a term used by Hume, nor by Scottish physiologists themselves.

Demeter goes on to argue that the mind for Hume consists of more than the impressions and ideas which we immediately observe; rather, Hume draws inferences to the interacting faculties of "sensation, memory, imagination, reason, judgment, reflection, and sympathy," which result in the properties of these perceptions (p. 157). It is these faculties of the mind that he seeks to identify in what he calls his mental anatomy. Nevertheless, these inferences are hypothetical and can always be corrected by further inquiry, just like the hypotheses Newton made concerning the causes of magnetism and electricity in his *Opticks*, which provided the topics of research pursued by eighteenth-century natural philosophers.

In the fourth and final part of the book, Demeter provides an insightful account of Hume's discussion of liberty and necessity in human action, and of the question whether Hume's anatomy of human nature can lead to a normative ethics. He notes that in arguing that our causal inferences regarding human behavior rely "on a necessary connection that is grounded in constant conjunctions," Hume emphasizes "the fundamental conceptual unity of moral and natural philosophy" (pp. 176–77). In the last chapter Demeter argues that since "moral philosophy for Hume is a descriptive and explanatory enterprise that is to be laid on the foundations of disinterested observation," it is "ideally conceived as being devoid of the distorting influences of…ideologies" (p. 185). He stresses that the general point of view which a Humean moral judge arrives at is not "a view from nowhere" but rather a human point of view that varies to a limited extent in different social circumstances.

Demeter's book is a valuable contribution to the study of the links between natural and moral philosophy in the Scottish Enlightenment, as well as of Hume's own science of human nature.

John P. Wright, Central Michigan University

Thomas W. Merrill, ***Hume and the Politics of Enlightenment***. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015. Pp. xii + 199.

Thomas Merrill has written a thoughtful and original book. He presents David Hume's political thinking as an exercise prompted by the skeptical crisis described in the conclusion to Book I, Part IV, Section VII of *A Treatise of Human Nature*. Hume had engaged in radical questioning. It was this search that led him to "the abyss of philosophical melancholy and delirium" (p. 4). Hume described how the imagination, "the central faculty of the mind," prompts us to "reason from causes and effects" and "convinces us of the continu'd existence of external objects when absent from the senses" (p. 18). And, further, the imagination prompts us to inquire into "the original and ultimate principle or first cause." But then we find that these inquiries are merely "flights of the imagination;" "we are seeking something we have never seen, and would not know how to identify even if we had" (p. 19). In the conclusion to Book I of the *Treatise,* Hume described himself as a man who has "narrowly escap'd shipwreck" but who "has yet the temerity to put out to sea in the same leaky weather-beaten vessel." Merrill's book is notable for, among other things, its cover, which reproduces J.W.M. Turner's magnificent painting, "The Shipwreck."

Merrill believes that Hume had anticipated the conclusion of Book I of the *Treatise* in the introduction, when he compares the length of time "from Thales to Socrates…to that betwixt my Lord Bacon and some late philosophers in England, who have begun to put the science of man on a new footing." Hume was alluding, Merrill

proposes, to a remark of Cicero's, in *Tusculan Disputations*, that "Socrates was the first person to call philosophy down from the heavens…and compel it to inquire into life and mores and good and evil things."

Merrill describes Hume's turn to the passions, in Book II of the *Treatise*, and morals, in Book III, as "Hume's Socratism," in Chapter 1 and "Calling Philosophy Down from the Heavens" in Chapter 2. He is impressed by the manner in which the introduction and conclusion of the *Treatise* complement and reinforce one another. He finds no place in Hume's "science of man" for the experimental method of reasoning and the association of ideas. He recites, on p. 21, and again, on p. 29, Hume's declaration that he "cannot forbear having a curiosity to be acquainted with the principles of moral good and evil, the nature and foundation of government, and the cause of those several passions and inclinations which actuate and govern me." Merrill remarks, "There is not a hint here of experimental method or mathematical laws" (p. 29). I would suggest that there is more than a hint of the experimental method of reasoning (not, to be sure, of mathematical laws) in this citation. Hume was referring to the *principles* that explain the several passions and inclinations, morality and government. Hume used the term *principles* to refer to the association of ideas and the manner in which ideas become enlivened and acquire the liveliness or vivacity of impressions. He employed the association of ideas in Books II and III of the *Treatise* to explain how pride and love, rules of property and allegiance, and sympathy with others may be accounted for by the relations of individuals with one another and with things.

In Chapter 4, "Investigating Morality and Politics," Hume's disagreement with Hutcheson on the moral sense and the artificial, not natural, origin of justice and government is presented clearly and convincingly—with the exception of one controversial claim. We are told that "the purpose of this chapter is to show how Hume's analysis of morality and politics leads him to claim that prudence and the life of reason is the chief of the natural virtues" (p. 100). I would submit that Hume was not engaged in ranking the virtues. When he declared that "men in common life and conversation…consider prudence under the character of virtue as well as benevolence," he was proposing that his understanding of virtue was more inclusive than Hutcheson's in *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue*, where benevolence is the only virtue. Hume thought that "every quality of the mind is denominated *virtuous* which gives pleasure," and this pleasure may arise from four different sources: *usefulness* to others, or to the person himself, and *agreeableness* to others, or to the person himself. It was an understanding of virtue which made it possible to comprehend a wide variety of virtues under the rubric of the useful and the agreeable. Hume would make this argument more explicit in *An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals*, a work he rated in his autobiographical sketch *My Own Life* as "incomparably the best" of his writings.

James Moore, Concordia University

Jia Wei, ***Commerce and Politics in Hume's* History of England**. Studies in Early Modern Political, Social and Cultural History, No. 17. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2017. Pp. xii + 209.

Making sense of Hume's *History of England* remains one of the great conundrums of Scottish Enlightenment studies. It is inextricably caught up in the argument—probably less illuminating than is usually assumed, but which has stretched almost uninterrupted from Hume's time to our own—about precisely where he might be situated on the ideological spectrum running from crypto-Jacobite Tory to radical Whig. In her thought-provoking new book, Jia Wei suggests that this is the wrong way to look at the *History*, and indeed is the wrong sort of question to ask about Hume: he was not even merely, as she cautions, "a mediator between the two" (p. 171). Instead, we are bidden to see the *History* as a highly intelligent and nuanced reading of England's past, in which the interplay between commerce and liberty, their relationship critical and hugely productive though also far from straightforward, becomes the dominant narrative. This vital theme, moreover, was presented by Hume to a mid-Georgian audience grappling with the complex and troubling implications of Britain's dramatically expanding international trade and what he regarded as the unforeseen and poorly understood effects of the country's still very recent constitutional revolutions.

Wei's study elaborates on this interpretation in two well-matched sections of uneven length. The somewhat shorter first part focuses on Hume's examination of how eighteenth-century British political society had come to be shaped by maritime trade. Rejecting the Whiggish orthodoxy which rooted the Hanoverian constitution in the way the supposedly libertarian legacy of the remote Anglo-Saxon past had been preserved and re-established in the previous hundred years through the triumph of a freedom-loving Parliament over an autocratic monarch, he tried to demonstrate how the political arrangements of his own day were actually the unintended and in many respects accidental product of "the increasing momentum of commerce" and the consequent struggles which had unfolded in seventeenth-century England between "the rising middling rank and the old landed elite" (p. 9). The second half of this study, longer and more detailed in its analysis, shifts the focus on to the question of public finance and explores in particular how Hume saw the increasingly problematic relationship between the taxation required and successfully imposed by governments and the liberty demanded and jealously guarded by citizens—a relationship, of course, that would shortly be stretched to the breaking point and beyond in Britain's colonies across the Atlantic.

Yet although in the latter case Hume would famously find himself sympathizing with the taxpayers' cause ("I am an American in my Principles," he asserted in 1775), his fundamental conclusion was that excessive hostility toward executive power was not just misconceived in theory but also positively pernicious in practice. On

Hume's assessment of the choices, severe restrictions on the collection of public revenues by the state would necessarily be enfeebling, rendering it impossible to maintain adequate military and naval strength to defend the country's economic and political interests while also undermining efforts to keep the precious constitutional balance in Britain between liberty and authority. As Wei puts it, because he judged that "the main threat to public liberty was the pendulum of English politics swinging between the extremes of republicanism and monarchical absolutism," in Hume's view it was a profound irony that "an excess of civil liberty could destroy the edifice of mixed government," dismantling the very structure in which the people's much-vaunted freedoms currently resided (p. 159).

Wei's interpretation of Hume's *History* is not without its limitations, however, perhaps mostly traceable to its relative brevity (just 175 pages of text), which in turn probably derives from its origins in a Cambridge University doctoral dissertation. It is, for example, more convincing on Hume's Britain-wide intellectual context than on his Scottish philosophical circle. The encounters with the writings of Harrington, Davenant, and Locke are nicely handled, and there are the virtually compulsory parallels with Smith. Both Andrew Fletcher and Adam Ferguson, however, though some of their works are cited in the bibliography, are confined to footnotes, and their names are absent from the index. William Robertson, too, despite his interest in how eighteenth-century Europe's political systems had evolved, particularly revealed in the "View of Society" prefaced to the *History of Charles V* (1769), appears fleetingly in the introduction, while the index contains a phantom reference to a further mention which is actually missing from page 30.

At the same time, this account is less sensitive to Hume's literary aims in offering a best-selling historical narrative to the public than it might have been: his reliance on wit and evasive verbal formulations to veil his controversial opinions and also to entertain his many readers is not given sufficient attention, even though these aspects of Hume's art further complicate any attempt to understand how the *History* operates as a documentary or even as a pedagogical text. Nor is this analysis quite so securely grounded in the recent explosion of academic interest in the distinctive historiographical traditions specific to eighteenth-century Scotland as one might have expected. Colin Kidd's work on the Scottish brand of Whig historiography, for example, goes unexploited, while engagement with the studies of Mark Salber Phillips and Karen O'Brien on Hume's creativity and imagination as a writer is also surprisingly slight.

Nonetheless, this is a fine debut book from a new and insightful Hume specialist, which will be of interest to anyone concerned with the major works of the Scottish Enlightenment.

David Allan, University of St. Andrews

Editor's Note: The book below was originally published in 2014 as a work of 95 pages, but we were unable to review it due to unforeseen circumstances. A second, expanded edition appeared in 2017, and we are now able to print two different reviews of it, by scholars from two different disciplines. The book is available from the Royal Society of Edinburgh at https://www.rse.org.uk/publication/david-hume-my-own-life/.

David Hume: My Own Life 1776. Edited, with an Introductory Essay, Notes and Commentary by Iain Gordon Brown. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: The Royal Society of Edinburgh, 2017. Pp. 115.

This is a "Second, Revised and Expanded Edition" of Iain Gordon Brown's edition of David Hume's *My Own Life*, first published in 2014. It is a marked improvement on an already fine work of scholarship.

The sectional sequence is largely unchanged. The preface is followed by the central essay "Embalming a Philosopher," subtitled (with fine assonance) "The Writing, Reception and Resonance of David Hume's '*My Own Life.*'" There follows a description of the work's editorial principles, and then a facsimile of the original manuscript owned by the Royal Society of Edinburgh and deposited in the National Library of Scotland. The work concludes with two transcripts of *My Own Life*, both with notes and commentary: "A Modern Reading Version" and then "A Textual Version."

The restructured preface opens with Brown's reflections on a remarkable piece in the *New York Times* by the British neurologist Dr. Oliver Sacks (1933–2015), then dying of metastatic malignant melanoma. Sacks found solace from the serene detachment of *My Own Life*, an autobiography which morphs into auto-obituary as Hume's text shifts seamlessly from the present to the past tense. The preface—an essay in itself—draws interesting comparisons between this work and those of Hume himself: a first edition too hastily released, as with the *Treatise*; an impatient wait, as with some of the published essays, for his publisher's call for a second edition, always Hume's vehicle for multiple revisions.

The central essay, "Embalming a Philosopher," benefits from numerous corrections and adjustments, all aimed, in true Humean fashion, at enhancing the clarity and precision of the text. Brown clearly felt that his first edition was under-referenced. He had, however, the benefit of three years of reflection on that first edition, the largely supportive critical response, and the publication of such major accessions to Hume scholarship as James Harris's *Hume: An Intellectual Biography*. He pays due tribute to the work of Emilio Mazza of IULM University, Milan, on elucidating the practice and procedures of Hume as editor of his own work. Brown repeatedly draws our attention, correctly, to the intellectual detachment of the man in all spheres of his work, an admirably unusual trait in an eighteenth-century writer. This would include the historical detachment so praised by Voltaire; the detachment of religious faction from the first *Enquiry*, and the conclusions of the *Dialogues*. Brown cites the terminal

detachment which so astonished Boswell and amused Adam Smith as his friend fired off excuse after excuse at Charon to avoid boarding his ferry across the Styx. This excellent essay is not only revised to great advantage but is significantly expanded. The number of endnotes is up from 134 in the first edition to 212 in the second.

The facsimile of Hume's original manuscript is clearly presented and a joy to read. In my opinion, however, it should be read last, after both the Modern Reading Version, with its modernized punctuation, orthography, and expanded endnotes, and the Textual Version. The latter's faithful presentation of the author's revisions further exemplifies the loving care that Hume bestowed not only on his text but also on his readership and posterity.

Finally, readers should settle down in their studies, or in a quiet corner of their college library with this book open at the facsimile of *My Own Life.* They will then find themselves transported back two centuries to a Georgian townhouse at the corner of St. Andrew Square and South St. David's Street in Edinburgh's New Town. They will also find themselves, in the words of Adam Smith, "approaching as nearly to the idea of a perfectly wise and virtuous man, as perhaps the frailty of human nature will permit."

David Purdie, University of Edinburgh

Iain Gordon Brown was a familiar figure in the Manuscripts Division of the National Library of Scotland until he retired as Principal Curator in 2011. He mounted many of their exhibitions, with documentation that has varied from catalogue notes to small monographs. His expertise ranges from literature and history to art and architecture, both Scottish and more widely European. This new publication combines his antiquarian and aesthetic interests in a spectacularly elegant volume, first published in 2014, and now in an enlarged and improved edition of 2017. Non-specialists who already have the first edition may find that sufficient for their needs, but specialists will welcome the greater detail of the present version.

"My own Life" (Hume wrote a small "o" which Brown changes to a modern capital) was written in 1776, just before Hume's journey to Bath, undertaken with some skepticism in one last effort to find evidence that he was not dying. Brown has partially rewritten his rich commentary for the new edition, and is generous in his use, and generally in his interpretation, of a good many previous scholars' work. The only technical matter that gives me pause is the references, in both editions, to the "sheets" of the manuscript. That term, used in relation to manuscripts, normally refers to a larger unit than occurs in Hume's work, or Brown's number counts. Hume's sheets, each with its distinguishable recto and verso sides, are folded once across the centers of their shorter sides. A sheet is the unit of paper one would buy in quantity (e.g. a ream), and generally packed flat, from an eighteenth-century stationer. Fold it across the middle and you double the number of "sides" to four. It is such four-sided, or twin-leaved, items that Hume was using for "My own Life." For "sheets" read "leaves" or "half-sheets." The biggest shock, in an editor who has spent his life among historical materials, is that Brown does not understand Hume's meticulous conventions over colons and semicolons, and wrecks the whole system.

Excluding a brief editorial preface, both editions consist of five substantial sections, four of them revised (and no longer numbered) in the second edition, with some titles modified: I. Introduction: "Embalming a Philosopher;" II. Facsimile of the Manuscript (photographic reproductions); III. Editorial Principles (order of II and III interchanged in 2nd ed.); IV. Transcript of the Manuscript: a modern reading version; V. Transcript of the Manuscript: a textual version. The "modern reading version" involves updated spellings, which seem to me an unnecessary interference with the text. However, a lot of careful thought has gone into the accurate preparation of each section, including some fine work on what Brown calls the "archaeology" of the composition, and involving a fresh look at the roles of Hume's brother, of William Strahan, and of Adam Smith in the publication history, all working to different agendas. Many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century commentators who have written on the work are commented on, and it is interesting to see how opinion has shifted over the decades, so that a favorable view of Hume's character and personality now emerges as a natural reading. Even some literary commentators who a few decades ago were frowned on in some circles for being too high-flown, I now see had a credible case to make. Two of Brown's acknowledged sources, rarely noticed by other authorities, are particularly welcome: Liz Stanley's "The Writing of David Hume's *My Own Life*" and Emilo Mazza's "Hume's Life, Intellectual Context, and Reception." Both of Brown's editions quote a paragraph of mine which now strikes me as having too negative a tone. It was written with tongue at least partially in cheek, picking up on the ironies I also find in Hume, but not meaning to disguise a sense that, for all Hume's injured pride, "My own Life" is a *brilliant* piece of writing.

In both editions I have found a small number of misprints, more in the first edition than the second (three occurring in close proximity on p. 43), but not such as to confuse a careful reader. Brown believes that Hume wrote the whole piece in a single day, which is not to say at a single sitting, or without occasional adjustment. I cannot rule that out, nor see how to establish it. There appears to be an ink change near the foot of the first manuscript page, and Hume seems to have been ahead of himself at the top of the second, missing out a key phrase till he dipped into the ink afresh at a different time.

In recounting the controversial donation of the Hume family's collection of Hume's manuscripts to the Royal Society of Edinburgh by the will of Baron David Hume in 1838, Brown tactfully passes over the fact that history nearly repeated itself in 1987, when the RSE—for whom Brown has more recently served as Curator—was under pressure to sell off a collection that it had neither the facilities nor the money to maintain. Happily, under an enlightened new administrator of the RSE, and thanks to the negotiating skills of the late David Norton, it was

agreed at that time to place the manuscripts on deposit with the NLS, which has accepted responsibility for their long-term conservation. That need was already apparent when I initially consulted one volume early in 1977. As a non-member, I had to read the material in the RSE's drafty entrance hall; the heating had failed, and I was supplied with a tiny radiator. On a later visit, I was left unsupervised, to help myself to whatever volumes of the manuscripts I wanted, from a higgledy-piggledy pile in an unlocked filing cabinet in the boiler room. In the interval between those visits, the manuscript of Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion* acquired an indelible coffee stain, imposed by a visiting scholar, now deceased, who knew no better. But even under the watchful eye of the NLS's invigilators, the manuscripts cannot escape further signs of wear and tear owing to their heavier use.

M. A. Stewart, Edinburgh

Paul Wood, ed., ***Thomas Reid on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy***. The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2017. Pp. cxciv + 318.

Paul Wood is one of the leading scholars who has contributed to Thomas Reid's resuscitation as a central figure of the Scottish Enlightenment, especially in volumes in *The Edinburgh Edition of Thomas Reid* book series, edited by Knud Haakonssen and published by Edinburgh University Press. This edition of *Thomas Reid on Mathematics and Natural Philosophy* represents another milestone in Wood's effort to rebuild Reid's legacy by publishing and annotating not only Reid's manuscripts but also the ephemera of Reid's teacher, George Turnbull. In addition to providing insight into Reid's scientific interests, the volume's lengthy introduction offers a taste of Wood's widely anticipated biography of Reid. The main text contains Reid's notes on six subjects: geometry, mathematics, astronomy, optics, electricity and chemistry. The topics covered in the manuscripts fit naturally together and speak to Wood's superior knowledge of the Reidiana distributed in libraries throughout Scotland and elsewhere. Taken as a whole, the volume offers much insight into Reid's view of what today would be associated with the natural sciences. Since many of the manuscripts were written early in Reid's career, the volume offers a prehistory of the ideas he would espouse when he became an established intellectual and academic.

Writing, especially notekeeping, played a major role in Reid's intellectual development. One of the interesting outcomes of Wood's edition is that it allows us to see Reid's thought as an unfolding process that was intimately tied to the ways he used his notekeeping abilities to think about problems and contemplate solutions. Like other scholars of his day, Reid was exposed to so many books that there was no way he could remember everything he read. As explained eloquently in Wood's deliciously detailed endnotes, these books included some of the most challenging mathematical and natural philosophy treatises ever published. In his *Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man* (1785), Reid comments that keeping notes is the only true way to remember what one reads. The high value he attributed to inscription was linked to the difficulties he experienced with his own capability for recollection and with his faculty of memory generally. The ephemerality of memory was also a major concern in the philosophies of mind designed by other Scottish philosophers. Within this tradition, notekeeping was a crucial tool used to train the operations of the mind and to furnish it with ideas. The secret to Reid's success was a well-developed sense of notekeeping. Writing was a mode of thinking for him, with ratiocination and inscription being mutually influential activities.

Like Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Hans Sloan, Jane Austen, and many other habitual scribblers, Reid extended his mind by keeping notes that he later transformed into the discourses, questions, essays, and other forms of writing which were eventually offered to the public in printed form. Unlike the ephemera of Newton, Sloan, or Austin, the manuscripts of many Scottish literati, especially their personal notebooks, have been lost both through design and happenstance. David Hume arranged for his ephemera to be incinerated posthumously. Dugald Stewart's manuscripts were lost when his son, who suffered from a mental illness, destroyed them. Wood's edition, therefore, is a welcome addition to our broadening picture of the notekeeping techniques that shaped the Scottish Enlightenment.

The manuscripts in *Mathematics and Natural Philosophy* offer a helpful picture of *how* Reid kept notes. Like their contemporaries living across Europe and America, eighteenth-century Scottish notekeepers used different kinds of techniques to accomplish different kinds of tasks. There were double-entry ledgers for accounts, inventories for household items, waste-books for day-to-day business, cookbooks for recipes, copybooks for children, lecture notebooks for students, and even memoranda for literate servants. When it came to making sense of books through notekeeping, there were many options, some of which have been explored by David Allen on commonplace books, Mark Towsey on library minutes and catalogues, and Katherine Glover on women's diaries and letters. My own work has investigated the many techniques used by students to keep school and university notebooks. Yet, though there were many ways to use notes as thinking tools, research on how the act of notekeeping helped Scottish readers to process or to remember ideas on paper is still relatively sparse.

The headings and terminology that Reid used in his mathematics and natural philosophy manuscripts to describe his notekeeping efforts reveal that he thought he was recording "observations." These observations were made through the use of four recurring notekeeping techniques, which were iterations of longstanding scholastic and humanist notekeeping practices, designed to help notekeepers extend their mind on paper when they were thinking through difficult or important topics: *brevairia* (summaries), *commentaria* (commentaries), *copia* (extracts or commonplaces), and *evidentia* (evidence by way of recording facts or phenomena). Reid's combinations of these techniques are evident in all the notes included in Wood's edition. For example, the notes entitled

"Observations on the Elements of Euclid," which Reid wrote during the mid-1750s, while he was teaching at King's College, Aberdeen, consist of summaries and extracts of definitions, propositions, and axioms found in different editions of Euclid's *Elements*, particularly Books I–VI. The geometry notes also include commentaries on information presented in the summaries. Occasionally Reid discusses what he understood to be "self-evident."

The notekeeping techniques evinced in the notes included in Wood's edition reveal that Reid understood observation to be a mode of thinking that used writing to understand a text. In other words, the acts of summarizing, extracting, and commenting guided the kind of evidence that he felt he needed to record. Since his notes on scientific subjects treat evidence as facts and phenomena gained from direct observation of the natural world, this means that his process of making geometric, astronomical, optical, electrical and, to a certain extent, chemical observations began with the books he was reading and then moved to nature.

Why is this important? When Reid's notekeeping techniques are viewed in light of the social and intellectual context provided by Wood's endnotes and introductory essay, Reid's inscriptions allow us to catch a glimpse of how he constructed observations from the bottom up. It provides what could be seen as an enactive logic—a series of steps through which he used pen and paper to create, refine, and strengthen the kinds of observations that he eventually included in his published works. In short, it reveals that the intellectual powers of the human mind were linked intimately to the powers of the human hand.

Matthew Daniel Eddy, Durham University

Thomas Reid on Religion. Edited by James J. S. Foster, with an Introduction by Nicholas Wolterstorff. Library of Scottish Philosophy. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2017. Pp. vi + 229.

Thomas Reid on Religion is a most welcome companion to another volume in the Library of Scottish Philosophy, *Thomas Reid: Selected Philosophical Writings* (2012). Too long neglected, Reid's philosophy has in the past few decades increasingly received the attention it deserves. However, our understanding of his views on religion has remained fragmented and partial. Reid refers to God regularly in his published writings, but we have not had a systematic overview of his religious commitments and the way they influenced his teaching and lectures. As James J. S. Foster explains, our understanding of Reid's stance on religion must remain incomplete because there are no extant primary sources on Reid's sermons, doctrinal statements, confessions, or treatises on revealed religion. What have survived, however, are the remnants of Reid's lectures on natural theology, mainly in the form of student notes. By enabling us to become acquainted with these lectures, this volume provides some reliable, albeit incomplete, insights into Reid's religious views.

The most extensive of the surviving student notes on Reid's lectures on natural theology were taken by George Baird at Glasgow University during the academic term 1779–80. Starting from this source, Foster has studied Reid's autograph manuscripts at the University of Aberdeen Library and five other sets of student notes from lectures delivered in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow. In the editor's introduction, Foster explains that Baird's notes remain the most reliable source for Reid's religious and theological views. He has drawn on the most illustrative of Reid's lectures on natural theology and has based his critical edition on a comparison of the Baird notes with the other sources mentioned. Foster has done invaluable editorial work by filling in missing words, translating non-English quotations, inserting valuable references in footnotes to Reid's own works, and making annotations that clarify the regular references in the lectures to philosophical and religious sources (e.g., Xenophon, the Bible, Lucretius, Cicero, and Hume). Three appendices contain selections from publications by Reid and excerpts from his lecture notes and personal papers, which help to create a more complete picture of his theological positions.

Foster, whose PhD dissertation was on Reid's moral philosophy, is intrigued by Reid's views on the relation between religion and morality. Reid's first lecture opens with a clear observation on this point. He writes: "Duty to God forms an important part of our duty, and it is the support of every virtue; it gives us magnanimity, fortitude, and tranquility. It inspires with hope in the most adverse circumstances; and there can be no rational piety without just notions of the perfections and providence of God. It is no doubt true that revelation exhibits all the truths of natural religion, but it is no less true that reason must be employed to judge of that revelation; whether it comes from God" (p. 29). In a nutshell, we find here all the themes that form the gist of Reid's theological views. Moreover, his lectures on natural theology read like a philosophical apology for the "true Christian religion," such as we perhaps should expect from the Moderate Presbyterian clergyman Reid was.

For those familiar with David Hume's *Dialogues concerning Natural Religion*, Reid's lectures on natural religion are sure to fascinate. Hume's *Dialogues* open with a eulogy of natural religion in support of piety but move rapidly in the direction of a skeptical debunking of the confidence of the average theist. With Reid, that confidence is unwavering: the just understanding of natural religion cannot but fortify revealed religion and morality. Reid pays much more attention than Hume to "speculative atheism"—a position he ascribes to ancient philosophers such as Diagoras, Theodorus, and Protagoras and the Italian priest Lucilo Vanni, executed for heresy in 1619 in Paris—which he skillfully withdraws as untenable and the fruit of bad philosophical thinking. Like the character of Cleanthes in Hume's *Dialogues,* Reid also treats extensively the cosmological and biological "evidence" to undergird the argument from design, while at the same time he takes more seriously than Hume the "first cause argument," defended by Demea in the *Dialogues*. As Nicholas Wolterstorff remarks in his introduction, Reid is much less interested than Hume in the psychological dimension of religious belief: he does not appeal to the notion of a

sensus divinitatis (Calvin). However, throughout the lectures there are a few references to the dangers of superstition and enthusiasm, and in the last lecture there is a reference to Hume's *Natural History of Religion* (p. 135).

The crucial difference between Hume and Reid remains, obviously, their discordant views on the status of first principles and necessary truths. For Reid, the possibility of doxastic certainty forms the key to the rational justification of the belief in the existence of the Author of Nature and First Cause of the universe, while Hume only accepts inductive inference on this point. Remarkably, Reid sounds quite Humean when he turns to the question of the "nature and attributes of the deity" (p. 81). Here, he acknowledges that "this is a subject too high to be grasped by our weak and limited capacities." The same humility is evident when Reid treats the problem of evil: while evil is allowed to invite humans to grow in virtue and choose to do good, it will always remain to a certain extent a mystery that escapes our weak and finite human understanding.

This volume is one of the most important in the Library of Scottish Philosophy. In combination with the skillfully selected appendices and Wolterstorff's short but very instructive introduction, these lectures on natural theology will become an invaluable source for better understanding the position of Reid in the philosophy of religion and his significance as a typical eighteenth-century defender of a full-blown philosophical theism in line with Christian faith.

Willem Lemmens, University of Antwerp

Nicholas B. Miller, ***John Millar and the Scottish Enlightenment: Family Life and World History***. Oxford University Studies in the Enlightenment. Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2017. Pp. xii + 240.

The Scottish Enlightenment showed interest and curiosity in a variety of human institutions and activities. This book addresses one of the most fundamental and pervasive: the rise of the family as an object of sustained reflection in the Scottish, and European, Enlightenment. It proposes to reveal an early stage of truly global comparative analysis of gender, sexuality, and family, to shed light upon the disciplinary legacies of early modern thinking structures, such as natural jurisprudence, on contemporary social sciences, and to situate the European Enlightenment squarely within the intellectual preconditions of the global eighteenth century.

The hero of the book is John Millar, student and friend of Adam Smith, Regius Professor of Civil Law at the University of Glasgow, "scientific Whig" (Duncan Forbes), and a founder of sociology with his *Observations concerning* [renamed in 1779 *The Origin of*] *the Distinction of Ranks in Society*. The history of family explored by Millar mainly in this work was a culmination of intersecting traditions and ambitions specific to the intellectual world of legal, sociological, and historical reflection of the late eighteenth-century Scottish Enlightenment. Millar innovated by augmenting the classical *oikos* paradigm of authority (husband-wife, father-son, master-servant), which dominated analysis from Aristotle to his Scottish predecessors, with a fourth category, political authority, which he placed in the history of human society as a steady, sometimes slow progress toward individual civil liberty in society, secured by the growing sovereignty of magistrates and a legal culture of constraints on interpersonal relations of power. This new power domain above individual households enabled an escape from the tyranny of the original and primitive society of family.

Indeed, Millar, who wrote the first extended world history of family, "serves as an ideal guide to the fascinating, complex and under-studied discussion on family forms that took place during the eighteenth century" (p. 9). The five core chapters are judiciously arranged as case studies. Chapter 1 discusses the most controversial form of family: polygamy. It opposed the self-confident minister William Robertson, who speculated on a universal emancipation of women from the "slavery" of polygamous marriage, to the heterodox, reactionary, and scandal-provoking Methodist minister Martin Madan, who advocated the legislation of polygamy even in England, for purposes of social welfare and population increase. Meanwhile, Millar soberly placed polygamy in the stadial model of progress (also) of family and pleaded for a European exceptionalism for historical, not religious, reasons. Generally, he avoided discussing family form in terms of marriage practices.

Chapter 2 exhibits Millar's contention that women were generally abused in primitive societies, and the intellectual origins of Millar's discussion of the exception of matriarchy—a term he did not use—where women prevailed over men. This was only possible in the absence of marriage, which instituted male inequality. Chapter 3 discusses travel accounts, or sometimes legends, of the Amazons. Though present in the text, Millar considered them as fictitious and contested the sources. Chapter 4 dwells on the new world of Spanish America and the role played there by race and miscegenation. Millar is largely absent from this discussion, even in the Scottish Enlightenment: he maintained a pre-racialist understanding of human difference and the presumption of the capacity for improvement for all people in the world.

Chapter 5 serves to synthesize Millar's considerations: the bourgeois nuclear family functions as his ideal of family life, with a male-centric or "patrifocal" authority, but void of all domestic oppression and subordination. He preferred the private household raising of children to collective rearing, but approved modern public education. A cautious and moderate liberal reformer, thinking commercial and market-oriented society unavoidable, Millar nevertheless recommended correctives to the resulting over-individualization and depatriarchalization, and the negative consequences of the decline of fraternal and filial social solidarity. They clearly are general risks needing public remedies, and Millar was "relatively optimistic" about their effectiveness. Miller criticizes him here for a lack of Fergusonian skepticism as well as of utopian imagination. More generally, he is blamed in the concluding

pages for only approximating the notion of familial modernity and being contradictory in its application. Marginalizing, even fearing divorce (which his mentor Smith understood as an individual freedom), he remained caught in a conventional and so unequal understanding of family: "Millar's history of the family may be classifiable as a world history of the family, but by no means as a global history of the family" (p. 213).

Miller has written a fine book, very readable and informative on its main, original, and hitherto underexplored topic, as well as on the prominent place of Millar in its discussion. He is particularly sensitive to relevant reformulations in the different editions of the *Origins*. There is also a valuable critical discussion of Millar's supposed authorship of *Letters of Sidney* (pp. 203–205). At the beginning of the book, there is a marvelous quotation from Millar, resounding all through the book and reminding us in these post-Brexit days of an age when Brits cherished comparison of their own local culture to a larger European one and welcomed strangers and their impulses as sources of "the most wonderful variety of appearances and...the greatest diversity of manners and customs."

Daniel Brühlmeier, University of Bern

Andreas Rahmatian, ***Lord Kames: Legal and Social Theorist***. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015. Pp. xii + 366.

Andreas Rahmatian, ed., ***Lord Kames: Selected Writings***. Library of Scottish Philosophy. Exeter: Imprint Academic, 2017. Pp. vi + 242.

Andreas Rahmatian's monograph is not the first comprehensive study of Lord Kames's writings—William C. Lehmann and Ian Simpson Ross published books on the Scottish jurist, philosopher, educationalist, and improver of agriculture in 1971 and 1972, respectively—but it is the first to treat him as a genuinely *systematic* thinker. The author's intention is to elucidate the "conceptual connections" between Kames's work in aesthetics, moral philosophy, social theory ("including political philosophy and anthropology"), and law. The heart of Kames's thought, in Rahmatian's view, is his aesthetic theory—or his *criticism*, in the language of Kames's own time and place—and his moral theory. In fact, it turns out to be hard to make a clear distinction between these two domains of inquiry, insofar as the Kamesian sense of moral good and evil is, as Rahmatian explains it, closely connected with the sense of beauty and deformity. Rahmatian's three chapters of exposition of Kames's aesthetics and moral philosophy are, to use his own image, a trunk out of which develop two principal branches, one a study of Kames's political philosophy, his anthropology (including his deployment of stadial history), and his political economy, the other a study of Kames's general conception of legal history and legal science. From there Rahmatian proceeds to a detailed account of Kames's legal theory, in the form of four chapters on property, on equity, on obligations (i.e., contract), and on criminal law. The book concludes with an account of Kames's influence on four American Founding Fathers—Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and James Wilson—which serves as a reminder that Thomas Reid was not the only means by which Scotland helped to shape the intellectual culture of the early years of the United States.

In his critical and moral texts, Kames is not an especially difficult writer to understand. The similarities to and differences from contemporaries such as Joseph Butler, Francis Hutcheson, David Hume, Adam Smith and Reid are for the most part fairly obvious, and provide means of orientating readers as they struggle through pages of rather featureless prose. For most readers today, if my own experience is anything to go by, it is the more narrowly legal texts that present the most serious challenges. And it is in its chapters on these texts that Rahmatian's book comes into its own. Rahmatian is, after all, a lawyer, and he is well equipped to explain the technicalities of texts like *Historical Law-Tracts* (1758) and *Principles of Equity* (1760) to non-specialists. In the chapter on property, for example, Rahmatian begins by explaining the principle legal definitions, filling out Kames's own threefold distinction (in *Historical Law-Tracts*) of property as a relation, a person, and a subject; as the "privileges" a person has with respect to such a subject; and as the subject itself, "considered with relation to the person." He then explains the difference between "unilateral" and "relational" conceptions of property and, more usefully still, the differences between civil law (Roman and Scottish) and common law (English) understandings of ownership. He points out that Kames was unusual in his interest in differentiating precisely between the various meanings of the term "property." Institutionalists like Lord Bankton and John Erskine had been much less precise, and so also was Sir William Blackstone. Rahmatian goes on to illuminate the connections between Kames's writings on property and his moral philosophy and historical anthropology, and ends with a clear analysis of the grounds of Kames's deep antipathy to the continuing presence in Scottish law of the dead hand of feudalism. "Had Kames lived to see the definitive abolition of the remnants of the feudal system in Scotland in 2004," he concludes, "he would have been delighted" (p. 263).

As befits a study of Kames, this is a robustly skeptical and argumentative book. Rahmatian announces at the start that he does not have a merely historical interest in his subject. He regards Kames as "a thinker whose ideas may still be relevant today" (p. 18). He says he will approach Kames in the way a philosopher would approach Hume or Descartes. This turns out to mean that he will not fail to point out what he takes to be weaknesses in Kames's arguments, and that he believes there is as much to learn from Kames's mistakes as from his insights. "Kames is by no means the most excellent of all thinkers," Rahmatian writes, "but because of that he is arguably more suitable for demonstrating the workings of Scottish Enlightenment thought and argumentation than a techni-

cally more accomplished thinker who directs thought by his perfection rather than opens up questions by his inadequacies" (p. 18). Thus, for example, when Rahmatian turns to Kames on criminal law, it is not long before the reader is informed that "The numerous problems with Kames's conception of criminal law and criminal sanctions based on moral philosophy can only be touched upon here" (p. 304). The very idea of grounding criminal law on the moral sentiments is hopeless, according to Rahmatian, simply because immoral behavior is not necessarily criminal behavior. He argues, plausibly enough, that the relation between the moral sense and legal rules is much more complex than Kames allows it to be. For one thing, the moral sense is most likely not innate, but instead "fundamentally shaped by the culture and education around us that bear the stamp of the spirit of the time;" for another, "legal rules, especially those of criminal law, are substantially the product of political conflicts and power struggles" (p. 305). Rahmatian dwells also on the "glaring absence" from Kames's later discussions of criminal law of the ideas of Beccaria.

In a further service to those who know they need to read Kames but are unsure how to get to grips with the diversity and quantity of his books, Rahmatian has edited a selection of Kames's writings in Gordon Graham's excellent series, the Library of Scottish Philosophy. Here the focus is on the trunk and principal branches of the Kamesian tree of knowledge, rather than on the legal theory that grows out of them. Most of the book is taken up by sections on aesthetics and rhetoric, philosophical history, and moral and legal philosophy. There follows a shorter section on property and equity, and then, and quite properly, a final section on "Enlightened improvement of society," which includes the entirety of Kames's *Progress of Flax-Husbandry in Scotland* (1766). There is a sense in which this book gives the reader direct access to the essential features of Kames's frame of mind and his intentions as an author. "Every one who gives attention to what is passing in the world," Kames writes in the final paragraph, "must perceive the importance of the linen manufacture to Scotland. Like a stone rolled half-way uphill, it must be pushed to the summit, or it will fall to the bottom, and involve all in ruin. Honest labour and unrelenting industry will push this manufacture to the summit, and produce a moderate degree of opulence, with its never-failing attendants, plenty and population" (p. 240). Honest labor and unrelenting industry, as an author, as a judge, as an improver of both his own land and of Scotland more generally, could well be said to be what Kames was all about.

James A. Harris, University of St. Andrews

Stephen Cowley, ***Rational Piety and Social Reform in Glasgow: The Life, Philosophy, and Political Economy of James Mylne (1757–1839)***. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2015. Pp. xii + 303.

In *Rational Piety*, Stephen Cowley presents an ambitious, and largely compelling, argument that the Glasgow professor James Mylne was an original thinker who filled a significant gap in the history of Scottish philosophy between the realism at the height of the eighteenth century and the Glasgow idealists of the later nineteenth century. Cowley's argument is persuasive, in part, because he demonstrates how the varied experiences in Mylne's biography—his three-year appointment as deputy-chaplain to Scotland's 83rd Regiment of Foot (1779–82), fourteen-year tenure as minister of Paisley Abbey Kirk (1783–97), lifelong social and political activism, and four decades as professor of moral philosophy at the University of Glasgow (1797–1837)—contributed to, and in turn reflected insights nurtured within, his moral philosophy. As a case in point, Cowley provides fascinating details regarding the diverse academic interests of Mylne's chaplaincy colleagues—interests that inform the development of Mylne's later intellectual trajectory (pp. 32–35). This intellectual biographical aspect of the book is particularly important due to the fact, as David Fergusson observes in the Foreword, "Mylne never left a body of published work for later generations to read" (p. ix). In fact, except for two sets of manuscript lectures of Mylne's evening course on political economy, there appear to be no extant unpublished copies of his lecture notes. Consequently, Cowley is left with the unenviable task of reconstructing Mylne's moral philosophy primarily from a few sets of handwritten student lecture notes, Mylne's correspondence, and information culled from numerous sources, including newspapers, journals, minutes of church, society, and university meetings, and Mylne's library borrowing records. Fortunately, Cowley is up to the challenge, and his well-researched, scholarly nuanced, and meticulously documented study is a significant contribution to Scottish philosophy.

As both intellectual biography and treatise on moral and political philosophy, the book is divided into two parts. Cowley then adds an intriguing "collation" of Mylne's introductory lecture on moral philosophy as an appendix to the formal chapters. Part I depicts Mylne's evolution as a Presbyterian minister's son—from his student days at St. Andrews University to his final years as a professor of moral philosophy. Throughout this largely biographical narrative, Cowley does a superb job of situating Mylne in various familial, social, political, and religious contexts, displaying a wide-ranging knowledge of the key figures, societal movements, and intellectual issues of the day. From these initial chapters, the reader learns about the social and intellectual antecedents that helped shape Mylne's unusually expansive, benevolent, moral outlook—for example, regarding his public support of Roman Catholic emancipation in Great Britain and Ireland (p. 28). Indeed, Mylne was committed to political reform on several fronts. He regularly attended meetings of the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow and enthusiastically participated in toasts at Glasgow dinners of the Fox Club. Mylne was also appointed to the committee which drew up the constitution of the Glasgow Reform Association in 1830 (p. 91). In these and other ways, he contributed to the political maelstrom which resulted in the 1832 Reform Act, as well as to successive reforms, including

the Abolition of Slavery Act (1833), the end of the East India Company's monopoly over trade with China, and the Factory Act (1833), which restricted child labor (p. 92).

Part II constitutes an elucidation of the finer contours of Mylne's moral philosophy, an explication of his religious worldview, and an overview of his political economy. Through distillations of excerpts of student lecture notes, Cowley draws the reader into intimate encounters with Mylne's style of lecturing and use of practical illustrations. For example, in a section on "Memory," Mylne argued that judgment acts through comparison (and in the process expanded upon what Thomas Reid ascribed to memory alone), stating: "When I say an object is black, I must have a present and a past sensation, then compare them in order to find their agreement or disagreement. That such a thing is black can only be determined by recalling other colours and comparing them. Also, I say a burning heat is painful. Here I must remember that other degrees are not painful" (p. 133).

As in Part I, Cowley interprets the subject at hand—namely, Mylne's moral and political philosophies—in the social context of Glasgow, with all its clubs, societies, and various interactions between academics and merchants, and against the background of the vast horizons of the Scottish intellectual tradition—both in the U.K. and on the Continent, and later in America and Australia. Mylne's debts to ancient Greek and Roman philosophers, especially the Epicureans and Stoics (with whom he began his lecture courses [p. 74]), Gershom Carmichael (both regarding natural law and the duties of moral philosophy proper), Reid, John Millar, Adam Smith, Andrew Fletcher, James Maitland, and David Hume are duly acknowledged. Mylne reportedly crowned Millar as "the brightest ornament" of Glasgow University and viewed Smith with similar high esteem (p. 66). Nevertheless, Cowley's project is aimed at identifying critical ways in which Mylne also broke with these schools of thought and leading intellectual figures. In the main, Cowley positions Mylne in opposition to both Reid's common sense theory and Hume's skepticism, by characterizing Mylne's thought as a rationally laden account of experience under a religious canopy—developed from John Locke and theologically cognizant French philosophers, especially Condillac (pp. 130, 142–49). There is a delightful section on Mylne's use of Condillac's exposition on touch as our primary mode of access to knowledge of the external world (pp. 149–51). Cowley takes pains to show that Mylne's rejection of a common moral sense was unequivocal—in Mylne's words, to appeal to moral feelings was to suppose that such feelings were "something like instinct." (p. 75)

Part II also focuses attention on the religious underpinnings of Mylne's philosophical project and on the mediating role his understanding of political economy played in the reform movements in early nineteenth-century Britain. Although accused by conservative evangelicals of Socinian tendencies (pp. 54–55, 106–107), Mylne believed in Providence and the importance of educating students about duties to God. In the political sphere, Cowley views Mylne as prudentially occupying a place between the Tory conservatism of the likes of Edmund Burke and the radicalism associated with Thomas Paine and Robert Owen. Mylne reiterated Smith's condemnation of colonial policies while moving beyond the political "caution" usually associated with Smith, Reid, and James Beattie (pp. 1, 39).

What emerges is a subtle, multifaceted account of a rather extraordinary educator who not only had enormous social and intellectual influences on his students but made a heretofore largely neglected original contribution to the history of Scottish philosophy. Cowley's Mylne becomes the pietistic rationalist (yet thoroughgoing empiricist) who provides a missing link between the traditions of Scottish Realism of Francis Hutcheson and Reid and the nineteenth-century idealism of Edward Caird and, later still, the empirical psychology of a twentieth-century figure like John Macmurray. Oddly, however, except for a sole reference to Mylne's apparent reading of *The History of the Progress and Termination of the Roman Republic* (p. 60), Cowley never mentions Adam Ferguson—who, like Mylne, was the offspring of a middling, Calvinist Kirk minister and a "tenar" at St. Andrews, developed into a classic Presbyterian Whig (with perhaps parallel Socinian leanings), served as a military chaplain, was active in political machinations (though he was certainly not the proactive reformer that Mylne was), and evolved into an original moral philosopher who broke with notions of a common moral sense and opposed Hume's skepticism. And Cowley's Mylne, like Ferguson, was an ardent supporter of the militia cause.

Cowley is utterly transparent about the uneven character of his sources of evidence, and emphasizes the importance of the criterion of consistency in judging whether or not a particular student recollection fits with what the logical structure of Mylne's thought would appear to require. Yet the account of Mylne's opting for the criterion of utility (in this sense siding with Hume [p. 116]) doesn't quite follow from Cowley's earlier canvassing of Mylne's discussion of the intellectual powers. For if sensation, memory, and judgment are cooperative in acts of moral discernment, virtue would seem to be something much more than utility. Cowley, again quoting from student lecture notes, illustrates Mylne's opposition to a sentimental view of the seat of virtue, or conscience: "Mr. Hume says that everything is virtuous which excites the approbation of others. This power would be [a rather] wandering standard of virtue. What was a virtuous action at one time would be vicious or indifferent at another" (p. 169). The reader suspects that, for Mylne, virtue is discovered through experience of a plethora of engagements with God, self, and others in a universe shot through with order. On the other hand, given his political activism, Mylne may have found that utility constituted an expedient moral touchstone for facilitating arguments for social reform. In any case, the connection between Mylne's notions of the intellectual and the active powers may not be as smooth as Cowley's account would suggest.

In the end, one cannot fail but to acknowledge the importance of recovering Mylne's legacy for our un-

derstanding of Scottish philosophy. It is a shame that no complete set of Mylne's moral philosophy course lecture notes has surfaced. After reading Cowley's seminal monograph, we can only hope that one may yet turn up in a private collection.

Jack A. Hill, Texas Christian University

Ronald Lyndsay Crawford, ***The Chair of Verity: Political Preaching and Pulpit Censure in Eighteenth-Century Scotland***. Scottish Studies of the Long Eighteenth Century. Edinburgh: humming earth, 2017. Pp. xxi + 446.

Following on from his study of John Witherspoon's life and work in Scotland, Ronald Crawford has turned his attention in *The Chair of Verity* to political preaching and pulpit censure in eighteenth-century Scotland. From his research into "political" sermons, he has been able to demonstrate how ministers in differing wings of the Church of Scotland used the medium of the pulpit (the chair of verity) to voice their (often widely varying) opinions on the political topics of the day, and to offer new ways of considering contemporary issues in an "enlightened" context. In doing so, he has contributed a most useful study of a neglected aspect of the role of the sermon in the Scottish Enlightenment.

In his analysis, Crawford has identified a number of principal themes, such as patronage, patriotism, reform, slavery, America, and heresy. He also pays particular attention to sermons of "pulpit censure" or "pulpit rebuke," where ministers used sermons to criticize or condemn aspects of behavior in society, for instance, "profaneness," bribery, and corruption as well as attitudes to slavery and the theatre. The book is organized in chapters on these main themes, and each chapter is based on key authors and sermons identified by the author as central to the theme. Useful appendices on individual legal cases have been added.

The field of eighteenth-century Scottish sermons is voluminous and complex, but Crawford has researched his subject in painstaking detail, not only from published sermons but also from extant sermon notes and recollections of sermons. The degree of editorial attention ministers gave their sermons before publication varied considerably: the Moderate Hugh Blair was known for his "long-laboured revisal," and for circulating his sermons in manuscript to his literati friends, while Evangelical ministers claimed (not always accurately) that their published sermons remained strictly faithful to pulpit delivery.

Crawford has amassed a substantial amount of previously untapped material, and his expertise in exploring the arcane legal cases where much of this evidence is to be found adds considerably to the overall value of the work. There is an excellent chapter on the radical reform movement and, in particular, the role of William Dunn of Kirkintilloch's neglected *Sermon Preached on the Opening of the Synod of Glasgow and Air, at Glasgow, 9 October 1792*. In this sermon, Dunn, who only the year before had rehearsed some of his views in his account of the parish of Kirkintilloch for the Old Statistical Account, advocated that religion had a special responsibility at a time of political turmoil, and enjoined his fellow ministers to "support a progressive improvement, by every means in your power." Dunn's sermon aroused suspicion, and his association with Thomas Muir of Huntershill, and the alleged removal of three leaves with seditious material from minutes of the Kirkintilloch Society of Friends, combined to put him on the wrong side of both church and law. He was imprisoned for three months for suppression of evidence, which Crawford avers is the only known example of a serving parish minister in Scotland being convicted of a criminal offence and receiving a custodial sentence.

In a strong chapter on slavery, the author discusses the "patchy and luke-warm response" to the abolition debate by the Church of Scotland and by individual ministers. One or two did speak out: William Robertson, leader of the Moderate party, meekly in his sermon on *The Situation of the World at the Time of Christ's Appearance* (1755), and Thomas Somerville overtly in his *Discourse on Our Obligation to Thanksgiving for the Prospect of the Abolition of the African Slave Trade* (1792). Even Blair, who usually eschewed political preaching, touched on the influence of Christianity on the abolition of slavery in his sermon "On Gentleness" (1777).

In dealing with bribery and corruption, Crawford gives an illuminating account of two very different instances of eighteenth-century Scottish pulpit censure cases (those of Paisley and Dunfermline), noteworthy because the victims pursued the ministers concerned in the Court of Session for defamation and damages. A chapter on patriotism examines Alexander Carlyle's censure of radical ideas and their threat to national stability in his overlooked sermon, *National Depravity the Cause of National Calamities* (1794). Crawford points to Carlyle's divided views: on the one hand, he consistently used his pulpit for the fiercest denunciations of the reform movement but, conversely, his support for the play *Douglas* helped gain acceptance for the theatre in Scottish life.

Crawford concludes that, rather than the Moderates, Evangelical ministers like William Thom, John Erskine, and John Witherspoon represent the "enlightened" face of the eighteenth-century Scottish Church. Although unflinching in their criticisms of contemporary *mores*, they had the best interests of the "people" at heart and were true to their calling. But it is equally true that Moderate ministers who, as a whole, steered clear of political content, were genuine in their desire to "improve" civil society, believing that the church's role was, as Hugh Blair stated in his *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres*, "to persuade men to become good." For them, radical reform represented a threat to the stable order of a civilized society.

By throwing light on political sermons, which have received scant attention in comparison to sermons as a catalyst for Enlightenment ideas of moral virtue and taste, Crawford has made an important contribution to the scholarship of the sermon in eighteenth-century Scottish life. The book ably demonstrates the complexity of Pres-

byterian ministers' views, and how individual ministers could simultaneously hold liberal and conservative views on political issues. This book is essential reading for an understanding of the role of the sermon in the Enlightenment period.

Ann Matheson, University of Edinburgh

Editor's Note: A review of the following book appeared in the Spring 2017 issue of Eighteenth-Century Scotland, *written by a historian. What follows is a review of the same book written by a literary scholar with a different perspective.*

Michael Morris, ***Scotland and the Caribbean, c.1740–1833***. Routledge Studies in Cultural History. New York: Routledge, 2015. Pp. xiv + 256.

Michael Morris's *Scotland and the Caribbean, c.1740-1833*, completed some months before September 2014, positions itself within the discourse on national identity circulating during the lead-up to the referendum on Scottish independence. Morris reads Scotland within the wider contexts of local and global/imperial entanglements created in the mid-eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries. Specifically, he seeks to focus attention on a darker side of the Scottish past: the connection between Caribbean slavery and the "economic, social and cultural development" of the Scottish nation (p. 2). In examining the process by which slavery was forgotten in the development of both unionist and nationalist narratives from the eighteenth century to the present, Morris offers a "reassessment of Scotland's collective memory." As well as revising "traditional narratives of Scottish identity" (p. 3), *Scotland and the Caribbean* turns a productive alternative theoretical lens on Scottish culture by viewing it in relation to the notion of "creolization" developed by the Martinican writer Édouard Glissant. Morris has authored an ambitious book which charts a useful direction forward for Scottish Studies by connecting it to complex global, national, and local networks. The book presents and analyzes a wealth of material—from critiques of Caribbean archipelagic studies to considerations of the "linguistic and literary traditions of Scotland," and from eighteenth-century Scottish Georgic poetry to contemporary Scottish-Jamaican drama. It also tries to negotiate between different disciplinary divisions and geopolitical area studies. It attempts to be a little too "overly capacious" (a term which Morris himself applies to Atlantic Studies). But it is an astute and compelling study that will no doubt lead to further work in the field.

The book is organized into an introduction and six chapters that focus on texts dating from 1740 to 2003 (notwithstanding the dates indicated by the title, there is notable attention paid to contemporary representations of the slave trade in Scottish cultural memory). The introduction presents a dizzying range of perspectives as it suggests the multiple connections that the book is trying to make. Morris invokes previous work on Scottish imperial history and Caribbean-Scottish connections; the politics and economics of chattel slavery versus indentured labor; as well as Pierre Nora's concept of *lieux de mémoire* and the complicated processes of cultural amnesia that erased the memory of slavery from Scotland's history. Chapter 1 discusses additional "Theoretical Orientations" that inform the study, explaining why Morris moves away from a postcolonial methodological approach (which, Morris suggests, tends to "flatten" out the nuances of specific "political, economic, social and discursive" considerations) to embrace instead "paradigms of transnationalism in the Atlantic world that are developing around the revitalized discussion of 'world literature'" (p. 45). Such paradigms, he argues, allow for a complex articulation of the nation in relation to "local, regional, international and transnational" considerations as well as "such features as class, race, gender and religion that inflect all such territorial approaches" (p. 47). Two other sections in this chapter, "Atlantic Archipelagos" and "The Atlantic: Black and Red," consider the development of archipelagic approaches in both Caribbean and British studies, the growth of Atlantic studies, the historiography of Atlantic slavery, critiques and revisions of Paul Gilroy's hybrid concept of the "Black Atlantic" and Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker's celebration of transatlantic subalternity in *The Many-Headed Hydra* (2000). While this chapter provides a useful encapsulation of debates for those unfamiliar with the terrain of transatlantic studies, some of this material could have been more productively integrated into the introduction or into the chapters which follow, to create a more all-encompassing narrative arc.

Chapter 2, "Archipelagic Poetics: Pastoral, Georgic and the Scoto-British Imperial Vision, c.1740," focuses on the representation of the Caribbean in a number of eighteenth-century Scottish texts, noting how the genres of pastoral and georgic poetry served to promote British investment (both economic and cultural) in the Caribbean while eliding the problem of chattel slavery. It begins with a brief discussion of James Thomson's *The Seasons* and Tobias Smollett's *Roderick Random*. James Grainger's *The Sugar Cane* receives fuller treatment, particularly for the way in which it favorably compares the lives of slaves with those of Scottish miners. Chapter 2 ends by contrasting these poetic evasions with the forthright treatment of the brutality of slavery found in James Ramsay's abolitionist treatise, *An Essay on the Treatment and Conversion of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1784), which for Morris represents the surfacing of the otherwise submerged genre of the georgic at the end of the eighteenth century. Chapter 3, "Robert Burns: Slavery, Freedom and Abolition, 1786–1800," examines the discourse on abolition taking place in Scotland (and especially Ayrshire) during Burns's time. Morris argues that despite Burns's silence about the realities of slavery being discussed around him, "the Caribbean is infused throughout" Burns's work as the "prospect of Jamaican emigration resurfaces as a constant threatening underpresence" in

Poems Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect (p. 99). Burns's own elision of chattel slavery from his imaginative vision becomes representative of a developing Scottish amnesia about the Caribbean.

Chapter 4 examines a later chronological stage as it juxtaposes the debate on improvement in the Caribbean with the struggles for political reform in Scotland from 1800 to 1833. This chapter also explores the work of two writers whom Morris identifies as "Scoto-Caribbean": the Stirlingshire poet Hector MacNeill (1746–1818) and the anonymous author of the novel *Marly; or, a Planter's Life in Jamaica* (1828). Chapter 5 considers the question of a "Scottish-Creole" identity formed by "those who were born in the islands of the Caribbean with some Scottish heritage" (p. 31). It examines the stories of Robert Wedderburn (?1762–?1835), who, after joining with the British navy, became a follower of Thomas Spence and an advocate for a working-class revolution, and Mary Seacole (1805–81), author of the pro-British *Wonderful Adventures of Mrs. Seacole in Many Lands* (1857). The final chapter moves squarely into the present era by focusing on James Robertson's *Joseph Knight* (2003), a novel which draws on archival materials to relate the history of the 1778 ruling against slaveholding in Scotland.

Each of Morris's chapters offers a wealth of information as well as productive readings and comparisons of texts connecting Scotland and the Caribbean. Taken as a whole, the chapters may seem slightly disconnected (with the final chapter in particular moving suddenly into examining one contemporary Scottish literary representation of slavery), and there is arguably an uneven frontloading of theoretical weight into the introduction and first chapter. One might also ask questions about what seems, despite detailed theoretical positioning, to be an essentializing notion of "Scottish heritage" in the selection of writers. Nevertheless, *Scotland and the Caribbean* is a welcome intervention into the field of Scottish studies. Not only does it make a case for a closer examination of Scottish and Caribbean connections in the past and in the present, but it also extends the parameters of transnational studies which, having grown out of American studies, still have a tendency to focus exclusively on America and England. Referencing Marx's seminal *Theses on Feuerbach*, Morris indicates that his purpose in this study is not just to interpret Scotland's cultural forgetting of its history of slavery but also to change that situation in order to work toward a more inclusive contemporary society (p. 31). While the book was written and published before the events of 2016, this objective has become even more important in the current post-Brexit climate.

Leith Davis, Simon Fraser University

Silke Stroh, ***Gaelic Scotland in the Colonial Imagination: Anglophone Writing from 1600 to 1900***. Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2017. Pp. viii + 331.

Silke Stroh, an assistant professor of English and postcolonial media studies at the University of Münster, has written *Gaelic Scotland in the Colonial Imagination* in an attempt to place the study of Gaelic Scotland in the modern period within the wider canon of postcolonial studies. This is necessary, she argues, because debates about the colonial features of Gaelic Scotland's relationship with the Scottish and, later, British state, have taken place within Scottish studies only in a limited way, and have not connected with postcolonial studies more generally. Stroh seeks to address this issue by applying a postcolonial analytical framework to the textual representation of Gaelic Scotland over a broad period, from 1600 to 1900.

Although the book's analysis ends at the start of the twentieth century, the approach has implications for contemporary debates within academia and beyond. Including Gaeldom within the scope of postcolonial studies raises issues which have resonance for current political questions in Scotland. In addition, the extent to which the region can be compared to colonized spaces elsewhere, particularly given the role played by some Gaels within the British Empire, is a contentious and thought-provoking point. If the remit of postcolonial studies is so capacious as to admit internally colonized territories with a number of features that are distinct from other colonies, how does such an approach affect our general understanding of colonialism itself? Does widening the canon make the existing critiques of the British and other empires less potent? Stroh addresses these questions in the introduction and, having made a convincing case for her approach, she presents detailed, thorough analysis along with a compelling argument. She is rightly wary of adopting a method which seeks to complete a checklist of colonial features, and opts instead for highlighting nuances and ambiguities, and "deconstructing binarisms" (p. 22). A key element of her approach is the concept of "discursive authority," or the question of "who gets to speak?" (p. 50).

The author identifies two particular audiences for the book: scholars of Gaelic Scotland who are unfamiliar with the broader themes of postcolonial studies, and those whose expertise is in the latter, with more limited knowledge of the former. The introduction and first chapter address these two respective audiences in order to introduce them to the areas with which they may not be familiar. Consequently, much of the material covered will be well known to some readers. Scholars of eighteenth-century Scotland, particularly those who have read the work on this subject by Peter Womack, Charles Withers, and Geoffrey Plank, will certainly recognize the tropes applied to Gaels during this period and the political ramifications. Nonetheless, the early part of the book sets the scene helpfully for the case studies that follow.

The development of the way in which Gaelic Scotland was imagined over time is charted through successive chapters, using a variety of texts. This process begins with a case study of Martin Martin's travel writing. As Martin was from Skye, these accounts allow Stroh to highlight some of the complexities in this "Hebridean self-representation" (p. 78), which also apply to the postcolonial paradigm of Gaelic Scotland in general. This helps her underline some of the ambiguities relating to the colonial representation of Gaeldom which are central to her

broader argument that representation of the region existed in "a perpetual dialectic...as both Other and Same" (p. 244). The next chapter charts the development of the noble savage trope in the Romantic age, followed by a fascinating deconstruction of Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*, which, among a number of insights, highlights the intersection of gendered and colonial discourse in this text, a theme that is subsequently developed. The later chapters consider the development of racial categories in the nineteenth century and the way they shaped the understanding of Gaels' status within the United Kingdom and the British Empire. Initially these ideas were manifested in anti-Gaelic literature, but later in the century, as Gaels took an active part in the expansion of the British Empire, supposed Celtic racial characteristics were seen as complementing those of their "Anglo-Saxon" counterparts. Throughout this process, however, the "otherness" of the Gaels was maintained.

The book's focus is explicitly on the textual representation of Gaeldom rather than the political or economic reality. Inevitably, however, highlighting the discursive authority asserted by the many writers cited here in their representations of Gaeldom raises questions about the nature of political authority over the region and the extent to which it was exercised in a manner that was comparable with colonialism elsewhere. Stroh's occasional references to other colonial experiences, and frequent comparisons (and contrasts) with Ireland, amplify such questions and point the way to a historical inquiry.

This thorough and engaging book makes an important contribution to a contentious and well-studied area in order to open up new routes of inquiry and promote dialogue. It is an interesting read in itself, but by bringing the study of Gaeldom within the paradigm of postcolonial studies, Stroh invites a number of additional methodological and empirical questions. Although this book does not settle these questions, it makes a strong case for the representation of Gaeldom as a colonial discourse and offers an interesting perspective on, and close readings of, a range of texts, providing many insights.

Alastair Noble, University of Edinburgh

Dafydd Moore, ed., ***The International Companion to James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian***. International Companions to Scottish Literature. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2017. Pp. x + 187.

In 1986, the year in which Howard Gaskill published the seminal article "'Ossian' Macpherson: Towards a Rehabilitation," I was in urgent need of something like an international companion to James Macpherson and his Ossianic poetry because I had to submit my M.A. thesis on Ossian's influence in German literature and culture. Since then, and particularly during the last two decades, there has been an explosion of Macpherson studies, with major contributions from an impressive number of scholars, including Fiona Stafford, Gaskill, and Dafydd Moore, the editor of this collection. By my count, this is the seventh compilation of essays on Ossian to have appeared since 1991. It consists of nine well-written and complementary chapters discussing various topics, from Macpherson's correspondence to his principles, prejudices, and politics; from Ossian in the Gaelic world to his impact on the discovery of ancient Scandinavian literature. This volume is part of the "International Companions to Scottish Literature" series published under the auspices of the Association for Scottish Literary Studies, and the title implies that Ossian scholarship may have reached the point where a summing up might be useful. In his introduction and in the section on further reading, Moore does not refer to all recent compilations, but he underlines that the chapters in this book "offer examples of the new thinking in the field from scholars across Europe and North America;" they are "almost all interested in the notion of translation, between languages, cultures, even between disciplines and theoretical approaches" (p. 10).

Bearing this out, the opening contribution by Paul deGategno on "The Correspondence of James Macpherson" deals with unpublished material relevant to Ossian. Macpherson's four letters to the Rev. George Lawrie of Loudon, written in February and April 1760, reveal an early awareness of the social and literary implications even before the publication of *Fragments of Ancient Poetry* in June of that year. In these letters, he affirms "that it is highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that my fragments are not of Irish extraction," expressing his wish to show Professor Adam Ferguson "the *originals*" (p. 17). DeGategno discusses other letters from different periods of Macpherson's rich and complicated life and career that "present a thoroughly personal, but cautious and sometimes hidden, image of the man" (p. 25), issues that Robert W. Jones develops in the book's last chapter, on Macpherson's historical writing.

Lesa Ní Mhunghaile's "Ossian and the Gaelic World" focuses on Macpherson's source texts, namely "the various interlinked strands of the heroic corpus, with a particular emphasis on the *Fiannaigheacht* ballad tradition" (p. 26). Her essay provides a succinct overview from the perspective of a Celticist, not only presenting examples of the differences of style and tone of Macpherson's translations compared to the authentic Gaelic tradition, but also pointing out several common characteristics "that are key to the overall Ossianic affect" (p. 35), such as the elegiac theme, "the last of the race" motif, and nostalgia evoked via features of the landscape.

In her chapter on "Nostalgic Ossian and the Transcreation of the Scottish Nation," Cordula Lemke does not mention the characteristic "joy of grief" motif, but she raises the interesting question, "whether Macpherson's creativity can be seen as a postcolonial act of rewriting" (p. 53). Lemke argues that "his style seems to follow a nationalist aim of resistance to English cultural hegemony," using the term "transcreation" to summarize and simplify the debate on Ossian: "Macpherson employs the Gaelic folk ballads he finds in the Highlands to create his own oeuvre" (p. 54). This could be read as a challenge to Gauti Kristmannsson's suggestion in the previous chapter

on "Ossian and the State of Translation" that the issue is far more complex than often assumed, and therefore that the "translational" history of Ossian is due for reexamination. Quite rightly, he reminds us that the dispute between Samuel Johnson and Macpherson has often been cast as an argument about "truth" and "deception," whereas "the underlying argument about different views of translation and aesthetics has rarely been discussed in this context" (p. 46).

Sebastian Mitchell, whose previous relevant works on the subject are frequently referred to by other contributors, analyzes the landscape and the sense of place in *The Poems of Ossian*. Considering the vagueness of Ossianic poetry and its appealing tendency to make topography "vanish into a beguiling formlessness" (p. 73), Mitchell concludes that "Macpherson's various observations on the geography of the poetry can be understood as an important component in the general ethnographic and anthropological commentary of the textual apparatus; his notes were supposed to convey the cultural vitality of this primitive warrior race" (p. 69).

Complementing a chapter by Peter Graves on "Ossian in Sweden and Swedish-speaking Finland" in *The Reception of Ossian in Europe* (2004), edited by Gaskill, Robert W. Rix's valuable contribution sheds light on Ossian's impact on the discovery of ancient Scandinavian literature, emphasizing the reception in Denmark. According to Rix, "*Ossian* far from invented the interest in vernacular tradition, but its added measure of eighteenth-century sentimentalism was instrumental in relocating vernacular antiquities at the centre of fashionable culture" (p. 77). Within this fashionable culture, Murdo Macdonald explores the significance of James Macpherson's Ossian for visual artists on a transnational level, calling attention to its "transatlantic dimension" (p. 104). He does not conceal his indignation that British galleries have not built on a Franco-German body of art-historical scholarship, available since the 1960s and 1970s: "That failure is a further indication of the ignorance of Ossian that still characterizes so many otherwise adequately informed commentators. It has been another casualty of a cultural political issue that has not resolved itself after two hundred and fifty years" (p. 96).

In his chapter on Macpherson's translation of Homer's *Iliad* and the logic of literary primitivism, Dafydd Moore develops further several arguments advanced by Sebastian Mitchell in *Ossian and National Epic* (2012) concerning eighteenth-century translational concepts (Dryden, Pope), and Macpherson's in particular. Quite rightly, he suggests that Macpherson's "*Iliad* and its failure reveal much about the assumptions upon which *Ossian* itself is predicated, and can provide another angle on the question of translation and mediation widely seen as key to the poems themselves" (p. 107). He discusses the problem of Macpherson's Ossianic *Iliad* and its "half-hearted Ossianism" in terms of primitive aesthetics, raising questions "of where the essence of the Ossianic itself might be, as a literary style, a vocabulary, a set of images, a particular sensibility" (p. 116).

Many responses to these fundamental questions can be found in the contributions to this volume because they are complementary, uniting various areas of research. Unlike Gaskill's *The Reception of Ossian in Europe*, the focus here is not the impact of Ossian in other national literatures and cultures. Does this different approach make *The International Companion to James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian* less "international?" Obviously, an attempt to sum up the various studies in this field may be considered redundant, but then again, the multifaceted dimension Ossian gained abroad (meaning outside the Anglo-Irish context) and the various reasons for it should perhaps have merited an independent chapter. Certainly, it was through the impact in France and Germany that Macpherson made his greatest contribution to world literature (e.g., Goethe's *Werther*), art, and music, the German "Ossianomanie" reaching its peak only in the second decade of the nineteenth century. In his *Vorschule der Ästhetik* (2nd ed., 1813), Jean Paul Richter considered Ossian the "Mother of Romanticism," and even Walter Scott in the *Edinburgh Review* of July 1805 had credited Macpherson with having given "a new tone to poetry throughout all Europe," something perhaps not sufficiently reflected in this volume. Although aware of Ossian as a transnational/transcultural phenomenon, most contributors represent a perspective predominantly formed by English studies. A second and enlarged edition of this book could benefit from chapters on Ossian in music and on stage, if not on film and the Internet.

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Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd, eds., ***The International Companion to John Galt.*** International Companions to Scottish Literature. Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2017. Pp. xii + 180.

Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd have assembled a remarkably coherent set of ten essays that use the concept of "thick context" to revisit Galt's achievements as a chronicler of "fictional microhistories" (pp. 7, 4). "Thick context" applies primarily to Galt's method of fabricating his texts from his characters' socio-psychological processing of the geography, politics, history, and religion of the places they inhabit, but it applies also to the ways in which Galt's reception has been influenced by his critics' political concerns. The editors' astute introduction correlates the high and low points of Galt's reputation with his critics' conviction that Scotland should have its own political identity and that Scottish literature should advance that agenda. Galt's reputation was at its nadir during the early twentieth century, when nationalist criticism was predominant and dismissed Galt for not reflecting its priorities. His reputation has been gradually recovering as criticism and scholarship have become more open to other ideas about the range of Scotland's national, international, political, and literary concerns. The essays in this collection explore how Galt narrates the lived experience of his characters and experiments with the practices and purposes of narration itself.

Though the editors did not group the chapters into sections, wisely letting readers discover the many ways in which they echo each other, three non-exclusive areas of emphasis are discernible: Christopher Whatley, Colin Kidd, Alison Lumsden, and Andrew O'Hagan attend to the sophistication of Galt's techniques in the contexts of political and literary history; Craig Lamont, Ian McGhee, and Angela Esterhammer delve into the economic speculations and colonial enterprises that permeate Galt's texts; and Anthony Jarrells, Gerard Carruthers, and Gordon Millar shed new light on Galt's generic innovations.

While most contributors to the volume are literary scholars, the presence of novelist O'Hagan (whose essay is lyrically crafted) and historians Kidd and Whatley attests to the range of Galt's appeal and allows the volume to address both imaginative and documentary concerns. The cluster on narration, for instance, considers Galt's skill at social psychology as a major factor in his success at chronicling Scottish lives. For Whatley, works such as *The Provost* and *The Gathering of the West*, which show the contemporary mania for "improvement," can supplement historical records because they provide an "insider's eye" that sees the "thought processes of the characters" and shows us how their pursuit of "orderliness" compensates for their fears of social and political disorder (pp. 83, 88–91). Processes of feeling are added by Kidd and Lumsden as they analyze how works steeped in controversies over Providence, from *Annals of the Parish* to *Ringan Gilhaize,* make it possible for readers to sympathize with characters who might otherwise be judged as hypocrites or fanatics. And for O'Hagan, Galt's evocations of loss and of the identification of characters with the locality of Ayrshire are as powerful as Proust's or Faulkner's renderings of their worlds.

Moving between Scotland and North America, the cluster of chapters on international affairs contextualizes Galt's work with respect to the colonial adventures woven into his life, much of his non-fiction prose, and the novels *Bogle Corbet* and *Lawrie Todd.* The weaving metaphor is more than figurative, as Lamont and Esterhammer comment on the Glasgow textile industry as a point of reference for Galt's sense of the global economy. For Lamont, the settlements in Galt's North American fiction owe a debt to the material and social success of Enlightenment Glasgow—a point consistent with McGhee's analysis of how the novels reinforce Galt's non-fiction arguments for the superiority of private enterprises over government bureaucracies in managing community relations. Colonial undertakings appear in a larger context of speculation in Esterhammer's essay, which examines the attitudes toward risk displayed in a sampling of texts. Esterhammer reveals that Galt's fascination with the Darien scheme went beyond his using it as a plot device in *The Entail* to his writing a biography of its main promoter, and she examines the tolerance for literary risk implied by his experiments with narrators and characters.

Galt's ambivalence toward literature has often been studied with a focus on his efforts to associate his prose fiction with conjectural history, and several chapters in the volume productively revisit that claim. But a cluster looks farther afield to place Galt in additional contexts of generic innovation. Jarrells credits Galt with adapting the tale to the contingencies of modern life, substituting the unfinished stories of his characters for the developed plots of histories and novels. Arguing for Galt's usually overlooked *Stories of the Study* as "a foundational document in the establishment of short story anthologies" (p. 127), Carruthers investigates how Galt distills the subjectivity of his characters, especially his female characters, in the short format. On a larger scale, Millar regards Galt's "fictional political memoir[s]" *The Provost* and *The Member* as crucial for the development of the political novel (p. 98). A "glocal" consciousness informs this categorization, as Millar revises views of *The Provost* as not political because not "metropolitan" (p. 102).

Overall, *The International Companion to John Galt* takes recognition of Galt as a daring prose stylist to a new level, and in the process explores how fiction and non-fiction make sense of lived experience. It deserves the attention of readers in any field who are fascinated by the intersections of narrative and knowledge.

Regina Hewitt, University of South Florida

Robert Zaretsky, ***Boswell's Enlightenment***. Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2015. Pp. 278.

Robert Zaretsky's *Boswell's Enlightenment* is organized as a sort of quest-narrative. In each stage of his journey, James Boswell must meet new characters and learn something from them. The author's choices of Boswell's "enlighteners" is very personal and international, involving Scottish, English, Dutch, French, Swiss, German, and Corsican-Italian encounters. The major characters are Henry Home, Lord Kames (chap. 2), Samuel Johnson (chap. 4), Belle de Zuylen (chap. 6), Abbé Jerusalem (chap. 7), Voltaire and Rousseau (chap. 8), John Wilkes and Pasquale Paoli (chap. 9), and David Hume (chap. 10). Voltaire and Hume are among the usual suspects in a work about the "Enlightenment"—a term with a checkered historiography, deftly summarized early in the book (pp. 3–11). But Rousseau (being often rated as an apostle of the Romantic or Pre-Romantic) and especially Johnson are more controversial Enlightenment figures, and as Boswell himself noted, Paoli seemed to belong less to a transformative visionary future than a restorative classical past. Wilkes does represent the dawnings of a new era of demotic politics of the sort that might be described as small-r radicalism, but populism and harnessing the energies of a frustrated public as Wilkes did, often through libel and "fake news," is not typically associated with the Enlightenment.

Zaretsky's choice of time frame—the period 1763–65—is even more debatable for a discussion of "Boswell's Enlightenment." It is a familiar enough sand trap in Boswell studies for an author to start at the begin-

ning of Boswell's life in 1740, proceed forward through volumes of Boswell's youthful journals, and then find oneself stopping—from exhaustion and the sheer weight of the documentary evidence—before their subject has reached the age of thirty. Even Frederick Pottle was thus stymied in his classic biography, *James Boswell: The Earlier Years*, which ended in 1769. Zaretsky does offer some tacked-on denouement, including Boswell's famous interview with the dying David Hume in 1776. However, there is no mistaking that the 1765 portrait on the dustcover—a blow-up of Boswell's face during his European travels—accurately cues readers that they are seeing *Young Boswell Meets the Enlightenment*.

In choosing to privilege the youthful over the middle-aged Boswell (he died in his middle fifties, in 1795), Zaretsky misses out on a great deal of the character development and personal "enlightenment" he wishes to depict. The mature work of the vibrant but troubled adult Boswell after his return from the Continent in 1766, when he practiced law in both Scotland (from 1766) and in England (from 1786), and revised selections from his journals into the *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Samuel Johnson* (1785) and the *Life of Johnson* (1791), is all but ignored in this study of Boswell's early encounters with the Enlightenment as a university student and a tourist. Essentially absent from this book, because of its very narrow chronological boundaries, are any substantial descriptions of how Boswell mulled over his reactions to the American Revolution, opposed Fox's bill for reform of the East India Company's rule in India, and combatted the challenges to the Union between England and Scotland, and what he thought of the slow fade of remnant feudalism, or the new abolitionism, or corrupt stage-managed elections in Cumbria, or the French Revolution. Those conflicts involved core questions of the Enlightenment regarding colonialism, regional autonomy, the brotherhood of mankind and its implications for personal freedom, electoral reform, and stadial theory, which suggested that feudalism should be transcended rather than preserved.

The Boswell who emerged into full adult life after 1766 was a self-described Tory gentleman of feudal pride who defended the East India Company's charters, traditional clan chieftainship, and the Union Treaty of 1707 in state and church, but who also attacked both the abolitionists and the French Revolutionaries as dangerous radicals shaking the pillars of property and society. The adult Boswell was solidly against those who would make reason and natural rights rather than tradition and loyalty to Church and King the measure of social justice and governance. In that respect, at the very least in the period 1785–95, when his most important work was produced, he seems to me to be a figure of the *Counter*-Enlightenment rather than the Enlightenment *per se*. From a political standpoint, Boswell, like Edmund Burke, turned on a pivot around the time of the French Revolution, and condemned the French Revolution (long before the Terror), even though he had vociferously praised the Corsican and American revolts. Zaretsky might have quipped that Boswell was for the Enlightenment before he was against it.

We are told that Boswell is a good window into the Enlightenment because he was such an average intellect. But we may borrow Voltaire's retort to Congreve that "had he been so unfortunate as to be a mere Gentleman, I should never have come to see him." Had Boswell, just after his grand tour of the Enlightenment in Europe, been killed in an accident in London in 1766 when he was still "a mere Gentleman," would he be of much interest to non-specialists, excepting perhaps for the "London" Journal of 1762–63? And in such a thought experiment, we must keep in mind that the "London" Journal (only one of many which he kept on his many periods of temporary residence in London) was published in 1950 because it shed light on the more mature and articulate author of his later books. There is also minimal consideration here of Boswell's collecting and reading of Enlightenment books, an important consideration because so much of Boswell's encounter with the Enlightenment was in the pages of books rather than in face-to-face conversations. Boswell shouted "Voltaire! Rousseau! Immortal names!" in the mid-1750s, when his knowledge of them came either from browsing their works or hearing them discussed. The meetings with individual personages of the Enlightenment or Counter-Enlightenment which engage Zaretsky were necessary, but not sufficient, for Boswell's knowledge of "small-e" enlightenment ideas. It is therefore unfortunate that Terry Seymour's *Boswell's Books*, which could have helped Zaretsky to understand the depth of Boswell's collecting of Enlightenment literature, was not published until 2016.

From an aesthetic standpoint the book is lovely, with beautiful typography, generous type, and a pleasing autumnal brown and red-orange cover and endpapers, though the dustjacket enlargement of the 1765 portrait, with one eye on the front cover and the spine title running down Boswell's nose, is somewhat alarming. This will be a most pleasing and worthwhile book for those who don't know much about Boswell and who have vague ideas of the Enlightenment. But seasoned "Boswellians"—a group that includes far more people than just the editors of the Yale Boswell Editions—are unlikely to find much new in this genial and amusing, but ultimately slight, account.

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Gerard Carruthers and Don Martin, eds., ***Thomas Muir of Huntershill: Essays for the Twenty First Century***. Edinburgh: humming earth, 2016. Pp. xv + 346.

This excellent collection has its origin in a series of "Thomas Muir 250" events arranged for the 250th anniversary celebrations of the birth of Thomas Muir (1765–1799). Muir, a campaigner for radical political reform in the early 1790s, was tried for sedition at the High Court of Justiciary in August 1793 and sentenced to fourteen years transportation to Australia. Although there are several biographies, much research on his career still remains to be done. This volume offers some valuable contributions toward our understanding of his dramatic life and his political and religious ideas, and equally adds to our knowledge of the different ways in which his life has been

memorialized across the world since his death.

Though the fate of Muir and those tried with him had a significant impact on the first generation of British Romantic writers, it was through the radical movements of the 1830s and 1840s that the memory of Muir as a parliamentary reformer was first revived, through Chartist representations and the building of the Political Martyrs' Monument on the Calton skyline in Edinburgh in 1844. Gerard Carruthers shows how the dramatic confrontation between Muir and Lord Braxfield at the trial has resonated in later literature, art, and even television. Jimmy Watson's essay is a wonderful record of the growth of a community-based movement, the Friends of Thomas Muir, which generated the Thomas Muir Heritage Trail and a series of high-profile national events in 2015, most notably the restaging of Muir's trial by the Faculty of Advocates. Alex Salmond's inaugural Thomas Muir Memorial Lecture, included in an edited form, calls for a pardon for Muir, reclaiming him as both an apostle of democratic progress and as a believer in Scottish independence. Beverley Sherry's essay on Muir's life in Australia also traces the emergence of his posthumous reputation there. From the later nineteenth century, there was consistently warm praise for Muir's championship of democracy and outrage at the harshness of his treatment. A copy of Muir's bust by the Scottish sculptor Alexander Stoddart, made for Bishopbriggs Library, now stands in the new Museum of Australian Democracy, opened in 2009.

Two essays address the complex intermingling of Muir's political and religious ideas, and throw new light on his commitment to the Popular party in the Church of Scotland. Don Martin stresses the importance of Muir's consistent opposition to patronage, an opposition which he was able to put in practice as an elder of Cadder Kirk in Lanarkshire, during a lengthy battle to secure a Popular party minister there, from 1790 to 1793. Muir's views, possibly influenced by John Millar's longstanding opposition to all forms of patronage, were closely associated with his radical stance toward hierarchical forms of government. Gerrard Carruthers, in an important essay on "Thomas Muir and Kirk Politics," similarly demonstrates that Muir's engagement in two complex ecclesiastical cases from 1786 to 1792 cannot be separated from his developing political ideas. He shows that Muir acted as counsel in the General Assembly for those who brought a case against Rev. Willliam McGill, suspected of Socinianism but tolerated by the Moderate-dominated Presbytery of Ayr. Carruthers also examines previously unknown documents on the conflict at Cadder, revealing a battle over the franchise for the election of a minister, initially won by the Moderates, though Muir's candidate eventually succeeded. More on this topic is promised, but Muir's activism before 1792 is very clearly demonstrated.

So too is his activism in the politics of the University of Glasgow, where he studied from 1777 to 1785, here addressed in two essays: one by Carruthers and Satinder Kaur, the other by Ronnie Young. Muir is shown to be on the side of the reforming onslaught against the Moderate establishment governing the university, a campaign associated with the controversial and combative John Anderson, with support from Popular party adherents. Young traces Muir's student career in some detail, including his role in this campaign and his attendance at John Millar's law lectures. But he also notes that despite his reforming Whiggism and opposition to patronage, Millar defended the university authorities against Anderson. Muir and Millar were then on opposite sides, though Millar did arrange for Muir's transfer to the University of Edinburgh. In her contribution, Rhona Brown traces the support and coverage given to Muir by the radical *Edinburgh Gæetteer* between 1792 and 1794. Gordon Pentland analyzes the ways in which Muir used the essentially English language of constitutionalism, while stressing that he pushed that language to its limits, in defending the right to petition and the liberty of the press as inalienable and imprescriptible. After his escape from Australia and imprisonment by the Spanish, Muir was finally welcomed as a hero of revolution in France. Thomas Lemoine draws on French archival material to show how that welcome, orchestrated by Talleyrand, served French propaganda purposes, even though Muir could not persuade them to invade Scotland. Although there is insufficient space to mention every contribution here, the interest of this generously illustrated collection, and its melding of history and commemoration, offer ample evidence of the need for a new academic biography of Muir.

Jane Rendall, University of York

Eileen Dunlop, ***Sir Walter Scott: A Life Story***. Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland, 2016. Pp. vii + 256.

Eileen Dunlop's biography of Sir Walter Scott is refreshing. Her style is unassuming but undeniably informed, and sitting down with her book is a welcome alternative to the ideologically driven and footnote-burdened encounters one has come to expect and perhaps too willingly accommodate in academic writing. For one thing, there are no citations or footnotes. Thus, Dunlop provides the specialist with a canny rehearsal of Scott's life without challenging the general reader with burdensome scholarly paraphernalia. Anyone with an interest in Scott can sit down and feel welcome as Dunlop talks and, indeed, her conversational style draws us in and carries us along in a manner that Scott himself would have appreciated. The eight pages of color illustrations are most welcome.

The book is divided into thirty-three chapters, most six pages long, giving the feel of a podcast series. The erudition is always there, and Dunlop's appreciation of Scott and the generations of commentary surrounding his life and works is apparent but never intrusive or smothering. Throughout her book Dunlop engages with the major Scott biographers, never quoting from them passively, but drawing them into her ongoing conversation. She is not above scolding John Sutherland for "unduly harsh" and "tartly remarks" (pp. 50, 70), challenging "sneery" John Gibson Lockhart for his pretentions (p. 171), chiding Robert Chambers for his prissiness (pp. 84–85), or appreciating Sir Herbert Grierson as a gifted gossip (p. 69). Engagements with Scott's contemporaries, Will Clerk, David

Steuart Buchan, and James Hogg, or editors and critics such as Peter Garside and David Hewitt, have an intimate quality that enhances the book's colloquial touch.

Dunlop's cogent style brings considerable detail into her 235 pages while still giving her reader vivid reconstructions of the Scotland that nurtured Scott and which he in turn cultivated into an enduring national myth. Dunlop's reconstruction of the strict Presbyterianism of Scott's father, with its prosaic confinements to sacred and legal texts, her dramatization of the Episcopalian lyricism of Scott's mother in her love of poetry and plays, and her evocation of the folklore and supernaturalism of Scott's grandparents' home in the Borders, are remarkable for their precision and vividness. We see and crucially move through these starkly differing environments, and in doing so we hear the distinct and conflicting voices (and stories) that comprised Scotland then and now. Thus we are struck by the oral nature of Scottishness past and present. Other biographers do this, but the density of their work defeats the common reader and often subdues the academic one.

Dunlop deftly places Scott's major works within the contexts of his always complicated life, but she may be at her best when she takes us into the matters of his heart—his love affairs, his friendships, his ambivalent domestic life, where fathers and sons across three generations seem always to struggle with their love for one another, not unlike Shakespeare's Hal and his father in the two parts of *Henry IV*. Indeed, in Dunlop's telling, young Scott often recalls Prince Hal. Dunlop portrays the epochal moments effectively but is always careful to question such events, such as the encounter with Robert Burns, damping down the myth with readily available facts while not shying away from the blemishes that many still want to challenge, including Scott's anti-Semitism and his snobbishness. But Dunlop holds back the best of her own gift for storytelling until the end, just as her subject might have done, where her account of Scott's frantic and grotesquely comic journey home to die has about it the morbid humor of Scottish folklore. How fitting. And what about that absence of footnotes? Do we really want those to interrupt a story well told? I think not—especially in the age of Google.

Stephen Brown, Trent University

Karen Baston, ***Charles Areskine's Library: Lawyers and Their Books at the Dawn of the Scottish Enlightenment***. Library of the Written Word, No. 48. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016. Pp. x + 255.

Considerably more ambitious than the title suggests, Karen Baston's book is an innovative intellectual biography of an early eighteenth-century Scottish lawyer and law professor who authored no extended treatise. Taking as her lead source the surviving catalogue of the personal library of Charles Areskine of Alva (1680–1763), she reconstructs the educational, social, professional, and intellectual milieus in which Areskine acquired over a thousand books, and his multiple motives for so doing. Writing in an effective and uncomplicated style, she demonstrates how a clever contextual analysis of an unconventional source can recover perspectives of actors who have tended to be marginalized in standing accounts of intellectual history and the history of law.

One of Baston's crucial observations is that contemporary lawyers, through their purchase of large numbers of books on a wide range of topics, constituted a major market for Enlightenment-era authors, including authors of famous philosophical and historical treatises. This attention to what would now be termed "content consumers" over "content producers" stands as an important complement to new analyses of intellectual history and the history of philosophy, providing a contribution to the emerging field of cultural intellectual history. Baston fleshes out the rather sparse archival record on Areskine himself by closely engaging with the secondary literature on law in eighteenth-century Scotland—the extensive scholarship of John Cairns in particular—and by drawing speculative conclusions about Areskine via comparison with better-known or better-documented contemporaries.

The first appointee to the newly established Regius Chair of the Law of Nature and Nations at the University of Edinburgh, Areskine has traditionally been criticized for failing to hold regular lectures or even write a basic textbook on the subject, despite holding the position for nearly three decades (1707–34). Going beyond this dismissal, Baston considers his role as an important vector of the transnational exchange of ideas of natural law and university improvement in a period in which Scottish lawyers still regularly received education abroad, above all in the Netherlands (chap. 3). Placing his appointment at Edinburgh in the wake of the infamous controversy over Thomas Aikenhead (chap. 2), she reveals the performative aspects of intellectual moderation during this period. While owning many works by the "atheistical" authors who supposedly corrupted Aikenhead, Areskine crafted a public image that suited his own ends as well as those of the powerful patron Archibald Campbell, Lord Ilay.

For Baston, the presence of books in private libraries cannot be used in a simple or deterministic way to judge their effects on the intellectual horizons of their owners. She thus offers a methodologically complex history of the book and of contemporary knowledge-collection practices. She reveals how early eighteenth-century Scottish lawyers valued diverse library collections, and their use of histories and geographies to furnish examples and precedents in ruling on domestic cases (chap. 6). Beyond making a convincing case for the close link between legal analysis and enlightened histories of mankind, she considers the social aspects of libraries as spheres of conviviality and sociability (chap. 7) and as indicators of wealth and cultivation. This historical-anthropological approach to the history of the book extends to how the exchange of books and market information about books tightly bound contemporary lawyers to the sphere of cultivated literati of their time (chap. 4). The final chapter shifts to a technical discussion of archiving practices and the challenges posed by varying attitudes to information about provenance over the centuries (chap. 8).

Baston's creative use of evidence is exemplary. The author succeeds in arguing in favor of the important

role of active practitioners of law in the early Scottish Enlightenment, and in making the case for Areskine's role in revitalizing legal instruction in early eighteenth-century Scotland. The book is a timely intervention in ongoing reappraisals of the early Scottish Enlightenment, though it might have benefited from the adoption of a more assertive style and a more confident assertion of the novelty of her analysis. In her flexible use of different forms of historical analysis to draw out the traces left by a single, obscure manuscript, Baston offers an exciting example of the potential of creative interpretation in the field of early eighteenth-century Scotland. Far from being of narrow interest to specialists in the history of law or book history, this book will be of interest to readers across eighteenth-century Scottish studies.

Nicholas B. Miller, University of Lisbon

Allan Young and Patrick Scott, ***The Kilmarnock Burns: A Census***. *Studies in Scottish Literature* South Carolina Literature Series. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Libraries, 2017. Pp. xxxvi + 198.

The poetry of Robert Burns has a unique appeal to all English-speaking peoples. We readily beat our way through the thickets of Scottish dialect in order to thrill to his verses about such outwardly simple subjects as a mouse or a haggis. Since the printing of the Kilmarnock Burns in 1786, critical acclaim and popular enthusiasm have united in praise. Of the 612 copies issued then, this new census aims to determine how many still survive. Seekers of romantic description or critical analysis must go elsewhere, however. This book is all business, but what delightful business it is! What this book does best is to advance, rather significantly, the cause of copy-specific bibliographical study. We find here much more than a census. (The census itself comprises less than half of the printed matter). Allan Young began this work in 2002 and continued "on and off" through 2009. He was persuaded in 2015 to restart the project and finish it, in collaboration with Patrick Scott.

Scott provides the details of the printing and distribution of the book. We learn about the subscription process and the financial aspects of the venture. Although the entire printing sold out rapidly, Burns owed much of this success to a handful of friends and supporters. Just seven individuals subscribed for two-thirds of the total copies. Scott then traces the steady rise of collector interest, which became intense during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. He discusses several problems commonly encountered by copy-specific book researchers. To take a slightly technical but important example, dealers and collectors measure a book using page width and height, while libraries tend to measure the binding dimensions. Page measurements are important not only in valuing a book but also in providing a census-taker with vital clues, which can help to match copies from separate sources.

Section A begins the census by documenting copies held by institutions, which are the easiest to find. Online catalogues establish their presence but usually do not provide the details required for a proper census, such as clipped-out signatures, prior owner signatures partially effaced, the wording or even the presence of annotations, cryptic shelf marks, and signatures of obscure or unknown people. To document these attributes, Young personally inspected many of his Kilmarnocks and recruited competent informants when that was not possible. Part B treats the privately held copies that Young could locate. Although just a handful of private owners participated, the wealth of description, history, and provenance they have provided is generally richer than what is known about the institutional copies. Part C, a chronological recitation of information about previously known copies, is not the dry listing of auction records that one might expect. This section positively teems with anecdote and valuable content. It is a brilliant way to include and present all the scraps of evidence that the authors have gathered. One of my favorite entries is the (now lost) copy Burns presented to Peggy Thomson, his "charming Fillette," inscribed to this former sweetheart with an eight-line poem. There are other stories in these entries of equally compelling interest.

Of course, Young makes no claim to finding all such mentions. In searching my own collection of catalogues, I was able to find a January 1946 Maggs catalogue entry (No. 388) advertising a tall (8 x 5 inch) copy bound by Bedford in full morocco for £805. In checking Appendix II, listing bindings and binders, I saw no obvious match with any of the nine Bedford bindings described there.

Nestled within the provenance data in Parts A, B, and C are many colorful biographical sketches of collectors, including some that I have not found recorded elsewhere. The big American names such as Robert Hoe, Folger, Huntington, and J. P. Morgan are, of course, present. But the census documents many less famous, but still significant; collectors. This is a real bonus, as most of these collectors owned other important books, and this catalogue can be a source of information about them.

The footnotes, as with most good research pieces, contain many useful nuggets. Finally, there is an appendix of facsimile editions, so numerous that it requires seven pages. A 1913 version, printed by Bell and Fowler of Edinburgh, bears no internal evidence that it is a facsimile and is the one most often mistaken for an original Kilmarnock.

Academic books are usually measured by their contribution to scholarship rather than by the breadth of their audience. But this book's appeal goes well beyond the small number of Kilmarnock owners or would-be owners. And if you decide you want to own a Kilmarnock Burns, the copy on page 58, owned by Jonathan Hill, Bookseller, is still for sale as of this writing. Although the authors omit the price, it is $85,000.

Terry I. Seymour, Independent Scholar

David Parrish, ***Jacobitism and Anti-Jacobitism in the British Atlantic World, 1688–1727.*** Royal Historical Society Studies in History, New Series. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2017. Pp. x + 189.

This is a slim volume about a potentially big subject. Handsomely produced for the Royal Historical Society, it promises innovative scholarship in its title, in the sense that the Atlantic dimension of Jacobitism has never been seriously examined before. A little work has been done, but purely from a colonial perspective. We know, for example, that celebratory bonfires were lit in colonial Willliamsburg when the news of the decisive defeat of the '45 uprising at the Battle of Culloden reached Virginia. Parrish finishes earlier, when the Rage of Party which followed the contentious Glorious Revolution of 1688 was replaced by the unchallenged political hegemony of a Whig Hanoverian ascendancy often described as a one-party state, though neither the state nor the party were like their modern equivalents. Parrish sees 1727 as a suitable point marking both the sustained proscription of the Tory party by the new dynasty and the withering of realistic Jacobite hopes of a second restoration of the exiled main line of the Stuarts. Several risings had failed miserably. The final debacle he covers, generated by the frustration and despair of Tory partisans, especially High Church Anglicans, is the Atterbury Plot of 1722. Francis Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, accused of complicity in a plot to restore the Stuarts, was forced into exile in 1723 by a bill of pains and penalties which deprived him of all his offices and banished him from the British dominions for ever.

The aim of this volume is to argue that the violent party politics which characterized the struggle for control in the Westminster Parliament extended across the Atlantic because the American colonies were part of an increasingly integrated British Atlantic culture. Indeed, Parrish rightly stresses the increasing Anglicization of colonial cultures, including even the New England colonies, where the Congregational heritage began to be leavened by a trickle of conversions to Anglicanism. He shows from the private correspondence of West Indian colonial governors that they regularly complained of neglect and hostility when the Board of Trade and Plantations (established by King William in 1696) was dominated by members of the opposing party. Since religion was an important determinant of allegiance to both parties, the volume moves on naturally enough to examine Jacobitism and religious belief in the British Atlantic world. Here the author has considerable grist for his mill because of the way the Anglican colonial clergy were appointed. Although Queen Anne might have appointed a colonial bishop had she lived longer, her Hanoverian successors effectively appeased American Nonconformity, especially New England Congregationalists, by leaving America under the vague supervision of the Bishop of London. Problems for an Anglican, and so deeply Episcopal, church did not stop there. Finding clergy willing to emigrate was not easy. One result was that a surprisingly large percentage of Episcopalian Scottish ministers from a very pro-Stuart tradition were placed in colonial churches. One example is Commissary James Blair, founder of the College of William and Mary and no Jacobite, who went to Virginia in 1685 and died at 87 in 1743, having been effectively Acting Governor as late as 1741–43.

What Parrish does establish is that in a British monarchy which barely deserved the title of empire because, as he says, it was 'in many respects little more than a patchwork of diverse religious, political, and ethnic and economic cultures' (p. 13), there was a North Atlantic cultural world marked by rapidly increasing levels of communication and shared vocabularies. He shows, for example, in a regional study of Carolina between 1702 and 1716 that one way to damn a political opponent was to call him a Jacobite Tory. Even in New England he later uses contemporary pamphlets to show that some of the overwhelmingly Congregationalist local pamphleteers were becoming increasingly paranoid about what they saw as the menace of the spread of Anglicanism. Some of the Anglican clerics moving into the region to minister to a tiny but growing minority were extreme High Churchmen who even denied, to the distress of the Bishop of London, the validity of non-Episcopal orders and ministry. They attracted publicity by outraging their local opponents, who identified them with Toryism, Jacobitism, and a conspiracy to impose arbitrary government. Pamphlet wars among the Godly, mainly in Massachusetts, generate no less than nine references in the index to Charles Leslie, the violently Jacobite Irish Anglican cleric who died in 1722. Jürgen Habermas's concept of the "public sphere" cannot be avoided in a study like this; indeed, it is discussed at length (pp. 66–72). Parrish shows that "The transatlantic sphere was suffused with elements of Jacobitism and anti-jacobitism" (p. 67). This must have made a contribution to eighteenth century versions of "the paranoid style" which historians have recognized as a recurring feature of American politics

Beyond that, it is hard to go. Trish Loughran's study *The Republic in Print: Print Culture in the Age of U.S. Nation Building, 1770–1870* (2007) could (controversially) deny the mass influence of Tom Paine's 1776 pamphlet *Common Sense* because data survive to show that it did not have the print runs or the geographical range of readers outside the urban centers of the Northeast to have the impact often claimed. Similar detailed contexts probably cannot be established for Parrish's much earlier material. By the end of Parrish's period in 1727, the cause of the Old Pretender had a depressing record of failure in mounting rebellions, and he also had suffered a public relations disaster with the breakdown of his marriage in 1725–27. There was no rational hope left, and James knew that. Nevertheless, Parrish reveals an interesting Jacobite aspect of the British North Atlantic public sphere in an era of enhanced Anglophone cultural (but not political) integration.

Bruce P. Lenman, University of St. Andrews

Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites. Exhibition, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh, 23 June–12 November 2017.

David Forsyth, ed., ***Bonnie Prince Charlie and the Jacobites***. Edinburgh: National Museums Scotland, 2017. Pp. 268.

Interest in the fate and fortunes of the last representatives of the Stuart dynasty shows no signs of diminishing. The popular success of the *Outlander* novels and TV series (with their unsympathetic portrayal of Prince Charles Edward) has introduced a new audience to the Jacobites and their cause, and has burnished the "romantic but wrong" teleology of a period of history that continues to cause vehement dissent among historians.

The organization of a comprehensive exhibition and accompanying catalogue by the National Museums Scotland in 2017 was, therefore, timely, and they offered an opportunity to yet again weigh conflicting perspectives. In regard to the quality of objects assembled, the exhibition was a triumph. It reunited extraordinary works of art that had probably not been seen together since the Stuart exhibition of 1889; the loans from the Royal Collection in particular were critical to the quality of the exhibition as an aesthetic experience. Almost every major Stuart portrait was included, reinforcing this author's thesis that the Stuarts were significant patrons throughout the eighteenth century, on a par with most other European royal courts, and certainly exceeding in quality the patronage of the early Hanoverians. The exhibition—according to the museum—was also a popular success, no doubt pleasing the marketing department, which had insisted on the title despite curatorial reluctance. The catalogue is also a handsome production, with excellent photography of objects that have been poorly illustrated in the past.

One of the final objects in the exhibition was a magnificent gold and diamond chalice commissioned by Cardinal York in 1800 and loaned from the Vatican. A dab of poison and you would have a metaphor for the challenges of tackling the topic of the Jacobites in both print and exhibition. The latter got off to a shaky start with widely reported protests from Gaelic language militants about the absence of bilingual texts. Although ridiculous, their protests highlighted an immediate and inevitable flaw in the approach to the subject-matter that must have exercised the curatorial and editing team endlessly. Simultaneously trying to present a history of a pan-European, religiously inspired (and rather unsexy) phenomenon in a museum that, ultimately, celebrates Scottish nationality and identity (and all the tartan flim-flam and Highlander mystique that goes with it) constituted an impossible attempt to please everyone. An *Outlander*-ish rendition of "Speed Bonnie Boat" and John Pettie's kilted 1890s "Prince Charlie at Holyrood" incongruously lured the viewer into painfully balanced scholarly interpretations of the reasons for the Stuart exile in 1688. Then there were some swash-and-buckle weaponry for the '15 and a high-tech recreation of the Chateau at St. Germain that seemed to garner little interest from the public on the two occasions I visited.

The quality of objects successfully carried the story forward to the 1740s, but then, with gears churning, we were back in *Outlander* territory with an immersive recreation of the Battle of Culloden, yet again fetishizing an embarrassing rout. The final sections of the exhibition were the best because serious politics were out of the equation and things were moving into memorializing. Beautiful objects, beautifully presented. Even Lord Lovat's execution block had a sinister charm. The death of the Cardinal Duke of York marked the chronological conclusion of the exhibition (making the presence of the 1890 Pettie portrait all the more anachronistic). A brief exploration of nineteenth-century revivalism and myth-making might have added texture and certainly wouldn't have detracted from a thesis that attempted to corral multiple points of view.

The catalogue essayists and editor offer a little more depth and cohesion to the subject, although in most cases it features established authorities (such as Edward Corp, Allan MacInnes, and George Dalgleish) revisiting topics they have explored frequently during the past twenty years. Arguably the only new scholarship is in reference to the so-called "lost portrait" of Prince Charles Edward Stuart, recently acquired by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery with the unchallenged acceptance of Bendor Grosvenor's attribution to Allan Ramsay. That this "lost" portrait hung in plain view in Gosford House for generations—where I saw it in the 1990s and dismissed (and continue to dismiss) any likelihood that it is by the hand of Ramsay—is only passingly mentioned in the second paragraph of Lucinda Lax's essay.

Adrienne Hyne's essay, "True Religion: Faith and the Jacobite Movement," is perhaps the most valuable for a general readership. It brings the touch piece and the iconicity of kingship into plain view and reinforces a perspective that was manifest in the exhibition through the multitude of religious objects, from biblically inspired mementos and symbolic engraved glasses to vestments, altar plates, and communion cups. The rich interplay of Episcopalianism and Roman Catholicism in Jacobite culture was a surprisingly prominent feature of the exhibition.

In the end, the greatest strength of the catalogue is the acknowledgment, in a mainstream publication, of the centrality of material culture to the understanding of an eighteenth-century political and religious phenomenon. It is an authoritative and comprehensive work that will help to frame and contextualize the conversation on the significance of Jacobitism for at least the next decade of research and scholarship. Although offering little that is new, it finally brings many aspects of the revisionist debate to the foreground and—like many of the objects it documents—will be a cherishable souvenir of a contentious past.

Robin Nicholson, The Frick Pittsburgh

The Making of the Athens of the North: A Review of Recent Exhibitions in Edinburgh

By Clarisse Godard Desmarest, Université de Picardie Jules Verne

Last autumn and winter, the Royal Scottish Academy (RSA) and the National Galleries of Scotland (NGS) collaborated to present a survey of collecting by the academy since its formation in 1826 as the Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture. Unfortunately, **Ages of Wonder: Scotland's Art 1540 to Now** (4 November 2017–7 January 2018) can no longer be viewed, but it spawned an exhibition catalogue as well as a volume of fourteen essays, both bearing the same title as the exhibition. The essay collection, edited by Tom Normand, includes chapters on the history of the RSA collections, the buildings on the Mound, artistic discourse in the nineteenth century, and Normand's "James Guthrie and the Invention of the Modern Academy" (pp. 117–34) on the early, complex history of the RSA. Contributors include Duncan Macmillan, James Holloway, John Lowrey, and Sandy Wood, the RSA Collections Curator.

The starting point of the exhibition was the 1910 agreement between the academy's president, James Guthrie, and the curator of the National Gallery of Scotland, James Caw. This agreement, and the ensuing 1910 Parliamentary Order which regulates the cohabitation of both institutions on the Edinburgh Mound, enabled the National Gallery to expand into the entire building, previously shared with the academy, which in turn, was able to move to the adjacent Royal Institution building facing Princes Street. Important works from the RSA collection were then transferred to the national collection, and Ages of Wonder is the most comprehensive exhibition since this transfer took place. The collections of the two institutions share a close identity through the artists they represent but have been assembled differently. While the NGS collection results from strategic decisions made by successive curators, the core of the RSA collection is the work deposited by each individual member on election, along with gifts and bequests, deposits from artists through scholarships and awards, and to a lesser extent purchases. A number of the works displayed in the central gallery (Gallery 2) of the exhibition referred to the "transfer" in a contemporary legend impressed on their frames. The best of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scottish art was moved to the national collection, which contributed to making the National Gallery a distinctly Scottish institution. This included David Roberts's panoramic *Rome: Sunset from the Convent of Sant Onofrio on the Janiculum* (1856) and portraits by the most appreciated eighteenth-century Scottish painters, including William Aikman, Allan Ramsay, and Henry Raeburn (who is represented by Major William Clunes of Crakaig in full-length, c.1810).

The essence of the RSA as a teaching institution is reflected in a number of testimonies of the Academy Life Class—an important part in the education of an artist in Scotland before this function was transferred to the colleges of art. The exhibition points to the availability of private collections of top-quality material for students to be able to study old master paintings and drawings, including the collection of bookseller and antiquarian David Laing (1793–1878), whose art collection was bequeathed to the RSA in 1879 and mostly transferred to the NGS in 1910. Among the eighteenth-century pieces on display from this collection was Alexander Runciman's color sketch for his Ossianic masterpiece at Penicuik House, *The Blind Ossian Singing and Accompanying himself on the Harp*.

The RSA became the very epitome of the Victorian era, and every year from 1827 it organized an annual exhibition to which any artist, amateur or professional, could submit works. One of the rooms in Ages of Wonder recreated a Victorian "salon-style" presentation of works exhibited, practically from floor to ceiling, including paintings by Raeburn, David Wilkie, and William Allan. The changing conventions of exhibiting in the modern and contemporary periods were explored in the exhibition, as the story of the collections unfolded through a presentation of works from all disciplines and in a variety of media, from marble to film, print to photography, sculpture to portraiture. In keeping with the academy's historic and contemporary identity, newly commissioned work was on display throughout the exhibition, including Richard Murphy's Wunderkammer display cabinet, housing selected exhibition items from the RSA collection, and Calum Colvin's studio installation on Scottish national poet Hugh MacDiarmid.

Although the earliest attempt to create a drawing academy in Scotland, the Foulis Academy (1753–76), was located in Glasgow, the national Academy of Painting, Sculpture and Architecture was based in the capital. Painting was viewed as the "queen of the arts," but the early history of the academy was shaped by the commanding presence of an architect, Thomas Hamilton (1784–1858). Hamilton was the first treasurer of the academy and an active participant in its foundation. His role in the creation of Edinburgh's neoclassical urban landscape saw him in competition with William Henry Playfair (1790–1857), who was elected an academician in 1829. Hamilton's ambitious proposal for twin buildings in the Greek-Revival style, for a National Gallery and the Royal Scottish Academy (1848), was presented in the exhibition, but this prestigious commission was secured by Playfair, and the foundation stone was laid in August 1850. Hamilton's designs are superbly picturesque, creating a high contrast to the surrounding buildings. The design for the Royal High School on Calton Hill, begun in 1825, shows the same degree of completion. Hamilton's design of the front façade of the building shows neoclassical refinement and elegance, and Thomas Allom (1804–72) offers a magnificent view of the school and the Burns Monu-

ment in a watercolor and gouache on paper, c.1830. Playfair's diploma design for Surgeons' Hall was included in the exhibition display. By providing significant buildings in the Greek Revival style, both architects further established Edinburgh as the "Athens of the North," a phrase coined in 1824 by the painter Hugh William Williams.

Hamilton and Playfair developed the aesthetic of the picturesque in Edinburgh. Almost simultaneously with the RSA show, a selection of designs by Playfair, **Playfair and the City** (1 December 2017–25 February 2018), was exhibited at the City Art Centre in the Old Town, organized by the city in partnership with the University of Edinburgh, and curated by John Lowrey and Kirsten Carter McKee. This exhibition, relying on the university's unique collection of over five thousand Playfair drawings, paid homage to the architect's enduring legacy to the city, where his monuments and buildings can be found in many places. The sections of the display focused on the city and the landscape, monuments and public buildings, views and vistas, institutions, grand routes in the city, Playfair's connection with Robert Adam, the city's observatory, shopping malls, the buildings on the Mound, and the west end of the city.

Playfair's plan for the third New Town to Leith (George Heriot's Trust Collection, on loan from Historic Environment Scotland), which covers essentially the area bounded by London Road, Easter Road, and Leith Walk, constituted the starting point of the exhibition. Like his master William Stark, author of a *Report to the Lord Provost* (published posthumously in 1814), Playfair insisted on the importance of bringing the landscape into the urban setting, an attitude which fundamentally departed from the formal and regular approach taken some fifty years earlier by James Craig for the first New Town (1767). A cross-section of the rise of ground from London Road to Royal Terrace, north of Calton Hill, shows Royal Terrace half way up the hill, with gardens at the front and trees at the back. A general elevation of Regent Terrace on the southern flank of Calton Hill (dated 1821) and an elevation of Blenheim Place highlight the grandiose architectural style of Playfair. His meticulous attention to detail, also reflected in his high building standards, appears in the detail of the design—the name of each prospective home owner is carefully inscribed.

Although Playfair worked on the university buildings for twenty-four years, none of his one-to-one designs for the university were on display in the City Art Centre. Instead, the eclecticism of Playfair's style and his adaptation to site and setting provided the thread to the exhibition. Although Playfair's reputation favors his Greek Revival legacy, he worked in a wide range of historical styles, from Italianate and Gothic to Tudor and Scottish Baronial. Of Playfair's post-university commissions, the most important were Donaldson's Hospital (1842–54), the National Gallery of Scotland (1850–57), and the Free Church College ("New College," 1845–50). Two oils on panel displayed in the exhibition feature *Princes Street from the Mound* by Charles Halkerston, 1843, and a *View of the Mound* by William G. Herdman, 1854. They reflect Playfair's careful handling of the urban landscape and his understanding of the value of contrasting the Old and New Town. For example, in his designs for the Royal Scottish Academy, 1848, Playfair formally aligned the buildings on the Mound with the main vista through the New Town, but he also contrasted the neoclassical Royal Institution building on Princes Street with the neo-Gothic New College at the top of the Mound. One of Playfair's most iconic designs, the City Observatory on Calton Hill (ink and gouache on paper, c.1825), is particularly relevant, given the contemporary restoration and redevelopment project for the monument. These two exhibitions, of RSA works and Playfair designs, fully reflect the post-Enlightenment context and the early nineteenth-century self-perception of Edinburgh as the "Modern Athens."

Finally, the long eighteenth century is well represented in an exhibition on **Scots in Italy** (through 3 March 2019), curated by Lucinda Lax at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Queen Street. It features a three-quarter-length portrait, 1763, of Robert Adam's younger brother James Adam (1732–1794) by Antonio Zucchi (not Pompeo Batoni, as previously thought) while on the grand tour of Italy. Adam is portrayed in the guise of a gentleman, dressed in a blue gown trimmed with fur, his hand resting on the capital of a column of his new "British Order." The NGS is looking for financial support to secure the acquisition of this substantial piece of eighteenth-century Scottish history.

G. Ross Roy, ***Selected Essays on Robert Burns***. Edited by Patrick Scott, Elizabeth Sudduth, and Jo DuRant. *Studies in Scottish Literature* South Carolina Scottish Literature Series. Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Libraries, 2018. Pp. xiv + 210.

Although it has now been five years since he left us, Ross Roy lives on in many ways, particularly through his revised edition of Burns's letters, his extraordinary collection of Burns materials at the University of South Carolina, and the miscellany he founded, *Studies in Scottish Literature*, which continues both as a journal and as the focal point for this book series. I was not familiar with his published essays on Burns, fifteen of which are collected in this volume. Several focus on particular poems by (or not by) Burns, and several others on the editing and collecting of Burns's work. There are also a number of thematic essays on Burns's connections with, and writings about, particular topics and people, including politics and the French Revolution (1973), the Brash and Reid chapbooks (1992), the Bible (1988), "Clarinda" (2009), and the Kirk (1982). But I will probably not be alone in being drawn to the first two pieces in the collection, the autobiographical "Encountering Robert Burns: An Oral History" (from Ross's memoirs) and the biographical essay "Robert Burns: A Self-Portrait" (1975).

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Key to the Abbreviations

ICJM =The International Companion to James Macpherson and The Poems of Ossian, ed. Dafydd Moore (Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2017).

ICJG=The International Companion to John Galt, ed. Gerard Carruthers and Colin Kidd (Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2017).

IV=Inspiring Views from "a' the airts" on Scottish Literatures, Art & Cinema: The First World Congress of Scottish Literatures in Glasgow 2014, ed. Klaus Peter Müller, Ilka Schwittlinsky, and Ron Walker (Peter Lang, 2017).

SSL43.1=Studies in Scottish Literature 43.1 (2017). Includes a Research Symposium on Literature and Periodization.

SSL43.2=Studies in Scottish Literature 43.2 (2017). Includes a Research Symposium on New Developments in Robert Burns Bibliography.

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