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**Georgian Glasgow:
the city remembered through literature,
objects, and cultural memory theory**

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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Abstract

The core argument under discussion in this thesis is that Georgian Glasgow (1714-1837) has been largely overshadowed by the city's unprecedented growth in the following centuries when it became a symbol of the industrial age. In this sense much of the work being done here is a form of cultural excavation: unearthing neglected histories from the past that tell us more than is presently known about the development of Glasgow. The thesis will engage with literature, history, and memory studies: a collective approach that allows for both general discussion of ideas as well as specific engagement with literature and objects. The larger issues to which these converging disciplines will be applied include the Scottish Enlightenment, religion, cultural identity, slavery, and diaspora.

The thesis is developed chronologically through the Georgian period with contextual discussions of the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries at each stage. This results in a more rounded analysis of each theme while making the argument that Georgian Glasgow remains underrepresented in the public realm. The main historical figures that help this argument are: Robert and Andrew Foulis; Tobias Smollett; Adam Smith and James Boswell; and John Galt. Each of these main figures represent distinct themes that define the case studies of the argument. They are: print culture and religion; science and medicine; slavery; and transatlantic migration and colonisation. There are crossovers, for instance the points made about religion in chapter one may be utilised again in chapters two and four; while the very broad theme of the Scottish Enlightenment is discussed to varying degrees in every chapter.

The methodology strives to discuss literary, historical, and theoretical memory studies together. In the latter field, the theories of the pre-eminent scholars underpin the case studies of people, places, and objects. Given the connection of this thesis to the major Glasgow Life exhibition, *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837* (2014), this interdisciplinary approach is able to reflect the public response to 'Georgian Glasgow.' The majority of these findings are revealed in the conclusion chapter, although the experience of working collaboratively with Glasgow Museums informed the thesis as a whole.

While this thesis primarily aims to recover and engage with the forgotten aspects of Glasgow's past, it is also shaped as a methodological template transferrable to other places and time periods. By engaging with the specialisms of academia and taking them into the public realm via other institutions, this thesis strives to remember Georgian Glasgow while outlining a practical process for cultural engagement elsewhere.

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Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Signature:



Printed name:

Craig Lamont

Introduction

The town of Glasgow flourishes in learning, as well as in commerce—
Here is an university, with professors in all the different branches of
science, liberally endowed, and judiciously chosen.

- Tobias Smollett, *Humphry Clinker* (1771)¹

This thesis is an exploration of the cultural and literary history of Georgian Glasgow (1714-1837)² and an inquiry into the impaired condition of Glasgow's 'cultural memory' of this era. In this introduction, the aims of the thesis will be outlined and, through the incorporation of a literature review of the intersecting academic fields, the intended methodology and outcomes will be explained. The first question we might ask is: why 'Georgian' Glasgow? Quite simply, Glasgow's Georgian history is poorly remembered. This poor 'cultural memory' – a term which will be fully explained below – is not proportionate with the vast and varied cultural landmarks which comprise Glasgow's eighteenth-century development. This introduction will begin to explain the legacy of Georgian Glasgow and, taking traditional and emerging theories into account, will suggest the core issues which surround it; with a particular focus on the writers who lived in this almost forgotten chapter of the city's past.

The quotation above is one of many portrayals of the city as it was and how it developed during the eighteenth century. Indeed, Glasgow is not without its fair share of self-reflective literature through which Georgian society can be perceived. What the quotation reveals is a glimpse of the conflict at the heart of Glasgow's 'image' – if we may label it thus for the time being. The focus for Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) is clearly the academic, intellectual wealth of Glasgow. His use of the word 'flourish' – an essentially Glaswegian word³ – cleverly draws our attention away from the 'commerce' towards the more important, for Smollett, cultural importance of the University.

Compare this, for example, with John Wilson's (1720-1789) poem 'Clyde' (1764; 1803), in which he proudly states:

¹ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: Penguin, 1985 [1771]), 274.

² The time in British history distinguished by the rule of the five Hanoverian kings. The Union of 1707 renders this era unique for its cultural issues of identity.

³ Glasgow's motto, 'Let Glasgow Flourish' is derived from the original, 'Lord, Let Glasgow Flourish by the preaching of the word.'

As shines the moon among the lesser sires,
Unrivalled Glasgow lifts her stately spires:
For Commerce, glorious with her golden crown,
Has marked fair Glasgow for her favourite town...⁴

For Wilson, Glasgow's 'stately spires' owe their superiority over other cities to 'commerce', that same key word which Smollett placed after 'learning' in his retrospective treatment of Glasgow. But which are we to believe in— *commerce* or *education*? Which 'narrative' offers the most rounded exposition of Glasgow's 'image' in the Georgian era? It will be shown that each word foreshadows the arguably more important dilemma facing the memory of Glasgow's Georgian era—*industry* and *Enlightenment*. These concepts, usually at odds with each other in the public realm, will also feature prominently throughout this thesis.

Literary excerpts such as Smollett's and Wilson's are like cues leading the discussion and, for all their diversity, revolve around the same crucial point: that Glasgow's growth was much more diverse than is generally believed. Following the Acts of Union of 1707 (which combined the separate Kingdoms of Scotland and England), Georgian Glaswegians witnessed the rise and fall of religious intolerance; the diversification of cultural identity; and the intensification of the British Empire. Indeed, many historians refer to the influx of inhabitants, increasing the population of Glasgow from 31,700 in 1755 to 147,000 in 1821.⁵ The short time which elapsed between the tobacco trade boom (one of the most common 'success stories' in Glasgow's history) and the introduction of heavy industry meant that the cultural and literary history of Glasgow had little time to crystallize. Put differently: larger events that were much more memorable and useful for civic leaders replaced almost all the memories of achievements in literature and art.

Without going as far as saying that the industrial, Victorian age completely obliterated the generational memories of the Georgian era, it is difficult to disagree with Carol Foreman who, in her 2002 text *Lost Glasgow*, stated that Glasgow 'has never been sentimental about its old buildings.' She goes on: 'It has been a point of civic pride to destroy and build better, and if old buildings got in the way... they were swept away, supposedly in the name of progress.'⁶ Based on such a stark criticism of Glasgow's physical landscape, we might ask how permanent memories and experiences of Georgian Glasgow can exist when so little of it remains.

⁴ Quoted in John Leyden, *Scottish Descriptive Poems; with some illustrations of Scottish Literary Antiquities* (Edinburgh: Mundell & Son, 1803), 85.

⁵ T. M. Devine & Gordon Jackson, 'Introduction', *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* eds. T. M. Devine & Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 10.

⁶ Carol Foreman, *Lost Glasgow: Glasgow's Lost Architectural Heritage* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2002), vii.

This is symbolic of the core argument of this thesis: that a re-examination of Georgian Glasgow's cultural and literary history reveals the extent to which Georgian Glasgow achieved and the extent to which it has been forgotten. By making use of primary material from the Georgian era (literature, artwork, objects) and a confluence of academic disciplines which will be reviewed next, the case will be made that, in spite of the physical loss of the city's buildings, Georgian Glasgow is as yet *not* remembered as a distinct and unique period of the city's history and as a central hub of the Scottish Enlightenment.

Literature Review

This review will deal with the historiography of the main converging fields of inquiry which will feature throughout the thesis. They are: memory studies theory; scholarship on relevant eighteenth-century matters such as the Scottish Enlightenment; and the historical accounts of Glasgow. By tracing the pre-eminent works in these areas, the extent to which Glasgow's Georgian past has been 'forgotten' will be revealed. The structure and purpose of the thesis will thereafter be explained, including its role in the partnership between the University of Glasgow and Glasgow Life (Glasgow Museums, specifically).

I

Because it is one of the main objectives of this thesis to outline the gaps in Glasgow's 'cultural memory' of the Georgian era, it is fitting to begin with a review of the scholarship in the interdisciplinary field of memory studies. Before outlining the main texts which comprise this field, the terminology should be explained.

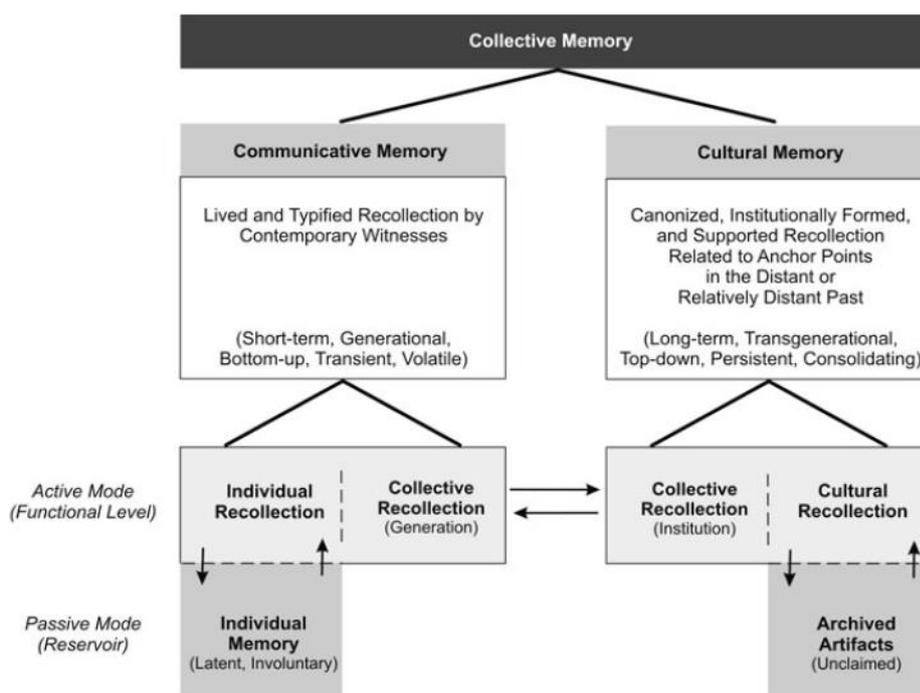
The memory studies field has been growing in volume since it became entrenched in historiography in the latter half of the twentieth century.⁷ The idea at the heart of the conversation on memory is that we have taken it upon ourselves in the modern age to interrogate documented histories in order to establish how they have shaped our perception of society as a circumstantial result of past events. This focus on reinterpretation has been linked time and again with 'trauma memory,' particularly that which involves the Holocaust. In this review, however, the notion of trauma and war-related memory studies is not indicative to understanding the theoretical journey of memory studies. Indeed, 'trauma' is a key word in the development of the field, encompassing warfare, genocide, and slavery.⁸

⁷ Patrick Hutton, 'Recent Scholarship on Memory and History', *The Memory Teacher* 33:4 (California: Society for History Education, 2000), 533-548 (533).

⁸ In chapter three, the unique case of 'cultural memory' and slavery will be elucidated fully.

But, given the focus here on the long eighteenth century, traumatically-altered memories of living generations does not apply. The key terms which will feature most consistently are ‘cultural memory’; ‘collective memory’; and ‘communicative memory.’ Here, ‘cultural memory’ is placed first because it is the most appropriate framework in which Georgian Glasgow can be perceived.

‘Collective memory’ is, in fact, the principal term in the lineage of memory studies, coined by the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1877-1945). ‘Communicative memory’ and ‘cultural memory’ are branches of this principal term, the former representing ‘generational’ or ‘live’ memories and the latter representing ‘transgenerational’ or ‘supported recollections.’⁹ These distinctions, outlined in 2008, belong to Jan and Aleida Assmann.¹⁰ Christina West (2011) has skilfully illustrated this new and important distinction in the following table called ‘The bimodal function of the collective memory’:



Cultural memory can be represented in various forms including books, objects, paintings, statues, and buildings.¹¹ To offer a specific example, the cultural memory of Robert Burns

⁹ Christina West, ‘Memory—Recollection—Culture—Identity—Space: Social Context, Identity Formation, and Self-construction of the Calé (Gitanos) in Spain’, *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (London: Springer, 2011), 101-119 (104).

¹⁰ Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, *Media and Cultural Memory: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* eds. Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2008), 109-118 (110).

¹¹ Wulf Kansteiner, ‘Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies’, *History and Theory* 41:2 (Middletown: Wiley-Blackwell for Wesleyan University, 2002), 179-197 (182).

(1759-1796) is upheld by both his own work *and* by work about him by others. You may enter the Burns Birthplace Museum in Alloway and read from an eighteenth-century collection of his poetry. The building is as much a part of this cultural memory of Burns as the poetry. At the same time, the worldwide statues of the poet which form a map of his global popularity also represent his cultural memory.¹² In Julia Thomas' *Shakespeare's Shrine* (2012), the concentration of cultural memory in Stratford-upon-Avon is examined,¹³ and, as remains the case with Burns, the impossibility of deriving a single meaning from the one person via an object of cultural memory is a crucial point of discussion.¹⁴ Whatever the example, the distinction when considering cultural memory is its layered, *out-of-time* presence. By definition, it has passed from the stage of 'communicative' or 'live' in order to become 'cultural'. What this means, of course, is that cultural memory can change: new statues can be built; old ones destroyed. What remains is a network of sorts: a web of information which revolves around the person, thing, or time which is being discussed. In this thesis, it is the cultural memories of Georgian Glasgow and their foremost literary men and women which, I propose, have faded from the public imagination.

In order to understand the field of memory studies more fully, the evolution of it as a growing academic practice must be considered. As stated, it was Maurice Halbwachs who used the term 'collective memory' in the sociological sense we understand it today. While the origins of his theory can be found in his *Les Cadres sociaux de la memoire* (*The social frameworks of memory*, 1925), it is mainly the posthumous publications which scholars rely on. They are: *La mémoire collective* (1950); the 1980 translation (*The collective memory*); and *On Collective Memory* (1992). Jeffrey K. Olick has rightfully stated the importance of Halbwachs' predecessors in the formation of memory theory, especially Émile Durkheim (1858-1917) and Henri Bergson (1859-1941).¹⁵ In terms of the contemporary importance of memory, however, Halbwachs is regarded as the pioneer, defining 'collective memory' as the 'result, or sum, or combination of individual recollections of many members of the same society,' meaning that such a combination 'might then serve to better classify them after the fact, to situate the recollections of some in relation to those of others.'¹⁶

An essential development in the field was Pierre Nora's *Les Lieux de mémoire*: a project undertaken in the late 1970s with contributions from around sixty leading French

¹² For more information on Burns' cultural memory see Murray Pittock's AHRC-funded Beyond Text project, *Robert Burns Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909*.

¹³ Julia Thomas, *Shakespeare's Shrine: The Bard's Birthplace and the Invention of Stratford-upon-Avon* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 28.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 32.

¹⁵ Jeffrey K. Olick, 'Collective Memory', *International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (2008): <http://sociology.virginia.edu/sites/sociology.virginia.edu/files/galecm.pdf> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁶ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 39

historians.¹⁷ The English-language edition is a translation of seven volumes published between 1984 and 1992 into the three-volume *Realms of Memory*. Its main concern is the lasting identity of France and the issues surrounding the transition of France's history. Working backwards from the present, the history of France is traced from its position as a nation-state to the French Revolution to the Medieval and Early Modern images that have survived. The technique broke new ground, as Patrick Hutton states, treating the history of a nation in the same way a genealogist would trace the past of a family.¹⁸ There is an important precursor to this seminal work which Nora edited with Jaques Le Goff (1974). Engaging with Halbwachsian definitions of memory, the text is an example of the effectiveness of memory theory in interdisciplinary modes even before the rise of 'memory studies' proper. Indeed, it even predates Nora's revered article, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire' (1989), which is a condensed manifesto of his aims in *Les Lieux de mémoire*. His oft-quoted rallying cry on the reinterpretation of the French nation is: 'We speak so much of memory because there is so little of it left.'¹⁹ And while this rings true of Georgian Glasgow – a physically desolate representation of an exceedingly significant age – it should be stated that Nora's assessment of memory is not entirely concomitant in this context. Certainly, his explicit focus on France has useful parallels with Scottish history, but not unconditionally so. For instance, it is true in most places that 'there is no spontaneous memory, that we must deliberately create archives, maintain anniversaries, organize celebrations, pronounce eulogies, and notarize bills because such activities no longer occur naturally.'²⁰ Yet, his generalisations (such as defining 'modern memory' as 'archival')²¹ has become outdated and redefined by recent scholars such as Andreas Huyssen who, as we will see, considers the impact of digital media on memory.

The 1990s saw the beginning of the rise of memory studies by an emerging and interdisciplinary network of scholars. One of the most important works of the decade – which was translated into English in 2011 – was Jan Assmann's *Das kulturelle Gedächtnis: Schrift, Erinnerung und politische Identität in frühen Hochkulturen* (*Cultural Memory and Early Civilization: Writing, Remembrance, and Political Imagination*, 1992). Assmann, primarily an Egyptologist, engages with Halbwachsian theories and offers new distinctions. His article, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity' (1995), seeks to add a third factor to Halbwachs' binary of *memory* and *group*, giving us: *memory* (the contemporized past),

¹⁷ Hutton, 'Recent Scholarship', 538.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (California: University of California Press, 1989), 7-24 (7).

²⁰ Ibid, 12.

²¹ Ibid, 13.

culture, and the *group* (society). In a sense Assmann is breaking the term ‘memory’ in two, assuming its nature as ‘collective’, and offering ‘culture’ as a separate part of the equation.²² Cultural memory, then, is a specialised practice; one would have to focus one’s attention on a particular place in order to understand the past and present situation there. This represents the beginning of the term ‘cultural memory’ as it will be used in this thesis. Crucially, Assmann points to the self-reflexive nature of cultural memory. Put differently: cultural memory specialists would have to constantly retract from the texts, images, and sites of importance in order to place them in the context of the contemporary understanding of their specialised area. This in itself implies the importance of historiography: how can you chart which aspects of a culture are best and least remembered if you do not first examine the self-image of the place? For Assmann, the cultural memory specialist ‘serves to stabilize and convey [their chosen] society’s self-image.’²³ This is what is meant by the ‘image’ or the ‘character’ of Glasgow.

Texts like Mary Carruthers’ *The Book of Memory* (1992) and Iwona Irwin-Zarecka’s *Frames of Remembrance* (1994) further illustrate the adaptability of memory. Carruthers uses memory as a link between medieval and contemporary cultures, but notes the difference in *method*, particularly the difference in technological advances. Her core belief is that ‘medieval culture was fundamentally memorial, in the same profound degree that modern culture in the West is documentary.’²⁴ In addition, she makes use of literature, charting its importance in the understanding of past societies while noting that modern literary theory, ‘when applied directly to medieval literature’ tends to ‘obscure the very medievalness of that literature.’²⁵ This rings true of Hans Robert Jauss’ theory that certain texts are surrounded by a ‘horizon of expectation’: that over time reception gained by literature changes its meaning for future generations. Unless historicised reading is overtly rejected by a reader, choosing instead to read an ancient text, for example, without first researching the history of it, how can the reader’s reaction be unscathed by established ideas?²⁶ This concept will prove useful to the understanding of Glasgow’s imbalanced history; particularly the literary and academic environment of the eighteenth century. Meanwhile, Irwin-Zarecka reminds us that ‘the apparent adaptability of “collective memory”... may lead to glossing over some key

²² Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, *New German Critique* 65 (New York: New German Critique, 1995), 125-133 (129).

²³ *Ibid*, 132.

²⁴ Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008 [1990]), 9.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 259.

²⁶ Hans Robert Jauss, ‘Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory’, *New Literary History* 2:1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970 [1967]), 7-37 (8).

empirical questions about the relationship between private and public remembrance.²⁷ Therefore, establishing memory studies was, and still is, a scholarly back-and-forth, an exchange of theories as to the changing definitions and applications of memory, ‘collective’ or otherwise.

In 1995, Andreas Huyssen’s seminal *Twilight Memories* reassessed the obsessive tendencies of memory in society. It pertains to a new mode of study; that the recent ‘boom’, as he terms it, in memory studies is borne of the fear that the past will fall into oblivion. By assuming the established theories on memory of cultural remembrance and the effects of new media on society, Huyssen asks if we will remember anything at all once the memory boom dies out. This work is one of the most substantial for its challenging of original mnemonic frameworks, as Assmann theorised in his new model for cultural memory. The concept of amnesia at the heart of the book is reiterated in 2000, as Huyssen seeks to defend his original ideas:

What if the relationship between memory and forgetting were actually being transformed under cultural pressures in which new information technologies, media politics, and fast-paced consumption are beginning to take their toll? After all, many of the mass-marketed memories we consume are “imagined memories” to begin with and thus more easily forgotten than lived memories.²⁸

The idea of consuming ‘imagined memories’ is resonant of the issues surrounding Scottish history which will also be explored. While not necessarily within the memory studies field, there are texts which address the unwitting consumption of an altered or forgotten past. We may consider the importance of tourism in Scotland and how it deals with the reinterpretation (and merging) of history and folklore. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger’s *The Invention of Tradition* (1983) contains, for example, an inquiry into the ‘invention’ of Highland customs by Hugh Trevor-Roper. Murray Pittock’s *The Invention of Scotland* (1991) does much to correct Trevor-Roper’s dismissive assumptions; reconsidering the connections between the contexts of certain authors and the misleading images that emerged.

What this reveals is the persistent presence of memory in all forms of critical studies. From medieval history to eighteenth-century Scottish literature, the case is made time and again for a *reinterpretation* of the ‘image’ or ‘character’ which has evolved between *then* and *now*. Scholars of memory therefore worry that the field is too self-reflexive and in need

²⁷ Iwona Irwin Zarecka, *Frames of Remembrance: The Dynamics of Collective Memory* (New Jersey: Transaction, 1994), 47.

²⁸ Andreas Huyssen, ‘Present Pasts: Media, Politics, Amnesia’, *Public Culture* 12: 1 (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2000), 21-38 (27).

of reshaping or solidifying somehow. Indeed, the 1990s also saw a number of explanatory articles in memory studies. Charles S. Maier's 'A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy and Denial' (1993) posed the question: 'can there be too much memory?'²⁹—going against Nora's assumption that 'there is so little of it left.' In a sense, this highlights a shift in the field. Nora's worry that France's 'true' past would fade away had struck a chord; scholars were now deciding how 'memory' and 'history' could be distinguishable. Maier's article deals with the field as though it is already inflated, proposing, as Huyssen suggests, that memory had become an addiction for scholars and cultural institutions.³⁰ Other important works include Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam's 'Collective Memory – What Is It?' (1996) and Kerwin Lee Klein's 'On the Emergence of *Memory* in Historical Discourse' (2000) – the latter ushering in a plentiful, more refined, decade of memory studies scholarship.

Wulf Kansteiner addresses the issues of the 1990s best in 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A methodological critique of collective memory studies' (2002), this time offering the concepts of media studies and reception as the solution. It borrows from media and communication studies to formulate three 'types' of historical factors: 1) The intellectual and cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past; 2) the memory makers who selectively adopt and manipulate these traditions; and 3) the memory consumers who use, ignore, or transform the objects of memory according to their own interests.³¹ Kansteiner praises Nora's ambitious *Les Lieux de mémoire* despite its lack of focus compared to the works of Halbwachs and Assmann. Paraphrasing Nora, he states that 'the fall from memory grace occurred in the nineteenth century with the acceleration of everyday life through industrial and social modernization.'³² Although I will return to Glasgow in more detail; this coincides with the conviction that Georgian Glasgow can be subjectified to interrogatory analyses in the hope of uncovering an image of Glasgow presently eclipsed by the Victorian era.

In 2003 one of the first major collections of essays concerning cultural memory, by then a solidified, popular term, was published. *Cultural Memory*, edited by Edric Caldicott and Anne Fuchs, engages with the emerging strands of memory studies through literature and art - including studies of Walter Benjamin (1892-1940) and the French novelist Louis-Ferdinand Céline (1894-1961). In the same year, Barbara A. Misztal's *Theories of Social*

²⁹ Charles S. Maier, 'A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy and Denial' from *History and Memory* 5:2 (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1993), 136-152 (136).

³⁰ Ibid, 140.

³¹ Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory', 180.

³² Ibid, 183.

Remembering was published. As an overview of the development of memory studies, Misztal successfully highlights the different media and transmission of memory; using the differences to broaden the field into other disciplines of social science. And yet, for all the work done on defining, expanding, and explaining memory, Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins declared in 2004 that ‘social memory studies is a nonparadigmatic, transdisciplinary, centerless enterprise.’³³

But, why is the increasingly enhanced discussion of memory studies frequently and worryingly reconsidered? Surely the centrelessness of memory allows for its adaptability; its effectiveness across different disciplines should ensure that it is never controlled by just the one. Still, the literature review thus far has accounted for the momentous growth of the field and the stop-start nature of its entry into academia. Let us therefore look back to Mary Carruthers’ view ‘that modern culture in the West is documentary.’ Rather than being simply ‘memorial’, the ‘documentary’ nature of Western culture denotes the various media and conflicting formation of memory both personally and in the public realm. It is therefore important to introduce another concept; one which provides a meaningful explanation of memory’s undoubted transience. The theory of ‘composure’ was first introduced in Graham Dawson’s *Soldier Heroes* (1994). It is the idea that storytelling is of cultural importance because we tell stories to locate ourselves within a cultural framework while reflecting on the past. Composure therefore consists of the pressures of ‘personal desire’ and ‘group dynamics’ in the construction of collective memory.³⁴ It is between the space of ‘personal’ and ‘group’ that room for error exists. For, surely, no memory can pass from the event to the mind and out again without some alteration, however unintentional. Penny Summerfield’s article ‘Culture and Composure: Creating Narratives of the Gendered Self in Oral History Interviews’ (2004) deals with this theory expertly, looking forward to Lynn Abrams’ seminal text *Oral History Theory* (2010). Composure and Oral History do much to ground and personalise the often abstract theories of memory which, as we have seen, often encompass all sorts of memory terminology and sometimes stray off course. Working under the heading ‘communicative memory’, these theories are as much a part of memory studies as any other for their relevance to the live, generational impressions of bygone events, people, and places.

Chief among works of interdisciplinary memory theory in the last five years include Andrew Blaikie’s *The Scots Imagination and Modern Memory* (2010) and Aleida

³³ Jeffrey K. Olick, ‘Social Memory Studies: From “Collective Memory” to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices’, *Annual Review of Sociology* 24 (California: Annual Reviews, 1998), 105-140 (105).

³⁴ As outlined on the Glasgow University website in relation to the Robert Burns Beyond Text project: <http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/critical/research/researchcentresandnetworks/robertburnsstudies/ourresearch/burns/introductiontothewebresources/> [accessed 08/12/15].

Assmann's *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization* (2011) which, despite their different methodological approaches, have added greatly to the field. In the past decade, there has also been a significant rise in anthologies of scholarship on memory studies. Some of the key texts are Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead's *Theories of Memory* (2007); Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning's *Media and Cultural Memory* (2008); Indra Sengupta's *Memory, History, and Colonialism* (2009); Susannah Radstone and Bill Schwarz's *Memory* (2010); and *Cultural Memories* edited by Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (2011). Today, the field remains open-ended and rife with competing definitions. But, rather than being discouraged to participate within it, the strength that memory studies lends scholarship in the humanities has been shown to be crucial. Ann Rigney's *The Afterlives of Walter Scott* (2012) is a fitting example of this: utilising the literature of the writer while engaging with its provenance, reception, and legacy.

As such, this review will now consider the development of scholarship concerning the Scottish Enlightenment and how Glasgow has been placed (or misplaced) within it. By doing this, it is hoped that the spatial impressions of the Scottish Enlightenment can be negotiated with.

II

This section of the literature review will outline the trajectory of relevant scholarship on the Scottish Enlightenment. Given the review of memory studies theory, it can be stated that the development of scholarship on this subject reveals the impaired cultural memory of Glasgow. Of course, there are other methods of educating on this history such as in schools, in museums, on television and radio. However, given the content of this thesis, it is appropriate to consider the effect of the relevant scholarship on Glasgow's eighteenth-century 'image'.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica defines the Scottish Enlightenment as 'the conjunction of minds, ideas, and publications in Scotland during the whole of the second half of the eighteenth century and extending over several decades on either side of that period.' And yet, while one cannot argue with the fact that, like most historical concepts, 'the Scottish Enlightenment was neither a single school of philosophical thought nor a single intellectual movement,' one might take issue with the statement that 'the primary focus of the activity of the Scottish Enlightenment...was the city of Edinburgh.'³⁵ This oft-repeated and widely

³⁵ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/529682/Scottish-Enlightenment> [accessed 08/12/15].

accepted centralisation of the Scottish Enlightenment is one of the core concerns of this thesis.

The heart of this is readable in one of the landmark texts of the 1960s, David Daiches' *The Paradox of Scottish Culture* (1964). In this brief text, Daiches considers the fallout of the Union of 1707 for Scots with a focus on the burgeoning intellectual culture in the capital such as James Craig's (1739-1795) designing of Edinburgh's New Town. It is almost as though his inquiry into post-Union Scottish culture requires a separation of Scottish culture also, defining Edinburgh as the place of Enlightenment (the third section of the text is called 'The Heavenly City of Edinburgh Philosophers'); effectively relegating other places and their respective histories. This treatment of Glasgow is an early instance of a persistent historiographical issue in the Enlightenment.

In the 1970s, three new texts on the Scottish Enlightenment were printed. The first was Arthur Donovan's *Philosophical chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment: the doctrines and discoveries of William Cullen and Joseph Black* (1975). It is crucial that this text, being the first to deal with the importance of chemistry as a landmark in the Scottish Enlightenment, also gives Glasgow its place. In chapter two, it will be shown that Donovan's text treats Glasgow and the role of these great Enlightenment figures with a sound understanding of the cultural and religious situation in the city. The following year, Anand C. Chitnis' *The Scottish Enlightenment* was published, followed by Jane Rendall's *The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment* in 1978. Of the three, however, Donovan's text remains as useful as it was upon its release. The latter two texts were criticised much for their shortcomings as regards their stated aims. Chitnis' text is said to be greatly imbalanced ('a frustrating absence of middle, coupled with an inadequate grasp of the end and an over-attachment to the question of beginnings')³⁶ with a too-shallow portrayal of the major Enlightenment figures. Rendall's text is said to be similarly misleading, dealing fully with only a forty-year period of the eighteenth-century (1740-1780)³⁷ and, despite the inclusion of Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), fails to offer much information about the environments in which the likes of and David Hume (1711-1776), Adam Smith (1723-1790), and Adam Ferguson (1723-1816) spent their time.

In the 1980s, theories of the Scottish Enlightenment were significantly developed, beginning with Bruce P. Lenman's *Integration and Enlightenment* (1981) and *The origins and nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (1982), which was a landmark collection of essays

³⁶ J. C. Stewart-Robertson, 'The Scottish Enlightenment: A Social History (review)', *Journal of the History of Philosophy* 17:3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979), 350-351 (350).

³⁷ Roger L. Emerson, 'The Origins of the Scottish Enlightenment (review)', *The Historian* 42:4 (Florida: Phi Alpha Theta, 1980), 658.

doing much to trace the Enlightenment in Scotland back to the seventeenth century. Edited by Roy Campbell and Andrew Skinner, the essays are said to ‘collectively and firmly reject Trevor-Roper’s thesis that “at the end of the seventeenth century, Scotland was a by-word for irredeemable poverty, social backwardness, political faction.”’³⁸ As with Trevor-Roper’s overzealous rejection of James Macpherson’s (1736-1796) Ossian poems in his assessment of Highland tradition, his work is cited again here in a bid to correct the unfair perceptions of pre-industrial Scotland. In a sense, this collection is made all the more important by Lenman’s text the previous year which, beginning *after* the Jacobite defeat at Culloden in 1746, manages to enhance and combine discussions of identity, industry, literature, and Empire. Indeed, this wide scope of inquiry will become all the more relevant as this thesis progresses through the Georgian period.

The importance of the Edinburgh New Town has been noted above, but in terms of architecture elsewhere in Scotland, *Order in Space and Society* (1982) edited by Thomas A. Markus does much to contextualise the theories and philosophies of Enlightenment. As regards Glasgow, Markus elucidates the legacies of the city’s eighteenth-century hospitals: The Town’s (constructed in the early 1730s) and the Royal Infirmary (early 1790s). In so doing, Glasgow’s place in the scientific and medical realm of the Scottish Enlightenment is explained, expanding on the work done by Donovan. This work on the physical locations and buildings helps deconstruct the abstract notion that the most important ideas and philosophers were housed in Edinburgh. The remit of Glasgow’s place in the Enlightenment was developed again in 1985, when W. F. Bynum and Roy Porter’s *William Hunter and the eighteenth-century medical world* was published. In this volume, the Hunterian Museum is examined in the context of its original location on the grounds of the University of Glasgow on High Street. William (1718-1783) and John Hunter’s (1728-1793) connections in London take their Glasgow-centric developments and offer a very distinguished, and indeed memorable, portrait of the Scottish Enlightenment.

At this mid-point of the 1980s the focus was swinging back to Edinburgh, strengthening its status as *the* city of Scottish Enlightenment. In 1985 Richard Sher’s *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* was published. While this work does not deal with the scientific Enlightenment, it was a well-timed exposé of the rise of the moderate literati and their influence on the kirk which, before the likes of Hugh Blair (1718-1800) and John Home (1722-1808), was much less tolerant of the emerging, secular philosophies of reason and virtue. For all its scholarly depth and sensitivity towards the issues surrounding

³⁸ R. H. Campbell & Andrew Skinner eds. *The Origin and nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), blurb.

Scotland's eighteenth-century cultural milieu, Sher's focus on the Edinburgh moderates reaffirms Glasgow as the dark, devout stronghold of Presbyterianism. This is not to say that Sher elides the importance of the University of Glasgow and the work being done there (in fact, he is one of the key scholars in promoting the Glasgow Enlightenment); but the historiographical focus on Edinburgh has obscured the cultural memories of *all* other centres of the Scottish Enlightenment.

In 1986, this was all but made permanent. Together with Jean and Peter Jones, David Daiches edited *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-1790*.³⁹ This volume is a collection of five essays (on David Hume, Adam Smith, Joseph Black, James Hutton, and the relationship between the Scottish Enlightenment and America), introducing 'a drier Edinburgh than one encounters elsewhere, and one largely uncluttered by poverty, Masonry, Jacobitism, or the kirk...[or, indeed, by] the writers and the lawyers which this city has always produced in disproportionate plenty.'⁴⁰ Being an introduction to the brightest and best of the Enlightenment, the editors' choice to perpetuate the capital's importance above all other cities does not bode well for Glasgow or Aberdeen in the public imagination. The preface begins, 'Not only in Edinburgh... but in Glasgow, Aberdeen, and to a lesser extent throughout Lowland Scotland,' and Daiches does make the statement that 'the Scottish Enlightenment can be said to have begun in Glasgow' in the form of Francis Hutcheson, but Edinburgh *is* said to be the centre of the 'heyday' of the movement.⁴¹ This is backed up by an overwhelming preference for Edinburgh-based examples.⁴² It is therefore unusual that the text features an image from the Foulis Academy in Glasgow as the front cover, yet pertains much more to the pre-eminence of Edinburgh. This tokenistic offering to Glasgow was removed when the text was reprinted in 1996, featuring a portrait of David Hume on the cover instead of the lively scene in Glasgow.

Even the title of the text, 'Hotbed of Genius', is borrowed from Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker*, above. These overshadowed Glasgow connections represent a serious gap in the historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment. The brevity of this text does not reduce its impact, for it was the companion to a larger event: a public exhibition of the same name sponsored by the University of Edinburgh's Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities. Focussing on the works of Hume, Smith, Black, and Hutton, the exhibition took

³⁹ This work, published by Edinburgh University Press, was published again in 1996 by the Saltire Society with the title reversed: *The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-90: A Hotbed of Genius*.

⁴⁰ Alan T. McKenzie, 'Robert Burns (review) & *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-1790* (review)', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 22:2 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988-89), 253-256 (256).

⁴¹ David Daiches, Peter Jones, Jean Jones eds., *A Hotbed of Genius: The Scottish Enlightenment, 1730-1790* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1986), 1.

⁴² The index page for the above shows just 4 page references for 'Glasgow' whereas 'Edinburgh' has 36.

place as part of the Edinburgh International Festival, during which time relevant lectures, seminars, and an art exhibition ('The Golden Age of Scottish Painting') also promoted Edinburgh as the centre of Scotland's very own Enlightenment. The importance of these events cannot be overstated; they form the meeting place for the public and professional researchers (in academia and museums). Indeed, the end of this thesis will examine how the cultural memory of a time and place can be altered when exhibitions are produced in the midst of wider civic celebrations.

Given the intense concentrated effort to localise the Scottish Enlightenment in the capital, subsequent literature on the subject is inevitably tinged with the celebratory tone of 1986. This is not to say that new ideas were not introduced, and that new people were not given their rightful Scottish Enlightenment context. In 1989, for instance, yet another edited volume (again by Peter Jones) was printed. *The 'Science of Man' in the Scottish Enlightenment* does indeed present a wider remit. Hume is dealt with first, but his Glasgow connections (he was a member of the Glasgow Literary Society) do not go wanting. Beside the attention paid to the important work of Thomas Reid (1710-1796) in Glasgow, whose 'Common Sense School' of Philosophy in Scotland has kept his fame very much alive, James Boswell (1740-1795) is introduced to the fray by Thomas Crawford, helping diversify the cast of the literati in this far-reaching text.

In the 1990s, Edinburgh's mantle as the crown of the Scottish Enlightenment was challenged. Roy Campbell's important article in *History Today* set the tone. 'Scotland's Neglected Enlightenment' (1990) is the first serious effort to alter the historiographical trajectory of the Scottish Enlightenment. Campbell begins by saying that 'confining the genius of the age geographically' only 'detracts from its influence over the rest of Scotland.'⁴³ Strikingly, Campbell declares the provenance of the Scottish Enlightenment as being multifarious, diverse, and certainly *not* in the capital:

The contrast from earlier generations is clear in a remarkable line of distinguished philosophers, which was Glasgow's greatest contribution to the Enlightenment. The hotbed of genius which was appropriated by Edinburgh had its intellectual foundations in the work in Glasgow. Glasgow led; Edinburgh followed.⁴⁴

Indeed, Gershom Carmichael (1672-1729) and Francis Hutcheson made way for the age of Adam Smith and John Millar (1735-1801), which was completed by the incoming Thomas

⁴³ Roy Campbell, 'Scotland's Neglected Enlightenment,' *History Today* 40:5, 1990: <http://www.historytoday.com/roy-campbell/scotlands-neglected-enlightenment> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Reid. When the history of the last in Aberdeen is considered, the Scottish Enlightenment can be further decentralised. The key texts dealing with Aberdeen are: *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment* (1987) edited by Jennifer J. Carter and Joan H. Pittock; Paul Wood's *The Aberdeen Enlightenment* (1995). The groundwork for these local approaches was laid by Nick Phillipson and Rosalind Mitchison in *Scotland in the Age of Improvement* (1970). In Wood's text, the importance of Universities as sites of cultural memory in the development of the Scottish Enlightenment can be read. Edinburgh had been canvassed as the Enlightened City, including its wynds, howffs, and new streets as well as its University. Aberdeen was unique in having two institutions of higher learning in the eighteenth century: King's College (1495) and Marischal College (1593). Wood does much to elucidate the growth of the Enlightenment here. In so doing, the importance of Francis Hutcheson is challenged and, perhaps unwittingly, Wood instigates a sort of contest between Aberdeen and Glasgow's early eighteenth-century Enlightenment which, in turn, confirms Edinburgh's pre-eminence. After all, it is common for the fight for second place to be more heated when the First ribbon has already been won.

Nonetheless, this text certainly inspired a new methodology in Scottish Enlightenment theory, as is evident by the two seminal texts in 1995 concerning Glasgow. They were anticipated by the excellent collection, *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (1993), edited by John Dwyer and Richard Sher, which included a set of more refined studies on the matters raised in 1986, such as the Scottish Enlightenment and America, and new work by Kenneth Simpson, whose landmark work in 1988 (*The Protean Scot*) was one of the first efforts to examine the Age of Reason through literature, rather than the other way round. Indeed, Simpson's work on Smollett in that volume remains a crucial starting point for Smollett scholars.

The first Glasgow text, *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (1995), was edited by Andrew Hook and Richard Sher. Covering a very large expanse of time, from the last decade of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth, this volume stresses the importance of the University of Glasgow (founded in 1451) and the Enlightenment outside the academy as it abounded in Glasgow. From Boswell to John Moore (1729-1802) and the medical profession, to poetry, religion, and more American connections, Glasgow is firmly and convincingly upheld as a stronghold of eighteenth-century intellectual life. Kathleen Holcomb's essay on Thomas Reid, and Paul Wood's (editor of the Aberdeen text, above) inquiry into John Anderson (1726-1796), help make the case that Glasgow is a more-than-suitable case study of Enlightenment.

In the same year, Manchester University Press published *Glasgow, Volume I*. Edited by Tom Devine and Gordon Jackson, this text represents the most comprehensive overview of Glasgow's cultural and social history in the long eighteenth century to date. The Enlightenment is not left behind. In fact, Richard Sher, for perhaps the first time, considers the three principal factors of Georgian Glasgow together in his contribution: 'Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow'. In *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, almost all of the chief players were accounted for and, while the Foulis brothers were mentioned, there was no meaningful study of *their* legacy. Sher's article in *Glasgow, Volume I* does much to correct this, suggesting their pre-eminent classical Enlightenment which pre-dates Edinburgh and even, in certain respects, London. There were other important works published in the 1990s, but the focus on Aberdeen and, to a larger extent, Glasgow, changed the course of Scottish Enlightenment scholarship for the better. In the same way that the 1986 Edinburgh International Festival trumpeted the achievements of that city, it is likely that by becoming the European City of Culture in 1990, scholars were beginning to realise the depth of Glasgow's history.

In the 2000s, Scottish Enlightenment theory was improved by the work of Alexander Broadie. His initial work *The Scottish Enlightenment* (2001) did much to build on the scholarship of the previous three decades. It also helped reassess the independence of the Scottish Enlightenment, following Roy Porter's *Enlightenment* (2000), which set the Scottish Enlightenment 'as a subset of the "British Enlightenment" or "English Enlightenment" and a mere fiction of the Scottish nationalist imagination.'⁴⁵ The threat of the Scottish Enlightenment being absorbed by the British Enlightenment (as though the British Empire did not threaten to do this already), was not long-lasting. In 2003, Broadie edited *The Cambridge Companion to the Scottish Enlightenment* (2003), offering a balanced view of the nation's multifaceted achievements and cultures.⁴⁶ Together with books by Arthur Herman (2001) and James Buchan (2004), Broadie's *Companion* represents a watershed moment in the popular historiography of the Scottish Enlightenment. In 2009, Broadie had his *A History of Scottish Philosophy* published and, with an aim of keeping Scotland's European links to the fore, had his *Agreeable Connexions* printed in 2012. Elsewhere in the early 2000s, the importance of the sciences were greatly redefined and developed, for instance, in Charles W. J. Withers and Paul Wood's edited volume, *Science*

⁴⁵ Richard Sher, 'The Scottish Enlightenment: The Scots' Invention of the Modern World (review) & The Scottish Enlightenment: The Historical Age of the Historical Nation (review)', *English Historical Review* 118:479 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 1397-1399.

⁴⁶ As Murray Pittock states in *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature* (2012), Broadie's *Companion* is the best-selling edition of the Cambridge series.

and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment (2002), which contains substantial sections on Glasgow's intrinsic role.

The last decade has also witnessed an important rise in texts about the books of the Scottish Enlightenment. This allows us to combine the ideas and theories of the philosophers and literati with a grounded, traceable history of material culture. As this thesis will show, the existence of such material culture helps preserve cultural memory. Key among these works were Richard Sher's *The Enlightenment & the Book* (2006) and Robert Crawford's *Scotland's Books* (2007); with the former attending to the issues established in the 90s and the latter being more of a helpful, yet scholarly, overview. These works were anticipated by an exhibition in 2000 which, alongside its companion text, portrayed the Scottish Enlightenment effectively. Edited by Richard Sher, Roger Emerson, Stephen Brown, and Paul Wood, *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment* exemplifies this essential combination of ideas with material culture framed for the public. Alongside interesting examples of the Foulis brothers' productions, Roger Emerson's excellent essay on Archibald Campbell, 3rd Duke of Argyle (1682-1761) signals a shift in the perception of the man after whom Argyle Street in Glasgow was named. Rather than seeing him as 'another Anglified Scot who did not protect national interests', Emerson considers his patronage and wide-reaching influence in eighteenth-century Scotland.⁴⁷ The potential of this essay was recently realised in Emerson's extensive text *An Enlightened Duke* (2013). Beforehand, Emerson's *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2008) did much to revive the links between Scotland's ancient institutions. In terms of material culture and bibliographic scholarship, a landmark achievement has certainly been *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland* series, volume two of which (*Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800*, published in 2012), has retained the diverse, multi-directional notion of the Scottish Enlightenment.

A topic such as this has of course been handled by an ever-expanding network of researchers and authors and, as such, they cannot all be harnessed here. In terms of Glasgow's place, one of the most recent works to focus on, rather than shy away from, the city's dual enlightenment as outlined by Sher in 1995 was Christopher Berry's *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2013). Berry's work takes a refreshing stance on Adam Smith who, as this thesis will show, has become something of a symbol of right-wing capitalism, overshadowing his cultural memory in Glasgow. The chain reaction

⁴⁷ Roger Emerson, 'Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A., or, The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyle (1682-1761)', *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment, an Exhibition with Essays* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, 2000), 13-39 (13).

of his legacy has been damaging to the memory of Glasgow's Enlightenment, but points as narrow as this will be elucidated fully in the relevant chapter.

The next, and last, section of the review will outline the histories of Glasgow, from the first in the early eighteenth-century to the most recent texts. This will show that, concomitant to the texts on the Scottish Enlightenment, Glasgow's history has been portrayed on its own terms in a context out with the Enlightenment. These histories pertain much more to the lasting cultural memory of Glasgow which, as we will see, is dominated by images of poor working-class populations and heavy industry rather than literary society or the arts.

III

This brief section of the literature review will outline the histories of Glasgow and how the most popular impressions of Glasgow today (the River Clyde... shipbuilding... mobs of working men) were constructed. Besides being very masculine images, they are very 'dated'. This word is not used without irony. This thesis will show that by tracing the cultural memories of an even *older* time than the industrial monolith that is Victorian Glasgow, the city can be understood in *new* terms. The main purpose of doing this is to readjust the lens on Georgian Glasgow, and discover the literary men and women who are windows into a largely forgotten time.

Before the first history of Glasgow was published in 1736, Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) travelled in Scotland as an agent for the English government in their upcoming bid to promote the Union. His travels in 1706-7 are recounted in his *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724-27). He describes Glasgow's key buildings, including St. Mungo's Cathedral and the University on High Street. His oft-quoted praise reads:

Glasgow is, indeed, a very fine city; the four principal streets are the fairest for breadth, and the finest built that I have ever seen in one city together. The houses are all of stone, and generally equal and uniform in height, as well as in front; the lower story generally stands on vast square dorick [sic] columns, not round pillars, and arches between give passage into the shops, adding to the strength as well as beauty of the building; in a word, 'tis the cleanest and beautifullest, and best built city in Britain, London excepted.⁴⁸

As Hook and Sher remind us, 'Defoe had a sharp eye for Glasgow's enormous commercial potential, particularly in regard to the growing trade with America.'⁴⁹ In this, we can see that

⁴⁸ For a full range of Defoe's account, see: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/travellers/Defoe/38> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴⁹ Andrew Hook and Richard Sher, 'Introduction: Glasgow and the Enlightenment', *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, eds. Andrew Hook & Richard B. Sher (Phantassie: Tuckwell, 1995), 1-17 (3).

Defoe was using Glasgow as a sort of emblem of the Union which, in time, would become the Second City of the Empire. These semantics are the same which have overwhelmed Glasgow's eighteenth-century culture of literature and arts. Empire usurps Enlightenment, Victorian usurps Georgian. But how did this happen over the course of the printed histories of Glasgow?

Glasgow's inaugural history was written by John M'Ure in 1736. *A View of the City of Glasgow* considers the origins of the town and its growth into a city of commerce, including descriptions of buildings, streets, markets, fairs, and organisations. After a considerable gap, John Gibson had his *The History of Glasgow, from earliest accounts to the present time* (1777) published, followed by James Denholm's *An historical account and topographical description of the city of Glasgow and suburbs* twenty years later. The next major history, and perhaps one of the most important in terms of cultural memory, was a reprint of M'Ure's work by MacVean and Wylie in 1830. Their expanded version of Glasgow's first history includes an account of the city's growth following the Union, and the unprecedented increase in wealth and population. Beside the popular markers of Georgian Glasgow such as the Tobacco Lords, an appendix of poetry and published works in Glasgow including Zachary Boyd (1585-1653) and the Foulis brothers helps to refocus the history of the city on literary endeavours. In 1843, Wallace Harvey's *Chronicles of Saint Mungo* offers very informative anecdotes, spanning through Glasgow's known history and, at several points, connecting up the hitherto disparate men and women with important links to Glasgow. From here on, the historiography of Glasgow becomes diversified and self-aware. For instance, five more histories are printed, four of them by new authors, between 1847 and 1884. James Pagan's *Sketches of the History of Glasgow* (1847) and Robert Reid's *Old Glasgow and Its Environs, Historical and Topographical* (1864) build on the tradition initiated by M'Ure. Together they went on to write volume two (1884) of the *Glasgow Past and Present* series, which was anticipated by Andrew MacGeorge and George MacGregor, whose works on Old Glasgow considered everything from the city's coat of arms to the Roman occupation to eighteenth-century growth.

In the first half of the twentieth century, the stand out text on the Georgian period is volume three of the new *History of Glasgow*, written by George Eyre-Todd and published in 1934. Eyre-Todd's comprehensive work does not discriminate towards certain subsections of Glasgow's past. Indeed, his text *The Glasgow Poets* (1903) was the first anthology of Glaswegian literature. In 1898, James A. Kilpatrick's *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow* introduced many of the characters which Eyre-Todd would go on to include in his anthology. Kilpatrick's admirable aim was to offer, as he puts it, 'an effective rejoinder to

the common reproach that Glasgow has cut a poor figure in the literature of the country.’⁵⁰ His exhaustive reading provides an excellent chronology of Glasgow’s literature, criss-crossing the best known names in literary history to date.

Indeed, it is not the task of this review to outline the historiography of Scottish Literature. An overview of this subject would only deflect from the focus of this thesis, which is to utilise interdisciplinary techniques in disseminating various themes that will help rejuvenate discussions on Georgian Glasgow. Literature is, of course, at the heart of this, and so the major texts of Scottish Literature will be deployed when appropriate throughout, especially those which combine literary and social history – as in David Craig’s *Scottish literature and the Scottish people, 1680-1830* (1961) – and those which portray the condition of the canon, as in Maurice Lindsay’s *History of Scottish Literature* (1977). These texts and others like them do not usually focus on one specific town or city. Instead, the writers are the first instance of discussion. For this reason, only a few references are required to summarise the place of Glasgow in Scottish Literature as a field in its own right.

Four years after David Craig’s seminal text, above, Jack House’s popular *The Heart of Glasgow* was published. Although not an historical work, this account of Glasgow remains widely read, going through four editions between 1965 and 1982, with the most recent version printed in 2005. Its overview of the city does not neglect the eighteenth century and, in spite of the absence of scholarly research which went into other works, it contains many relevant truths. For instance, House states: ‘However important Glaswegians consider Glasgow, it’s either practically unknown to the rest of the world or known for all the wrong things.’⁵¹ We may argue that Glasgow’s international profile has been changed, especially in the Year of Culture in 1990 and in the 2014 Commonwealth Games. However, the latter point, that Glasgow is remembered for ‘the wrong reasons’, is worth more thought. Despite the scholarly efforts to offer new Glasgow histories from the 1970s onwards, Glasgow has, on the whole, held fast to its industrial fortitude over anything else.

Maurice Lindsay’s *Portrait of Glasgow* (1972) and David Daiches’ *Glasgow* (1977) were the first modern histories of the city to include image-plates, offering a new visual sense of the city’s past. This new method should not be underestimated. Unlike the works of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, book plates can offer a sort of cultural memory of their own. By examining these images (such as views of the Trongate area and paintings of the Cathedral), one can witness the permanence of certain narratives (such as the Tobacco Lords on their ‘plain-stanes’ and the religious sectarianism that has historically

⁵⁰ James A. Kilpatrick, *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Saint Mungo Press, 1989), x.

⁵¹ Jack House, *The Heart of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1965), 16.

besieged the city). Similarly, Andrew Gibb's *Glasgow* (1983) and Irene Maver's text of the same name (2000) offer revisions and repetitions of certain Glasgow stories. The glaring absence in most of these works, however, is the presence of the Scottish Enlightenment and Glasgow-based literary culture. As this thesis will prove, these absent factors of Glasgow's history, when recalled, can enrich the public's understanding of it and induce scholars of the Enlightenment and Scottish Literature to consider the men and women who are often overlooked. Several Glasgow novels have cried out for just as much.

In Edward Gaitens' *Dance of the Apprentices* (1948), Eddy Macdonnell imagines the growth of Glasgow through its streets, as a mailman might encounter the different epochs of history in his route: 'Where the working women of Glasgow had worked for men and families, continuing the generations there since the great industrial city was a small, charming town... Those streets that still have memories of olden days when the Tobacco Lords swaggered the pavements.'⁵² Topography of this kind in fiction (the narrative extends to almost 500 words) is symbolic of the place of memory in literature, and its usefulness in the cases where scholarship has failed to recognise the importance of a particular time and place.

The same foreshortening of time in order to convey the changes that have occurred in Glasgow is used in other novels, such as the classic work by Archie Hind, *The Dear Green Place* (1966). One scene in particular places main character Mat Craig on a bridge, 'looking over the parapet into the dirty water, at the very spot where Boswell had stood and looked at the widest streets in the whole of Europe.' This harkening back to Defoe's version of eighteenth-century Glasgow is something of a consolation for Mat, who sees instead 'a vehicular sclerosis, a congestion of activity... [feeling] again a wave of nostalgia for another kind of existence – waxed fruit, sword sticks, snuff, tobacco...'⁵³ Hind even goes on to describe the Horatio Nelson (1758-1805) monument in Glasgow Green and 'its memories' of battlefields and far-flung objects of interest. Herein lies the potential for cultural memory in the present: the meeting of Glasgow's past in its present-day literature. Moira Burgess offers the most comprehensive overview of such instances in her *The Glasgow Novel*, now in its third edition (1972; 1986; 1999). Indeed, all of the Glasgow-based literature used throughout this thesis can be found and contextualised in Burgess' classic guide.

Of course, these novels are not equally useful or enlightening. Cairns Craig has analysed the city as such, considering Glasgow 'as an unimaginable place' in the context of

⁵² Edward Gaitens, *Dance of the Apprentices* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 2001 [1948]), 247-248.

⁵³ Archie Hind, *The Dear Green Place & Fur Sadie* (Edinburgh: Polygon, 2008 [1966]), 62.

Alasdair Gray's *Lanark* (1981).⁵⁴ One scene in particular, involving Thaw and McAlpin, seems to sum up the most dominant memories of Glasgow's cultural landscape. When McAlpin (like Jack House, above) asks why nobody ever notices that Glasgow is a magnificent city, Thaw replies by saying that, unlike Florence, Paris, London, and New York, nobody visits Glasgow having seen it 'in paintings, novels, history books [or] films.' For Thaw, Glasgow can be summed up by 'a music-hall song and a few bad novels.'⁵⁵ This damning conviction is somewhat resonant of Jauss' theories on 'expectation' (above) and, in this case, speaks to the dominance of the industrial era in the minds of those who consider what makes Glasgow great ('we were once the world's foremost makers of several useful things.')⁵⁶

Indeed, Craig points to 'profound amnesia about the real nature of Scottish culture and the actual history of the arts in Scotland.'⁵⁷ Put simply: it is the aim of this thesis to examine this 'profound amnesia' of Georgian Glasgow via memory studies theory and a varied, interdisciplinary body of scholarship.

Method & Structure

The foregoing literature review outlined the fields of inquiry which will form the theoretical framework of this thesis. In order to harness these fields meaningfully and successfully, this thesis will consider the Georgian era both chronologically and thematically. The core purpose of each chapter is to utilise the theories outlined above and critically analyse the condition of the cultural memory of Glasgow for that section of the Georgian era.

Chapter one examines the early-to-mid eighteenth century through the case study of Robert (1707-1776) and Andrew Foulis (1712-1775). Their classical version of the Glasgow Enlightenment thrived alongside a deep-rooted culture of religious fanaticism, often intolerant of emerging ideas. It will be shown that their work connected both philosophical and religious ideologies with commercial enterprise, effectively altering the course of Georgian Glasgow's cultural development. Glasgow's subsidiary place in the literary histories of Scotland, especially in regard to print culture, will be firmly challenged in this chapter. The cultural memory of the brothers will also be examined, the aim being to explain the impaired legacy of literature and the arts in Glasgow.

⁵⁴ Cairns Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel: Narrative and the National Imagination* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 33-34.

⁵⁵ Alasdair Gray, *Lanark: a life in 4 books* (Edinburgh: Canongate, 2007 [1981]), 243.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 244.

⁵⁷ Craig, *The Modern Scottish Novel*, 34.

Chapter two looks more closely at the scientific and medical realm of the Scottish Enlightenment through the life and works of Tobias Smollett, whose connections with Glasgow have been so obscured in the context of both literary history and Glasgow history that they are barely visible. Smollett's manifold ventures and relationships, which are often portrayed in his novels, help us to reinterpret Glasgow as a stronghold for a diverse and intellectual group of Enlightened people. This chapter will also consider the relationship between Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London. It will be argued that the undoubtedly *impaired* cultural memory of Tobias Smollett has, as with the Foulis brothers, prevented Glasgow from being recognised quite as fully as it should be for its Georgian achievements in culture, medicine and science.

Chapter three is a progression in the Georgian timeline, connecting the mid-eighteenth-century thoughts and theories with emerging ideas and movements of the latter half. Unlike chapter one, the two central figures do not represent the same entity. Instead, Smith's anti-slavery views are contextualised in the academic philosophy of the Scottish Enlightenment which tended towards abolition, while Boswell's pro-slavery poem *No Abolition of Slavery* (1791) offers an in-road to the conflicting views and organised movements surrounding slavery in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Because of the international, centreless nature of memory in the history of slavery, this chapter will rely on cultural memory theory to analyse objects and exhibitions. The case will be made that Glasgow's imbalanced cultural memory of Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment has made it difficult to frame slavery in the city. The analysis of Glasgow's larger relationship with slavery will therefore suggest the wealth of material culture and literary connections which might prove useful for future generations with this important subject in mind.

Chapter four will take us to the end of the Georgian era with the subject of the British Empire. With its roots in seventeenth-century colonial misadventures such as the Darien Scheme, this chapter will build on the previous consideration of slavery in order to position Glasgow as an imperial city. The literature of John Galt (1779-1839) will be the main point of entry here. As will be seen, his enlightened take on the history of Scotland, aided by his own colonial pursuits, offers a window into Glasgow's 'collective memories' of the Georgian era, including the impact of the ever-increasing British Empire on the population. As with the previous chapters, this case study will utilise paintings, objects, statues, and sites towards the understanding of cultural memory. In a sense, Galt represents Glasgow's final 'literary landmark' (to borrow Kilpatrick's term) in the Georgian era. His work is often the bridge between Glasgow as it was before the Union and as it was after, documenting the changes in religious and social history. It will be argued that by forgetting John Galt,

Glasgow's literary history is made much poorer and, in turn, has been unable to connect notions of Empire with challenging works of contemporary, pre-Victorian literature on a level with Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832).

The final, concluding chapter will connect these Georgian themes with a final overview of Glasgow's cultural memory. It will be shown that, between the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, Glasgow's overwhelmingly imperial and industrial image was secured in the form of four major International Exhibitions (1888, 1901, 1911, and 1938). As 'Second City of the Empire', Glasgow was moved further away from the Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish literary history. Great thinkers were exchanged for great doers, inventors were preferred over writers (except those which Glasgow had already decided to honour).

The final section of the conclusion will analyse the collaboration between the University of Glasgow and Glasgow Life,⁵⁸ with which this thesis is connected. In 2014, Glasgow Life held a major exhibition on Georgian Glasgow, in Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum (hereafter referred to as Kelvingrove Museum), entitled *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837*. The research that went into this thesis informed several objects and narratives of this exhibition. This therefore expanded the remit of cultural memory theory. Indeed, the objects and narratives particular to each chapter of this thesis had some contextual grounding in the exhibition, creating an intersection of research and public engagement. By conducting a questionnaire as part of this collaboration, the public's varied impression of Georgian Glasgow, before and after the exhibition, could be accounted for. The results of this questionnaire produced a data-set against which the theories and arguments of this thesis will be compared. It is hoped that by concluding the work in this way, gaps in public knowledge (as well as scholarship) of Georgian Glasgow can be identified.

In summary, this thesis will examine an entirely neglected period in the cultural history of Glasgow. By using contemporary literature, memory studies theory, and an interdisciplinary body of scholarship on relevant subjects including the Scottish Enlightenment and literary criticism, this inquiry into Georgian Glasgow will renegotiate Glasgow's importance in the formation of Scottish society and culture in the eighteenth century and make the case for remembering the city's Georgian era.

⁵⁸ The author, who received the AHRC Collaborative Doctoral Award in 2012, has examined the context of Georgian Glasgow based on the directions established by Professor Murray Pittock, the Principal Investigator at the University of Glasgow, and the museum managers and curators of Glasgow Life during the course of this doctorate.

Chapter I

'Being of the Georgian way':

Religion and Print Culture in the age of the Foulis Brothers

There was something fine and impressive in the sudden transition from the din and bustle of the streets which surround it, to the stillness and the calm which reign within the time-hallowed precincts of the University.

- Thomas Hamilton, *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton* (1827)¹

In this opening chapter in the study of Georgian Glasgow the city's relationship with printed texts and religion will be outlined. Following this, the divergent print cultures of the early-to-mid eighteenth century will be analysed and their effect on the Scottish Enlightenment will be considered. The core argument of this chapter is that the brothers Robert (1707-1776) and Andrew Foulis (1712-1775) created a new, classical print culture amidst a growing number of religious pamphlets, tracts and books in Glasgow.² Their almost-forgotten legacy was to preserve the ideals of the early Scottish Enlightenment in Glasgow via their press and Academy of Fine Arts. Essentially, their activities changed the shape of Glasgow and set the standard in publishing and art for subsequent generations.

The beginning of this inquiry will look at the evolving proliferation of print and the meanings that we can draw from print culture. In short, print culture should be positioned as follows in terms of communicative media: orality > manuscript > print. Following the introduction, it will be shown that Glasgow's increasing engagement with printed texts represents the creation of cultural memories as well as being the empirical evidence of the city's diversifying character. In beginning this chapter as such, the subsequent studies of prominent philosophers, poets, and novelists in Glasgow will be tied to this theoretical grounding in which their works can be understood as *objects*. These objects comprise parts of their legacy which, I propose, have the common dynamic of being misunderstood or forgotten in the wider context of the Scottish Enlightenment. As Richard Sher reminds us,

¹ Thomas Hamilton, *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton* ed. Maurice Lindsay (Aberdeen: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1990 [1827]), 21.

² As Ned Landsman states: 'Whereas Glasgow presses issued an average of fewer than ten titles per year during each of the first four decades of the eighteenth century, after 1740 they produced more than three times that number annually, most of them on religious topics.' From 'Presbyterians and Provincial Society: The Evangelical Enlightenment in the West of Scotland, 1740-1775', *Sociability and Society in Eighteenth-Century Scotland* (Edinburgh: The Mercat Press, 1993), 194-209 (199).

books are something separate from texts: serving ‘as home for texts,’ but ‘also physical artifacts, commodities, status symbols, and much more.’³

In order to frame these thoughts on location and legacy this chapter will make use of memory studies, the nuances of which were explained in the introduction. In particular, the terms ‘collective’, ‘communicative’, and ‘cultural memory’ will help inform the relationship between Glasgow in the eighteenth century and the changing understanding (or ‘memory’) of it through time. To recap the core concepts: Maurice Halbwachs’ definition of collective memory (‘the result, or sum, or combination of individual recollections of many members of the same society’)⁴ has been central to the development of memory studies in many, if not most, fields within the humanities. Since Halbwachs, both Jan and Aleida Assmann have discussed the nature of collective memory and its adaptability. Theirs is the idea that ‘collective memory’ is better understood today by book-ending the term with two others: ‘communicative’ and ‘cultural’ memory,⁵ as outlined in the illustration in the introduction. To borrow from Jan Assmann: ‘communicative memory’ is a living interaction ‘which normally reaches no farther back than eighty years, the time span of three interacting generations’; while ‘cultural memory’ can exist ‘also in disembodied form and requires institutions of preservation and reembodyment.’⁶ Aleida Assmann concurs with this: referring to ‘the cultural function of storing excessive information in libraries, museums, and archives which far exceed the capacities for human memories.’⁷

Peter Sherlock adds to the discourse on ‘religious cultural memory’ developed by Halbwachs and Jan Assmann, stating that ‘by the eighteenth century, the ancient “arts of memory” were archaic. The explosive power of print had made it possible both to achieve and to multiply knowledge cheaply and efficiently in books. Oral testimony was increasingly displaced by written records.’⁸ This last definition helps us carry the dominant expressions of memory studies into this particular study of Glasgow’s changing relationship with religion and print culture.

Later, the importance of oral testimony will be examined via the preaching and spiritual revival in Cambuslang in 1742. In many ways this was symbolic of the progression

³ Richard Sher, ‘The Book in the Scottish Enlightenment’, *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment, an Exhibition with Essays* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, 2000), 40-60 (42).

⁴ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 39.

⁵ Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, *Media and Cultural Memory: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* eds. Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2008), 109-118 (110).

⁶ *Ibid*, 111.

⁷ Aleida Assmann, ‘Memory, Individual and Collective’, *The Oxford Handbook of Contextual Political Analysis* eds. Robert E. Goodin & Charles Tilly (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 210-226 (220).

⁸ Peter Sherlock, ‘The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe’, *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* eds. Susannah Radstone & Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 30-40 (30).

from oral to print culture which swept through eighteenth-century Glasgow. Insofar as books were becoming an important commodity in the city, we will also see how printed texts tended towards the dominating religious ideologies of Presbyterianism. As Sherlock says: 'Protestant ideology required more than the reinterpretation of the past. It also demanded deliberate forgetfulness. Evangelicals rewrote history and memory as part of the campaign to lead people into protestant truth.'⁹ We can see from this statement how remembering and forgetting are crucial to any abstraction of past events and beliefs. In Glasgow, there were energetic attempts to thwart 'popery' through the publication of anti-Catholic tracts and the destruction of religious objects. In 1779, following the passing of the Papists Act (1778), the city was gripped by an anti-Catholic mob mentality. According to John Strang in *Glasgow and its Clubs* (1855), 'no fewer than eighty-five separate societies were formed to oppose the bill; while, through the pulpit and the press... the minds of the working-classes were so inflamed as to render them capable of any outrage against the abettors of the Catholic faith.'¹⁰ The worst of their actions included the destruction of 'a number of pictures representing different saints, hung around the altar'¹¹ of a mass-house in the High Street,¹² and the burning down of one prominent Glaswegian Catholic's house (Robert Bagnall, a potter and attendant of the High Street chapel).¹³ That these actions were initiated by the combination of sermons, lessons in schools or at home (oral culture); and books, pamphlets, and advertisements (print culture) tell us much about the effect of the elite on the lower-class populace of the city. Deletion, in this case, bred forgetfulness. Given that they grew so close together in Glasgow, both the evangelical and Scottish Enlightenment print cultures will be reviewed in this chapter.

⁹ Ibid, 33.

¹⁰ John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs: or, glimpses of the condition, manners, characters, and oddities of the city, during the past and present centuries* (London & Glasgow: Richard Griffin & co., 1857 [1855]), 97.

¹¹ Wallace Harvey, *Chronicles of Saint Mungo; Or, Antiquities and Traditions of Glasgow* (Glasgow: John Smith & Sons, 1843), 261.

¹² Ibid, 98.

¹³ Ibid.



Figure 1: John Slezer, 'The Colledge of Glasgow' (1693)

In both cases, the combination of memory studies and print culture helps us understand the forgotten people and events particular to Glasgow. For Roger Chartier and Daniel Roche (1974), 'the book must be seen not only as the favoured weapon of humanism and the Enlightenment, but also, and just as importantly, as the mirror of a society's attachment to the past.'¹⁴ Therefore, we can also distinguish between the different, opposing social circles and their specific uses of print culture in this time. In so doing, Glasgow can be revealed as housing not one but many distinctive set of beliefs and even more than one Enlightenment. In Thomas Hamilton's *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton* (1827), the author invokes the idea that within Glasgow's 'din and bustle' was another world of 'stillness' and 'calm': 'the time-hallowed precincts of the University.'¹⁵ This description was a retrospective one, indicative of the author's own memories of the college as it was popularly known to be. Founded in 1451, the University buildings were gradually added to until building commenced on a 'double-quadrangled' central building in 1631,¹⁶ depicted in John Slezer's (*d.* 1717) *Theatrum Scotiae* (1693) [Fig. 1]. This would become the meeting place for a diverse cast of Enlightenment figures throughout the eighteenth century, including Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746), Thomas Reid (1710-1796), and Adam Smith (1723-1790). It was also within these same 'time-hallowed' walls that the Foulis brothers established Glasgow

¹⁴ Roger Chartier & Daniel Roche, 'New approaches to the history of the book', *Constructing the past: essays in historical methodology* eds. Jacques Le Goff & Pierre Nora (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 198-214 (198).

¹⁵ Hamilton, 21.

¹⁶ Charles McKean, 'Glasgow: how the energy of the City reflects in its architecture' in *RSA Journal* 139:5413 (London: Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 1990), 914-925 (914).

as the centre of a classical Enlightenment through their pioneering and distinctive print culture. Outside these walls, the printing trade which grew represents an equally important facet of the city's history: the memory of Protestantism and the continuation of its doctrines through print.

In full agreement with Hamilton's novelistic description, Richard Sher stated that 'by the end of the eighteenth century... there existed at Glasgow two distinct varieties of the Enlightenment.' One, he says, was 'a popular and evangelical Presbyterian Enlightenment of "useful knowledge"... a city of bustling trade, prosperity and piety,' while the other was 'a dominant academic version... a city of classical humanism and culture.'¹⁷ In both cases, Glasgow's ability to remember its past and cement an idea of its present was dependent on what was said, what was printed, and how the two met. As such, Sher's opposing Glasgow Enlightenments can be brought together, with the book representing the 'weapon of humanism' as well as the 'weapon' with which influential Glaswegians defended their religion and their 'attachment to the past.' Other print cultures are useful in the discussion: broadsides, pamphlets and chapbooks were particularly important to the 'devout Presbyterian printers and booksellers'¹⁸ who comprised Glasgow's evangelical 'half' (although it may be more realistic to call it the majority). In 1888 Professor John Ferguson stated that 'Round Glasgow printing there is no sort of romance or mystery, no glamour of antiquity.'¹⁹

He was referring to the fact that Glasgow was preceded by Edinburgh (1508), St. Andrew's (1552), Stirling (1571), and Aberdeen (1622) in printing its first book.²⁰ After dismissing much of Glasgow's initial productions as 'plain, even to ugliness,' Ferguson says that nothing in Glasgow or Scotland 'has ever been done to rival the results attained by the Foulis press.'²¹ This was not the first, or last, attempt to position Robert and Andrew at the summit of the historical narrative of print culture in Glasgow. It is therefore unusual that the brothers remain so neglected in perceptions of Glasgow and Scotland in the age of the Enlightenment. While they have received renewed scholarly attention in recent years, especially in George Fairfull-Smith's exhibition text *The Foulis Press and The Foulis*

¹⁷ Richard B. Sher, 'Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow', *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* eds. T. M. Devine & Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 312-359 (350).

¹⁸ Richard B. Sher and Andrew Hook, 'Introduction', *The Glasgow Enlightenment* eds. Andrew Hook & Richard B. Sher (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 1-20 (13).

¹⁹ John Ferguson, *The Brothers Foulis and Early Glasgow Printing* (London: Dryden Press, 1889), 1.

²⁰ National Library of Scotland, First printing towns from 1508 to 1900 webpage: <http://digital.nls.uk/printing/towns.cfm?listing=c> [accessed 08/12/15].

²¹ Ferguson, 15.

Academy (2001) and Thomas Bonnell's 2008 chapter, 'The Elzevirs of Glasgow,'²² the Foulis brothers are rarely represented in the histories of the Scottish Enlightenment. Despite specific attempts to correct this, the cultural memory of the brothers has been faltering since 1913, when Glasgow University hosted an exhibition on the brothers and David Murray published the seminal text, *Robert & Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press*.

Ferguson's statement, above, regarding the lack of romance in Glasgow's history of print poses the interesting idea that there remains nothing left to discover. But late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century scholarship can be aided by new methods and approaches. At the end of his discussion, Ferguson highlights the need for 'some among Glasgow collectors and book-lovers' to 'initiate a scheme for a Glasgow catalogue, which, though primarily of local interest, is in reality a chapter in the history of literature and books in the whole country, and one section of a general catalogue of books printed in Britain.'²³ It is clear that there remains a need for continuing engagement with the challenging nature of grounding and labelling Glasgow in a Scottish and a British context, especially in the difficult Georgian period. Robert Foulis, born on the same year the Acts of Union were passed, is curiously symbolic of the city's neglected diversity. But before attending to the confluence of competing identities in the age of the Foulis brothers, it is necessary to outline the origins of Glasgow's print culture as it began in 1638.

The Historiography of Glasgow's First Book

If the focus on the Foulis brothers and the Scottish Enlightenment helps us discern the forgotten significance of Georgian Glasgow, where does the examination of the print culture of the previous century come in? Quite simply, Glasgow's first book marks the moment when the seventeenth-century religious power struggles manifested themselves in print; bringing in a new age of cultural life in which dominant beliefs were not restricted to oral culture. It is also in this instance that we can begin to think about the text as an object. Once merely functional, Glasgow's first book has become a topic of interest for historians and bibliophiles, thus proving the potential for print culture to affect cultural memory.

Following the passing of the generation in which this book was originally printed, the text embodied new cultural memories which, over time, dictated its presence in the archive. In other words, any consideration of the-book-as-object depends largely upon the

²² *The Most Disreputable Trade: Publishing the Classics of English Poetry 1765-1810* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

²³ Ferguson, 16.

competing cultural interpretations of it. For example, in George MacGregor's *The History of Glasgow* (1881) he states the following in relation to the event which preceded the publication of Glasgow's first book: 'Of all the important events which have occurred in Glasgow, it may be said that none have had a more marked effect upon the destinies of Scotland than the General Assembly of 1638.'²⁴ The Assembly took place in Glasgow (often called St. Mungo's) Cathedral on High Street between the 21st and 29th of November of that year. One such account within MacGregor's history is from John Cunningham's 1859 *Church History of Scotland*: a detailed narrative of the arrival of the Covenanters and their 'shorthanded and one-sided' excommunication of Episcopalian bishops, not present to defend themselves.²⁵ It is also stated that the Assembly 'forbade...the printing of books connected with ecclesiastical affairs without a license.'²⁶ That the Assembly would have the first book printed in Glasgow is therefore significant, for it was a symbolic act of aggression in a time of religious strife. It was *The Protestation of The General Assemblie of the Church of Scotland* (1638). The printer was George Anderson (fl.1637-47), who was previously at work in Edinburgh, where he had printed the results of the 'reading of the proclamation, dated June 28th 1638'.²⁷ The merchant and historical writer Robert Reid, or 'Senex' (1773-1865), says of Anderson: 'His publications...appear to have been confined to pamphlets relating to the troubles before the commencement of the Civil War, and to the Covenanting meetings, and not to matters especially connected with Glasgow statistics.'²⁸ Already we can discern his motives in printing Glasgow's inaugural book.

The publisher and printer James MacLehose's *The Glasgow University Press* (1931) does much to map the growth of printing in Glasgow. MacLehose states that Anderson was 'no doubt carried to Glasgow by the Covenanters; and printed for them what they published during their sitting.'²⁹ Whether it was money or a sense of religious duty, or a combination of both, that drew Anderson to Glasgow, his move reveals that religious activities of the seventeenth century were clearly capable of change, and that printing began in the city as an extension of these activities. Indeed, by the time the Foulis brothers were active, religious works were the most common kind of printed text in the city.³⁰ In the nineteenth century,

²⁴ George MacGregor, *The History of Glasgow: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1881), 201.

²⁵ *Ibid*, 206-209.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 209.

²⁷ *The Protestation of the Noblemen, Barrons, Gentlemen, Borrowes, Ministers, and Commons* (Edinburgh: George Anderson, 1638).

²⁸ Robert Reid, *Old Glasgow and Its Environs, Historical and Topographical* (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1864), 108.

²⁹ James MacLehose, *The Glasgow University Press 1638-1931: with some notes on Scottish printing in the last three hundred years* (Glasgow: Glasgow University Press, 1930), 22.

³⁰ See footnote 2, above.

however, the attention given to Glasgow's first book reminds us of its unrivalled value as an object. John M'Ure's *A View of the City of Glasgow* (1736), the first Glasgow history, was republished in 1830 by D. MacVean, J. Wylie &c., at the end of which is added 'A short history of printing': a sort of memorial to Glasgow's first books.

To consider the language used in the historical references to the Assembly of 1638 is to understand the perception of the event itself, and, by extension, the importance of Anderson's place in the narrative of Glasgow's print culture. MacLehose quotes a manuscript by George Chalmers as follows: '[Anderson] appears now to have removed to Glasgow where the General Assembly, of notorious *memory*, met.'³¹ William James Duncan refers to it in the context of Anderson's book as 'the *memorable* General Assembly.'³² Similarly, James Pagan's *Sketches of the History of Glasgow* (1847) opines: 'Glasgow is celebrated as having been the place of meeting of the *memorable* General Assembly...a gathering to which was justly attached the very highest national interest and importance, and which, in Scotland, exhibited a degree of independence and determination.'³³ While Chalmers suggests the infamy attached to the Assembly and the civil war that followed, and Duncan seems to point only to its historical importance, Pagan uses it as an attempt to praise Glasgow as the site, and symbol, of the Covenanter's brave defiance of Charles I's (1600-1649) Anglicanism. Importantly, Pagan focuses on the 'national importance' of the 'memorable' event, and the qualities of city and nation that were 'exhibited'. These terms are indicative of Pagan's elevation of Glasgow and its chief religion to national importance, based on the belief that nowhere else in Scotland would the course of action matter more ('The meeting was looked forward to with intense interest by the whole kingdom').³⁴ The respective historians are in agreement about the significance of 1638 and the context of the publication of Glasgow's first book, but their collective reliance on the semantic field 'memory' (italicised above), I believe, reveals the nature of communication *before* the event: the oral culture which, following the Assembly, would be replaced by print.

In recording history, events are essentially backed up with sketches of their physical locations. Cunningham's 'graphic account of the general Assembly', found inside MacGregor's history, is unique for its focus on Glasgow Cathedral as an agent of the past. 'That noble pile,' as Cunningham describes it, 'stood then just as it stands now, and as it had stood for centuries before. It rose solemnly there amid the gravestones of many generations,

³¹ MacLehose, 22.

³² William James Duncan, *Notices and Documents Illustrative of The Literary History of Glasgow During the Greater Part of the Last Century* (Glasgow: Hutchison & Brookman, 1831), 1.

³³ James Pagan, *Sketches of the History of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Robert Stuart & Co., 1847), 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

pointing back to the time when good Bishop Jocelyn laid the foundations of its peerless crypt. Beyond the Molendinar Burn, so famous in ancient story, the rocky eminence was covered with scraggy firs, which is now the thickly peopled “city of the dead.”³⁵ This passage in particular is exemplary of the restless connections made between past and present in Glasgow histories. His account of the actual proceedings within the Cathedral are lengthy, but, as with the other examples, there is a framework of historiography which seems to require a connection of the present, the past, and the ancient (‘stood then [in 1638] just as it stands now [in 1881], and as it had stood for centuries before’).³⁶ Furthermore, references to the Molendinar Burn and the ‘city of the dead’ (the Necropolis) are similar attempts to connect the tale of St. Mungo’s foundation of Glasgow – and the forested area surrounding the sacred site – with the subsequent lives of many important Glaswegians, long dead and buried there. It is as though all of these sketches of the Assembly revolve around the idea that in Glasgow’s history 1638 represented a rift in the narrative of the city’s growth, which, because these historians were not themselves present, has since depended on their ability to position their ‘own’ Glasgow amongst the city’s remaining physical landmarks. In other words, their lack of ‘witnesses’ has directed them towards piecing together different histories to create their own; rendering their works similar to those of modern cultural historians. In these finer points, we can understand the texts *and* the buildings as objects of cultural memory.

The value of this reading will extend throughout this thesis. Locating certain people and events of Georgian Glasgow effectively helps us remember the era in a new way.

Beside the increased craft of history-writing we may consider another shift particular to the nineteenth century. The ‘cult’ of memory, as we may call it, seems prevalent in the works, above, which deal with Glasgow’s history. But how else does memory become physical? The most obvious answer is in the erection of statues. Most notably, Murray Pittock and Christopher Whatley have outlined how the statues of Burns created the image of the poet as ‘a secular saint’, reinforcing ‘the concrete dimensions of Scottish national memory as Scotland engaged more widely with a British and imperial history increasingly remote from the *loci memoriae* of its national poet.’³⁷ In Glasgow, the highest statue (1825) in the city depicts the reformer John Knox (1514-1572), whose influence in the rise of Protestantism in Scotland remains part of the public imagination. Unlike most Burns statues,

³⁵ MacGregor, 204.

³⁶ The poet Dugald Moore (1805-1841) had made this same point in his sonnet ‘The Cathedral of Glasgow’ (1831).

³⁷ Murray Pittock and Christopher A. Whatley, ‘Poems and Festivals, Art and Artefact and the Commemoration of Robert Burns, c.1844-c.1896’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, Volume XCIII, 1: No. 236 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014), 56-79 (58).

this one is deeply ironic. Without a doubt, the statue has aided the survival of Knox's cultural memory. But, rather interestingly, it was erected a mere forty-six years after the same anti-Catholic riots which saw religious statues destroyed in the city (this time-span falls therefore within the remit of collective, generational memory). Thus, we may ask: is the famous likeness of Knox in stone not a religious statue, too? Unlike statues of the Virgin Mary, Knox in the Glasgow Necropolis does not form part of religious ceremony, but his towering presence over city graves *does* suggest a sort of secularisation not unlike the Victorian taste for tourism. In a word, memory was becoming all the more objectified in the nineteenth century, removed from closed communities and manifested into histories, anecdotes, and statues. As we will see, the memory of the Foulis brothers did not survive this cultural shift despite their contributions to the Scottish Enlightenment.

Robert Fleming (c.1660-1716), minister from Cambuslang, wrote: 'There was also a remarkable time, wherein the Lord did let forth much of the Spirit on his people, in the year 1638, when this nation did solemnly enter in covenant, which *many yet alive* [emphasis added] at this day do know how the spirits of men were raised...'³⁸ Because he was born only twenty-two years after the event, and therefore part of Glasgow's collective, generational memory of the Assembly, Fleming's language is by far the most assured of a spiritual, living connection. To varying degrees, subsequent historians relate to different aspects, including memories of their own to make the story read as liveable as their memory permits. The following extract from Halbwachs illustrates this point:

I remember Reims because I lived there a whole year. But I also remember that Joan of Arc consecrated Charles VII there, because I have heard it said or read it... I certainly know that I was not a witness to the event itself, that I cannot go beyond these words heard or read by me, that these symbols passed down through time are all that comes to me from that past. The same is true for every historical fact I know. Proper names, dates, formulas summarizing a long sequence of details, occasional anecdotes or quotations, are the epitaphs to those bygone events, as brief, general, and scant of meaning as most tombstone inscriptions. History indeed resembles a crowded cemetery, where room must constantly be made for new tombstones.³⁹

If we may, for the purposes of the current discussion, liken Halbwachs' history-as-cemetery metaphor to the specific, Glaswegian 'city of the dead', Cunningham's description of the Glasgow Cathedral and the story of St. Mungo take on new meaning. In this sense, Halbwachs' example becomes Glasgow's, and the histories which have 'crowded' the 'city

³⁸ John Gillies, *Historical Collections Relating to Remarkable Periods of The Success of The Gospel and Eminent Instruments Employed in Promoting It*, Volume I (Glasgow: Robert and Andrew Foulis, 1754), 315

³⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), 52.

of the dead' have done so through the use of other cultural objects; or, to use Halbwachs' terms: 'symbols passed down through time...occasional anecdotes or quotations.' It is as though the further one moves away from the event in time, the more one depends on the complex layers of what we call 'cultural memory.' Perhaps the confusion that arises from the layering up of these histories has contributed, in part, to the forgetting of pre-Victorian Glasgow.

Just as Knox's statue in Glasgow helps us associate the religion of that place with the history of Knox himself, Anderson's *Protestation* symbolises Glasgow's first printed manifestation of established religion. In Ferguson's article from 1888, above, Anderson's *Protestation* is introduced after an interesting note about a book by Rev. David Dickson (c.1583-1662) entitled *True Christian Love* (1634), a 'long hymn or sacred poem of 107 8-line stanzas.' What makes Dickson's book important is that it was 'the earliest book upon which the name of Glasgow appears' in print. The title page says 'Printed by *I.W.* for *Iohn Wilson* and are to be sould at his shop in *GLASGOW*.' Ferguson explains that *I. W.* denotes John Wreittoun, a well-known Edinburgh printer, meaning that while this book bears the word 'Glasgow' it was printed in Edinburgh.⁴⁰ This introduction to Anderson's *Protestation* signifies a clear emphasis on the importance of print and the act of printing executed *within* the boundaries of a city. Thus, being able to identify the spatial dimensions of an event is essential to our memory of them.

To this end, Ferguson suggests that books have come to embody a direct, material link between the past and the present in the confines of a city. The fact that Ferguson elucidates the presence of the word 'Glasgow' in 1634 as different to the word 'Glasgow' in 1638 is adherent to Halbwachs' idea of the printed word being a 'symbol'. For Chartier and Roche, this would be an example of 'material bibliography': 'Refusing to study the meaning of the text and concentrating on the printer's marks, this "new bibliography" has nonetheless much to offer the historian who seeks to situate the printed word within social history.'⁴¹ Ferguson's aesthetic analysis of the book adheres to this: he says that 'there is nothing whatever to attract' someone to the book other than 'its history and its rarity,' and draws our attention to 'a curious woodcut vignette on the title-page.'⁴²

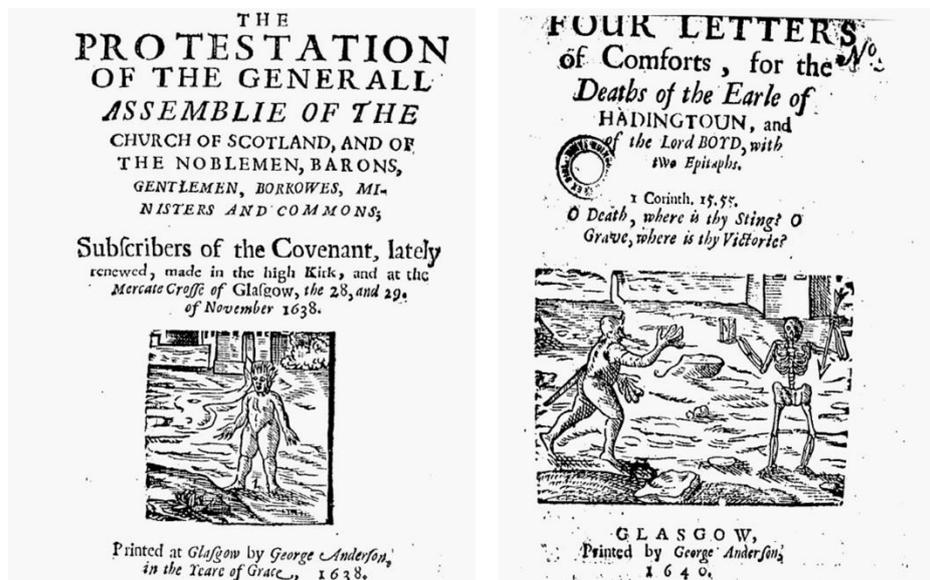
In a paper by William Stewart read to the Glasgow Bibliographical Society in 1912, an extended historical contextualisation of the book is offered, before going on to address this unusual woodcut [Fig. 2]. It is described as 'a crudely cut and nude figure that appears

⁴⁰ Ferguson, 2.

⁴¹ Chartier & Roche, 'New approaches to the history of the book', 198.

⁴² Ibid, 4.

to have issued from a castellated doorway in the background, to which a path leads.⁴³ However, Stewart is the first to take note of two other texts – one from Ipswich, seemingly printed by Anderson; and Zachary Boyd’s (1585-1653) *Four Letters of Comforts* (1640) [Fig. 3], also printed by Anderson – both of which bear as their vignette the same image. It is described as the ‘lower middle section of what looks extremely like the same handiwork as that of the *Protestation* block,⁴⁴ this time representing two figures: one of death (a skeleton) holding in his left hand an arrow, and in his right an hourglass, with the other figure reaching towards him. Putting these images together offers a new visual situation [Fig. 4] in which the figure used in the *Protestation* page, seemingly unconnected to the work itself, is now a kind of allegory, to which the epitaph to Boyd’s *Four Letters* is befitting: *O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victorie?*



Top, left to right: Figures 2 & 3. Bottom: Figure 4
 Title pages of *The Protestation of the Generall Assemblie of the Church of Scotland* (1638) and Zachary Boyd, *Four Letters of Comforts* (1640). Composite image created by the author.

⁴³ William Stewart, ‘On The Protestation of the Generall Assemblie of The Church of Scotland’’, *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, Volume I (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1914), 6-16 (14)

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 15

It should be noted, however, that the connection of such images is largely conjectural, and while it is clear that Anderson gained possession of the whole woodblock, or at least most of it, there is no evidence that he ascribed any meaning to the image itself. As can be seen from his Edinburgh publication of another Covenant meeting in the same year, there is a floral motif where the unusual, nude figure appears in the Glasgow publication. Nonetheless, the connection of the biblical verse, above, with the oft-repeated metaphor of death bearing an arrow and an hourglass, reveals that Anderson's use of the block was at the very least representative of religious ideology.⁴⁵ Like Ferguson, Stewart concludes with the fact that the book is 'not a fine example of the typographer's art', and is 'redeemed from unimportance by its identification with a notable episode in the ecclesiastical history of our country.'⁴⁶

These accounts of the General Assembly and the book which followed it are illustrative of the changing role of memory in historiography. While the earliest histories, those which are within the 'collective' time-frame of the Assembly, seek justification through the presence of living observers or participants (as with Fleming), more distant commentators offer connections between their own perception of Glasgow, as well as an attempt to bind this perception to the ancient (as with Cunningham). Further still, the book in question is no longer understood via individual or historical memory, but by a delineation of book-as-object, now recognised as being a direct offshoot of the meeting in the Cathedral. In *A Reputation for Excellence* (1994), the introduction states: 'The significance of the first printing in Glasgow was that the general Assembly was meeting there and wanted someone to print and record their decisions.'⁴⁷ Thus, the 'cultural memory' of this first book comes to embody both the site and the situation. Andrew Melville (1545-1622), once principal of the University of Glasgow, said 'I dar say ther was na place in Europe comparable to Glasgow for guid letters during these yeirs for a plentiful and guid chepe mercat of all kind of langages, artes and sciencces.'⁴⁸ The 1638 book represents the beginning of an important aspect of Glasgow's relationship with print, memory, and religion. It represents the time when Glasgow's recorded history changed; when it was no longer a place of 'guid letters', but a place where print culture would continue to grow and have an increasing influence on

⁴⁵ The figure of Death with an arrow and hourglass appears, for example, on broadsides of the 'Death and the Lady' ballad. Death as a skeleton or deformed human-like figure was a common feature of the *Danse Macabre* movement in performance and art, made famous in woodcuts by Hans Holbein (1497-1543). Both the *Danse Macabre* and 'Death and the Lady' are discussed in Anne G. Gilchrist's "'Death and the Lady" in English Balladry', *Journal of the English Folk Dance and Song Society*, 4:2 (London: English Folk Dance and Song Society, 1941), 37-48.

⁴⁶ Stewart, 16.

⁴⁷ *A Reputation for Excellence: A History of the Glasgow Printing Industry* (Glasgow: Bell & Bain, 1994).

⁴⁸ Quoted in MacLehose, 16.

every aspect of the city. By the mid-eighteenth century, print culture in Glasgow had changed dramatically. Not only did the city become the centrepiece of a classical culture through the Foulis brothers, but religious prints also advanced, bringing together the oratory sermons and ecclesiastical doctrines from outside the city centre. This unprecedented growth of print is therefore rooted to that first instance in 1638.

‘Din and Bustle’: The Cambuslang Wark and Protestant Print Culture

Cambuslang is a town in South Lanarkshire, only a short train or bus journey from the centre of Glasgow. In 1742, just over a century after the *Protestation* was printed, the spiritual revival (or ‘Wark’)⁴⁹ took place there. In those days the small town, surrounded by hills and valleys, had only one main road to Glasgow which was often in a treacherous condition.⁵⁰ Yet it is said that this ‘evangelical awakening’ which began in Cambuslang ‘spread through a fair portion of western and central Scotland, eventually reaching to the far northern shires of Sutherland and Ross.’ Afterwards, ‘Scottish ministers and laymen kept the Edinburgh and Glasgow presses churning with scores of pamphlets and tracts about the revivals, extending to thousands of pages.’⁵¹ The print culture therein represents the Enlightenment that Richard Sher described as a fervent, religious outpouring. To consider the Cambuslang revival as an ‘event’ – it occurred over three years⁵² – in the same way one might consider the General Assembly of 1638 as an ‘event’ allows for the same theoretical framework to be used. Arthur Fawcett’s *The Cambuslang Revival* (1971) provides detailed commentary of this particular spiritual awakening. In the opening pages, Fawcett quotes ‘one of the leading Scottish historians in the nineteenth century,’ Burton J. Hill, who lists some of the features ‘of such orgies’: ‘the profuse fits of weeping and trembling, the endemic epilepsies and faintings, the contortions and howls, with terrible symptoms of contrition emitted by old obdurate sinners awakened with a sudden lightning-flash to all the horrors of their condition.’⁵³ Furthermore, T. C. Smout notes that the history of the Covenanters was by then entrenched in the minds of people from these areas, which is in keeping with their united and ‘excessive religious zeal.’⁵⁴

⁴⁹ The word ‘wark’ is Scots for ‘work’, being descriptive of the ‘work’ of the spirit in Cambuslang.

⁵⁰ Arthur Fawcett, *The Cambuslang Revival: the Scottish Evangelical Revival of the Eighteenth Century* (London: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1971), 32.

⁵¹ Landsman, ‘Presbyterians and Provincial Society’, 197.

⁵² Ned C. Landsman, ‘Evangelists and Their Hearers: Popular Interpretation of Revivalist Preaching in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, in *Journal of British Studies* 28:2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 120-149 (122).

⁵³ Fawcett, 4.

⁵⁴ T. C. Smout, ‘Born Again at Cambuslang; New Evidence on Popular Religion and Literacy in Eighteenth-Century Scotland’, in *Past and Present* 97:1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 114-127 (118).

And so the Cambuslang Revival is particularly interesting in the context of collective and cultural memory. The nature of the event is extraordinary as a study of religious activism, but it *remains* as extraordinary because the presiding Minister, William McCulloch (1691-1771), kept a record of ‘spiritual narratives of more than a hundred persons from parishes all over western Scotland, from many walks of life.’⁵⁵ Fawcett’s text gives an adequate overview of these lengthy narratives, the language of which is honest and revelatory of the kind of daily rituals carried out. It is from these first-hand accounts that the transition from orality to manuscript, as outlined above, can be perceived.

Jane Reston, twenty years-old, told the Minister: ‘I used all along from a child to pray in secret evening and morning; and if at any time I happened to miss it in the morning, I found something or other go wrong with me that day.’ Later in the testimony she says: ‘At the entry to public worship I found the words sung powerfully and particularly applied to me, as what was my own case, and I was made to see that I was the most filthy and polluted creature that could be... and that I was covered all over with wounds and bruises and putrefying sores; and that no soundness remained in me from the crown of my head to the sole of my foot.’⁵⁶ This is typical of the kind of secret/public dichotomy found in other narratives: beginning with some account of their schooling; their usual method of prayer; their sin(s); and their reawakening. Jane Reston’s account exemplifies the coming to life of the fears accumulated in private prayer when in the company of others. The chorus of voices in the ceremony seems to unleash the idea that she is guilty of a multitude of sins and therefore covered in sores. It is possible to consider Halbwachs’ ‘collective memory’ here. Mnemonics such as learning the catechism become collective when part of the group, and are therefore altered before McCulloch transcribes their testimonies. In Jan Assmann’s *Religion and Cultural Memory* (2006), this transition is explained:

Hermeneutics concentrates on the role of understanding by accessing the text of memorable events; the theory of cultural memory, in contrast, investigates the conditions that enable that text to be established and handed down. It draws our attention to the role of the past in constituting our world through dialogue and intercommunication, and it investigates the forms in which the past presents itself to us as well as the motives that prompt our recourse to it.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Landsman, ‘Evangelists and Their Hearers’, 122.

⁵⁶ *Autobiographical Accounts of Persons Under Spiritual Concern at Cambuslang (Glasgow) during the Revival of 1741-1743 Part One* (Shropshire: Quinta Press, 2008), 342: http://quintapress.macmate.me/PDF_Books/Cambuslang_Testimonies_Vol_1.pdf [accessed 08/12/15].

⁵⁷ Preface to Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory: Ten Studies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006).

Furthermore, Ned Landsman points to the two factors that simultaneously alter the narratives in the context of what we understand as cultural memory: underlining the ‘almost comical aspect to many of McCulloch’s narratives, as evangelical clergymen struggled to regulate the experiences of those they supervised, while their converts... insisted... on directing their own conversions through personal revelations that left them substantially free to reshape their experiences in ways they saw fit.’⁵⁸ So, McCulloch’s failure to ‘regulate’ the narratives has resulted in their originality, their directness: an ironic triumph in the study of cultural memory if ever there was one.

However, this directness, says Landsman, is perhaps ‘defined overwhelmingly by emotion and feeling.’⁵⁹ Lynn Abrams’ discussion of ‘composure’ sheds light on the problems of such first-hand accounts. ‘The story that a person tells,’ she says, ‘is just one of many that are possible...its shape, form and content is determined by the need for the narrator to construct a memory story with which he or she can feel comfortable at that moment. And a comfortable telling is often one in which the story told coheres with larger cultural understandings.’⁶⁰ Therefore, it is highly likely that there were many exaggerations of emotional states – though this is not to discredit the severity of the laypeople’s emotions – and that the narratives were added to by a Calvinistic God-fearing imagination. It often seems as though the narrators were trying to converse with God; in a way proving their newfound confidence in an established, personal relationship.

At this, it must be noted that ‘Scottish parishioners were, to an unusual extent, a catechized people.’⁶¹ As such, their ability to read and write (especially among the working classes) formed part of the discussion in R. A. Houston’s *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity* (1985). As the narratives show, the Bible is the foremost text used for learning, spiritually and mnemonically. ‘And no wonder,’ says Fawcett, ‘for the Bible was inextricably intertwined with the religious development of the Scottish people from the dawn of the Reformation.’⁶² The idea of the book as object is useful here, as ‘the Bible was regarded as something in the nature of a talisman.’⁶³ Landsman reminds us that some of the ‘potential converts’ were advised by the preachers ‘not to rely so much on the words of men (ministers) but to rely instead on the Bible.’⁶⁴ One may cite John Galt’s *Annals of the Parish* (1821) for a literary portrayal of the diminishing role of ministers in shrinking provincial

⁵⁸ Landsman, ‘Presbyterians and Provincial Society’, 198.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Lynn Abrams, *Oral History Theory* (London: Routledge, 2010), 66.

⁶¹ Landsman, ‘Evangelists and Their Hearers’, 123.

⁶² Fawcett, 80.

⁶³ Ibid, 83.

⁶⁴ Landsman, ‘Evangelists and Their Hearers’, 130.

Scotland. In reading their *own* Bible, laypeople's personal relationships with God would inform their collective relationships as well as their conversations with ministers and other powerful men. In *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (1979), Elizabeth Eisenstein says that 'Protestantism was above all a "book religion."'65 From the oral culture of smaller communities, to the manuscript accounts, the next step was a book culture with a ready market. Following the Cambuslang Wark, Glasgow was increasingly energetic in the publication of religious works, confirming the dominance of the religious identity of the city. Therefore, the intertwining cultures that occurred in the age of the Enlightenment make Glasgow a most interesting place indeed.

In surveying the particulars of printed texts we can observe the dichotomy of religion and understand Glasgow's place within Scotland and even Britain in the Georgian era. For Michael Moss, Glasgow's 'cultural life was dominated by a populist evangelical Presbyterianism that both formed the context for its commercial and intellectual success, and sustained its book trade,'66 while Landsman accredits much of the 'dramatic upsurge in religious publications in the West of Scotland' to the awakening at Cambuslang.67 Before the Wark, and the Foulis brothers' impact, however, the brothers William and James Duncan were active in the city. Their first book was printed in 1720, and James is credited as being 'the first type founder in Glasgow,' albeit his types were 'rudely cut and badly proportioned.'68 Soon after commencing as printers the brothers worked separately, each producing texts of significant importance to Glasgow's print culture. The first is James Arbuckle's (d. 1742) 331-line poem *Glotta* (1721),69 printed by William Duncan. Arbuckle was a student at the University of Glasgow, and is thought to have been taught by Gershom Carmicheal (1672-1729) between 1716 and 1719.70 A closer examination of his life, religion, and politics can be found in W. R. Scott's article (1899), in which it is elucidated that Arbuckle was sent to Glasgow because his father, 'like most of the Presbyterian clergy in Ireland... was of Scotch extraction, and looked to Scotland as his home.'71 That Glasgow as a city was and continued to be a hub of Presbyterianism indicates the presence of religious memory in the generations before and after the Union. In Arbuckle's case, the Union would

65 Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Press as an Agent of Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 422.

66 Michael Moss, 'Glasgow', *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 156-165 (156).

67 Landsman, 'Presbyterians and Provincial Society', 199.

68 Ferguson, 7.

69 The title refers to the river Clyde: 'Glotta' being the Latin name for 'Clutha', the Gaelic word for 'Clyde'.

70 M. A. Stewart, 'Arbuckle, James (d. 1742)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2008: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/604>.

71 W. R. Scott, 'James Arbuckle and His Relation to the Molesworth-Shaftesbury School' from *Mind, New Series*, 8:30 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1899), 195-196.

figure as an important topic in his topographic account of the river Clyde, teeming with poetic allusions to George Buchanan (1506-1582); William Drummond of Hawthornden (1585-1649); John Denham (1614/15-1669); Alexander Pope (1688-1744); and Allan Ramsay (1684-1758). Despite the diversity of this cast, Arbuckle's own slant was anti-Jacobite and pro-Union:

'Till all Disgusts, and secret Murmurs gone,
The Realm in Int'rest as in Name be One:
Impartial Riches flow in ev'ry Stream,
And *Thames* and *Glotta* mutual Friendship claim.⁷²

The starkness of such a political poem in early eighteenth-century Glasgow is made clearer when it is observed that a reprint of *Glotta* in London in 1810 was produced for a different purpose entirely. Before the first line one finds a list of views to be found in 'Marshall's Extensive Panorama of the matchless Beauties of the Clyde, from the falls to the Irish sea, upon a new and interesting plan, as if travelling along the banks.'⁷³ The views included in this theatrical spectacle include 'distant' and 'extensive' views of Glasgow.⁷⁴ What is more, the poem itself is footnoted, often to match up a specific line with a view to be found in this panorama.⁷⁵ Perhaps this changed reading of *Glotta* over eighty-nine years, from a poetic barb to a pleasant piece of faux-tourism, can be considered alongside the secularisation of memory that was altering the cultural memories of John Knox, as above. The communicative effect of print culture had been superseded by the novelty of the panorama, a fate that could hardly have been predicted by Glasgow's printers. As discussed in the Introduction, the insertion of images into history books affected the readers' perception of that subject. Visual culture has an immediate locational effect which is naturally more memorable than words, hence the build-up of repeated images of ships on the Clyde determining Glasgow's permanent legacy of shipbuilding. As regards the panorama's effect on poetry, there occurred a visual disruption. As Erkki Huhtamo (2002) explains, 'a moving panorama of the Clyde in Prince's Street [Edinburgh] as early as 1809'⁷⁶ allowed the spectator to be "teleported" without leaving their 'familiar surroundings.'⁷⁷ As the statue of Knox shows, the late-Georgian/early-Victorian era can be associated with an emerging visual,

⁷² James Arbuckle, *Glotta: A Poem* (Glasgow: William Duncan, 1721), 21.

⁷³ James Arbuckle, *Glotta; or, The Clyde: A Poem* (London: Henry Reynell, 1810), 3.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 4.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁷⁶ Erkki Huhtamo, 'Global Glimpses for Local Realities: The Moving Panorama, a Forgotten Mass Medium of the 19th Century' (2002), 10n26:

http://gebseng.com/media_archeology/reading_materials/Erkki_Huhtamo-Moving_Panorama.pdf [accessed 08/12/15].

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 2.

monumental culture of reference which superseded the previous communal, participatory culture of experience.

As well as *Glotta*, William Duncan also printed religious tracts, instructional works, and an account of the Cambuslang Revival, but Arbuckle's poem is significant as an early example of the literary expression of Glasgow's dominant political persuasion. Its loss, I believe, among the melee of city's history, is partly as a result of the onset of new modes of entertainment such as the panorama, and the increasing popularity of the theatre, which was not always an acceptable social pastime in Glasgow.⁷⁸

In 1722, William Duncan produced *A New Edition of the Life and Heroick Actions of the Renoun'd Sir William Wallace* by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield (c.1665-1751).⁷⁹ Although there had been other publications on the Scottish hero following 'Blind Harry's Wallace' in 1508,⁸⁰ Hamilton's account of the 'General and Governour of Scotland' sought to replace 'the Old obsolete Words'.⁸¹ Importantly, Hamilton's version was clearly attuned to the 'religious disposition of his readership' in the West of Scotland. This is most evident when Hamilton changes the Blessed Virgin Mary for dame Fortune in the passage where a saltire is painted on Wallace's face by the 'majestic' and 'shining' Queen.⁸² This foreshadows the mob-mentality of the late-eighteenth century, noted above, during which statues were destroyed.

A similar situation had found root in the print culture of Northern Ireland. Patrick Neill (*bap.* 1665-c.1704), from Glasgow, and his assistant James Blow (1676-1759), from Perthshire, moved to Belfast in 1694 where they went on to become the city's first printers.⁸³ Their first book was *The Confession of Faith* (1694), and other titles – including *Psalms of David in Meeter* (1699) and James Kirkpatrick's *An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of Presbyterians* (1713) – represent their role in promoting Presbyterianism. In 1728 however, James Blow printed a Belfast edition of *The Wallace*, perhaps inspired by the success of

⁷⁸ As late as 1752, James Boswell's friend West Digges saw his temporary theatre in Glasgow torn down - a sure sign of the citizens' religious radicalism. See Robert Zaretsky, 'James Boswell: A Sentimental Education', *History Today* 61:4 (London: History Today Ltd., 2011), 49-55 (50).

⁷⁹ William Hamilton of Gilbertfield was hugely influential in the formation of Scottish poetry. His famous poem 'The Last Dying Words of Bonny Heck' (1706) as well as the epistolary poems between Allan Ramsay and himself helped popularise the 'Standard Habbie' Stanza which would go on to become Robert Burns' preferred style.

⁸⁰ Elspeth King, 'Introduction', *Blind Harry's Wallace* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 1998 [1722]), xi.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, x-xi.

⁸² William Hamilton of Gilbertfield, *Blind Harry's Wallace* (Edinburgh: Luath Press, 1998 [1722]), 80-81.

⁸³ Anthony S. Drennan, 'Neill, Patrick (*bap.* 1665, d. in or after 1704)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19864>; Anthony S. Drennan, 'Blow, James (1676-1759)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2703>.

Duncan's in Glasgow.⁸⁴ The fruitful connection between Ireland and Glasgow will be discussed more in relation to the Scottish Enlightenment in the next section. In this case, the several versions of *The Wallace* do themselves offer insight into the religious and cultural situation of the place in which they were printed.

As we move towards mid-eighteenth century Glasgow, the print culture diversifies. It was William Duncan's brother James who published John M'Ure's *A View of the City of Glasgow*, above, the most important Glasgow book following the *Protestation*. And while it was a very thorough history, referred to in almost all histories of Glasgow since, it was not without its own seal of Protestant approval. Within this book M'Ure included his funeral elegy on the death of the Sovereign Mary II (1662-1694) – 'Melpomene Glascuensis, or the Unfeigned Tears of the Town of Glasgow' (1694) – reminding the reader of Glasgow's loyalism to the Williamite régime. The subtleties of such important books therefore reveal the importance of print culture in unravelling the past. Ten years later, James Duncan printed Dougal Graham's (1724-1779) *A Full, Particular and True Account of the Rebellion in the Years 1745-1746*. According to William Donaldson, Graham's *Account* went through at least three editions during his life (1746, 1752, and 1774), and, given the amount of chapbooks now attributed to him, Graham is said to have been 'the biggest-selling author in eighteenth-century Scotland... by some distance.'⁸⁵ His preference for chapbooks elucidates much about the role of print in the transference of oral tradition and the culture of the lower classes. Dougal Graham's work, in its cheaply printed format, reminds us of the ephemerality of print culture; that such works 'would naturally have been passed around a common alehouse in the Glasgow Saltmarket' and 'would eventually fall apart or land in the gutter, replaced by the next news-worthy murder or racy song.'⁸⁶ Thus, the potential for their survival and collectability – their memory – is much less assured than the more expensive products of the competing Enlightenments in Glasgow. Yet, like the famous editions of Foulis, their importance to eighteenth-century life in Scotland has been neglected.

It is perhaps due to this historic inattention that scholars have been unable to discern much about Graham's life. His account of the Jacobite uprising offers little as to *a*) the authenticity of his accounts and *b*) his own political persuasion. Nonetheless, his intense dislike for Catholicism can be discerned at various points. Beside the attacks on 'Romish tradition' in his autobiographical poem at the beginning of the first edition of his *Account* is

⁸⁴ Jeremy Smith, 'Scots Language', *Literature and the Union* workshop at the University of Glasgow, November 29 2013.

⁸⁵ William Donaldson, 'Graham, Dougal (bap. 1721, d. 1779)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/11188>.

⁸⁶ John Scally, 'Cheap Print on Scottish Streets', *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 372-381 [375].

his embittered tirade on the Pope in the 1752 edition, and in an undated pamphlet named *Humphray Clinker's Oration Against the Growth of Popery*.⁸⁷ In describing the passage of the Jacobite army through Glasgow, Graham notes that the city was made to accommodate Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788) and his troops:

Ten thousand sterling made it pay,
For being of the Georgian way,
Given in goods and ready cash,
Or else to stand a plundering lash...⁸⁸

As the title of this chapter denotes, Graham's portrayal of Glasgow's Hanoverian stance in the midst of a Jacobite rising has dictated the perception of the city as regards the Romantic, poetic strand of Scottish literary history. Essentially, Glasgow's overwhelming hostility towards the Chevalier and his Highland followers outweighed the threat of 'a plundering lash.' And while the city did make some payments and supply clothing (unwillingly, perhaps) for the Jacobites, it is reported that a pistol was fired at Prince Charles as he rode through the Saltmarket, and that a soldier was beaten by a Glaswegian who refused to give up his shoes.⁸⁹ As a result, Walter Scott's *Waverley* (1814) refers to Glasgow just once, in a tone of defeat when the Jacobites return from England.⁹⁰ Therefore, the glimmers of Jacobitism in the story of the Foulis brothers can be understood in the context of Glasgow's pronounced Hanoverianism.

And yet, before the Foulis brothers are even considered, it should be noted that the Duncans' publications were not single-minded in their religious outlook. While they 'remained essentially evangelical... they were not intolerant, printing for the Episcopal Chapel in Glasgow and the Baptist congregation in Edinburgh.'⁹¹ Alongside this diverse print culture, however, were people like John Bryce: 'Glasgow's most active producer and purveyor of pious Calvinist books and pamphlets,' some of which were 'directed against Roman Catholic relief.'⁹² From a list of books advertised at the back of his *Act of the Associate Presbytery for Renewing the National Covenant of Scotland* (1763), including works by John Calvin, *Knox's History of the Church of Scotland*, *The Confession of Faith*,

⁸⁷ Often dated as a 1790 chapbook, it is clear that Graham made use of the success of Tobias Smollett's *Humphry Clinker* (1771) with this clever pseudonym: http://www.18ccheap-print.bham.ac.uk/song_h.htm [accessed 08/12/15].

⁸⁸ Dougal Graham, *An Impartial History of the Rise, Progress and Extinction of the Late Rebellion In Britain, in the Years 1745 and 1746... The Third Edition with Amendments* (Glasgow: John Robertson, 1774), 49.

⁸⁹ A. G. Callant, *Saint Mungo's Bells; or Old Glasgow Stories Rung Out Anew* (Glasgow: David Bryce & son, 1888), 66.

⁹⁰ Walter Scott, *Waverley* (London: Penguin, 1972 [1814]), 414.

⁹¹ Moss, 158-159.

⁹² Sher & Hook, 'Introduction', *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, 13.

and several Bibles and Catechisms, one can see the monopoly of Protestant prints in Glasgow well into the middle of the century. According to Landsman, Bryce also traded in Paisley, ‘which became an important centre of evangelical activity’ among the artisan community there.⁹³

Overall, the popularity of these Protestant works is a result of their modernity. While church-going remained a crucial aspect of social life, print culture had affected change in the religious character of the city. The repetitiveness of print strengthened the dominant ideas while modernising the experience by offering it directly, rather than through the orality of a sermon. Among Bryce’s works, above, was the hugely popular *Cloud of Witnesses*, a text printed across Britain since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It contained ‘the last speeches and testimonies of those who have suffered for the truth in Scotland, since the year 1680.’ Rendering the Covenanting tradition in print clearly relies on ‘collective memory’ which, through the printing of books, becomes ‘cultural memory.’

In this sense, Glasgow University, the home of the Foulis brothers’ press and, later, their Academy, seems surrounded by a very popular religious character. That ‘din and bustle of the streets’ as described by Thomas Hamilton seems to lend itself to this character effectively.

‘Stillness and Calm’: The Foulis Brothers and Classical Print Culture

The remainder of this chapter will focus on the ways in which the Foulis brothers altered the course of Glasgow’s history. Their impact on the Scottish Enlightenment was entirely unique: combining a successful and recognised print culture with a flourishing Academy of Arts. The forgoing discussion on religious print culture helps explain why Edinburgh’s comparatively tolerant print culture has come to define the Scottish Enlightenment. But as this chapter aims to show: to remember the Foulis brothers is to remember much more about Glasgow within the Age of Reason.

The brothers were born in Glasgow, the sons of Andrew Faulds (Faulds; c.1690-1742), a maltman, and Marion Paterson. Taken apart, the story of the brothers’ eminence would be incomplete; but it should be noted that it was Robert, the elder brother, who established the foundations of their success. From 1720-27, he referred to himself using their father’s surname, but changed it in the late 1730s to ‘the more aristocratic “Foulis” (pron. Fowls).’⁹⁴ The significance of this change has not been rightly accredited in relation to their

⁹³ Landsman, ‘Presbyterians and Provincial Society’, 199-200.

⁹⁴ David Murray, *Robert & Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press, with some account of the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1913), 4.

rise. As we will see, their creation of an altogether new culture combining print and fine art was unheard of in Britain. In effect, the name ‘Foulis’ came to embody a brand: something that was almost material.

Robert’s route to this academic society was less formal than Andrew’s – who matriculated at the University as a student of humanity in 1727 before going on to teach Greek, Latin, and French.⁹⁵ After serving as an apprentice barber and setting up shop as a maltman, barber, and wigmaker, Robert matriculated at the University in 1730. In this same year Francis Hutcheson began teaching, and the friendship that grew between them represents the starting point of the brothers’ contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment.

It was Francis Hutcheson, the ‘Father’ of the Scottish Enlightenment,⁹⁶ who ‘introduced to the University of Glasgow and to Scottish university education generally the practice of lecturing in English’ rather than Latin.⁹⁷ At the same time, however, the moral philosopher was helping the brothers establish their business. This distinction between orality and print, in the classical sense, was important in the proliferation of emerging ideologies. Between 1740 and 1742, Robert Foulis was selling books in the University, relying on other established printers such as Alexander Miller, then printer to the university, and Robert Urie (*bap.* 1713, *d.* 1771) to print on his behalf.⁹⁸

In 1742, after marrying the sister of the Professor of Greek, James Moor (*bap.* 1712, *d.* 1779), Robert printed what would prove to be one of his most crucial texts. *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus* was a collaborative effort by Francis Hutcheson and James Moor, newly translated from Greek. In a letter from Hutcheson to the Reverend Mr. Thomas Drennan in Belfast, it is suggested that part of the intention in completing this work was to benefit Robert Foulis’ aspirations.⁹⁹ It went through four editions in Glasgow between 1742 and 1764, although another ‘fourth edition’ was printed in Dublin for Robert Main in 1752.¹⁰⁰ The first edition was recently edited and reproduced with an introduction and notes by James Moore and Michael Silverthorne (2008), and their work does much to contextualise its importance. They have said that Moor’s expertise in the translation of Greek (which was intrinsic to the brothers’ later success), when coupled with Hutcheson’s handling of ‘the technical Stoic vocabulary’, had a lasting impact on the

⁹⁵ Richard Ovenden, ‘Foulis, Robert (1707–1776)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9991>.

⁹⁶ William Robert Scott, *Francis Hutcheson: His Life, Teaching and Position in the History of Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900), 261.

⁹⁷ James Moore, ‘Hutcheson, Francis (1694–1746)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14273>.

⁹⁸ Ovenden, ‘Foulis, Robert’.

⁹⁹ *The Meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, translated by Francis Hutcheson and James Moor*, eds. James Moore and Michael Silverthorne (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2008 [1742]), ix.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Scottish Enlightenment.¹⁰¹ Alexander Broadie and Robin Brownie have similarly stated that Hutcheson's 'celebration of Greek philosophers such as the Stoics' created a much more tolerant cultural environment in Scotland, 'in which ideas could flourish more easily.'¹⁰² *The Meditations* was therefore significant in Hutcheson's personal pursuit 'to promote the more moderate and charitable sentiments in religious matters in [Scotland].'¹⁰³ For Moore and Silverthorne, Hutcheson 'was refashioning Christian doctrine, notably the Presbyterian or Reformed doctrine of original sin, by substituting it' for a classical concept: the 'natural constitution of human nature,' containing 'a heart or a soul that is oriented toward affection for others, good offices, benevolence.'¹⁰⁴ The hitherto analyses of Protestant print culture are useful in understanding Hutcheson's desire for change. An impression of balance is introduced which, as we will see, favours the 'polite' aspect of the Foulis brothers' Enlightenment.

Indeed, by tracing Hutcheson's tolerant moral philosophy to this text in 1742 (the same year as the Cambuslang revival), it becomes symbolic of something new in Glasgow. His (and Moor's) combination of a moderate dogma with classical literature resulted in a new branch of philosophy that competed with dominant Presbyterian values, thus altering Glasgow's cultural identity. As Landsman suggests, the line between the moderate and orthodox parties in Scotland is not easily defined. In Glasgow, he says, evangelicals were not always 'irrational' or 'narrow',¹⁰⁵ connecting themselves to a burgeoning group of merchants and artisans on a scale that was entirely unique.¹⁰⁶ This same social milieu was that which the Foulis brothers entered into and, as we will see, flourished.

These cultural antisyzygies can be likened to the situation in Dublin, where Hutcheson's first philosophical work, *An Inquiry into the Original of our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (1725), was printed. Ireland's connection with Glasgow in the formation of Enlightenment standards is an interesting topic worth more attention. On top of the ideas in Michael Brown's *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin* (2002), the print culture that developed in Belfast, with its origins in Glasgow, may be considered. As noted above, Belfast became a stronghold for Protestant print culture, with an obvious parallel market in the west of Scotland. Hutcheson, on the other hand, brought to Glasgow the theories and sympathies particular to his time in Dublin, wherein 'he befriended an eclectic and unusual array of

¹⁰¹ Ibid, xiii-xxv.

¹⁰² Alexander Broadie and Robin Downie, *Glasgow Moral Philosophy in the Enlightenment: ideas and their International Influence* (Glasgow: College of Arts, 2012), 14.

¹⁰³ Quoted in James McCosh, *The Scottish Philosophy: Bibliographical, Expository, Critical from Hutcheson to Hamilton* (Massachusetts: Applewood, 2009 [1875]), 67.

¹⁰⁴ Moore and Silverthorne, xxiii.

¹⁰⁵ Landsman, 'Presbyterians and Provincial Society', 194.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 195.

people’ of various denominations, including James Arbuckle, above,¹⁰⁷ whose duality of ‘polite’ and ‘rude’ principles has led Michael Brown to reconsider the characterisation of the Enlightenment. The Foulis brothers certainly promoted the polite, refined qualities of the movement, but this is not to say that they were entirely single-minded in this respect. Often diverse in their choices, the Foulis brothers printed evangelical works – including those of John Gillies (1712-1796) and Robert Findlay (1721-1814) – as well as moderate works by William Craig (1709-1794), a friend of Francis Hutcheson. Their diverse press is symbolic of the underestimated diversity of the era, challenging the assumption that Glasgow’s cultural history is easily connected to the Presbyterian, pro-Hanoverian majority of its population.

Earlier, Arbuckle’s literary confrontation with Jonathan Swift (1667-1745) had revealed ‘something about the energy bubbling under and sometimes over in the literary life of the early eighteenth century, and hints at how the Enlightenment was impolite, rude, and at times obnoxious.’¹⁰⁸ This suggested split reminds us that not all enlightened writers were moving in the same direction or at the same pace. Indeed, William Thom (1710-1790) spent much of his time attacking the Glasgow professors from whom he gained his education, because they were, in his mind, nothing more than “Monuments of Antiquity.”¹⁰⁹ Surely, then, it can be argued that cities should not be labelled simplistically. Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Glasgow each had their own Enlightenments with unique, opposing characteristics. As stated in the introduction, the positive elements of the Enlightenment were at one point portrayed as belonging to Edinburgh alone. Studies such as this serve to challenge this popular misconception.

In terms of print culture, Glasgow was ‘ranked sixth in English-language imprints, behind London, Dublin, Edinburgh, Philadelphia, and Boston’.¹¹⁰ The Foulis brothers’ burgeoning craft had failed to attract the prominent literati of the day. David Hume (1711-1776), Adam Smith, and Joseph Black’s (1728-1799) key works were printed in the commercial districts of Edinburgh and London. The book trade in those cities was better connected, serving an active reader-base with vested interests in emergent Enlightenment discourse. The Foulis brothers, by contrast, were more adept at making an art out of their

¹⁰⁷ Michael Brown, *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719-30: The Crucible of his Thought* (Portland: Four Courts Press, 2002), 10.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Brown, ‘The Biter Bitten: Ireland and the Rude Enlightenment’, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 45:3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012), 393-407 (400).

¹⁰⁹ Sher, ‘Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow’ (1995), 345.

¹¹⁰ Richard B. Sher, *The Enlightenment & the Book: Scottish Authors & Their Publishers in Eighteenth-Century Britain, Ireland, & America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 268-269.

texts: preferring reprints rather than ‘publishing the new literary, philosophical, and scientific books of the Scottish Enlightenment’.¹¹¹

In Edinburgh, Thomas Ruddiman (1674-1757) and his brother Walter (1687-1770) contributed to Edinburgh’s lasting humanist print culture, but showed ‘no interest in the production of modern French, Italian and English classics’ that met the needs ‘of a new kind of educated reader.’¹¹² Noted more for ‘accuracy’ than ‘elegance,’¹¹³ the Ruddimans represented ““usefulness”, in the old Christian-humanist sense, rather than “accomplishment”, as it was admired by eighteenth-century polite society.”¹¹⁴ In other words, the Foulis press in Glasgow was the stronghold of an evolved humanism in the Scottish Enlightenment: effectively shifting the focus from Edinburgh in becoming (as Sher calls it) a city of “classical humanism.”

To best exemplify the point we may look at the chronology of the culture: how the capital ‘initiated the great age of Scottish printing’¹¹⁵ in the form of Gavin Hamilton’s (1704-1767) 1743 edition of Virgil, followed by the Foulis edition of Horace in 1744.

While the *Meditations* was perhaps symbolic of the Foulis brothers’ intentions with their press, their Horace was the first aesthetically accomplished work. This was entirely dependent on the arrival of Alexander Wilson (1714-1786) from St. Andrews in 1744. Wilson became intrinsic to the University’s growth and was soon made type-founder to the University. In 1760, he also became the first Professor of Practical Astronomy at Glasgow, which will be examined in further detail in the next chapter. Together with Moor’s skills as a translator, and Wilson’s renowned types (which ‘achieved great fame throughout the world’),¹¹⁶ the brothers promoted Glasgow as a centrepiece of the Enlightenment.

The Horace was printed at a time when the brothers were keenly aware of the gap in the market,¹¹⁷ as, one can assume, were Hamilton and Balfour in Edinburgh. While the Protestant and political tracts executed outside the University were made quickly and often poorly, the classical print culture was painstakingly managed. ‘After hours had been spent [by Moor] and other experts over each page [of the Horace], each sheet was hung in the

¹¹¹ Ibid; With the exception of James Moor and, later, John Anderson (1726-1796), the Foulis family were better known as printers of Greek and Roman classical texts than contemporary philosophical works.

¹¹² Douglas Duncan, *Thomas Ruddiman: a study in Scottish Scholarship of the early eighteenth century* (Edinburgh & London: Oliver & Boyd, 1965), 83.

¹¹³ Ibid, 80.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 83.

¹¹⁵ Warren McDougall, ‘Developing a Marketplace for Books: Edinburgh’, *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 118-202 (119).

¹¹⁶ *Catalogue of the Foulis Exhibition Held in the University of Glasgow April 1913* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1913).

¹¹⁷ George Eyre-Todd, *History of Glasgow, Volume III: From the Revolution to the Passing of the reform Acts 1832-33* (Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie & Co., 1934), 191.

college for a fortnight, and a reward of fifty pounds offered for the detection of any error.’¹¹⁸ It was not completely accurate, though close enough, as the editors later said that ‘absolute accuracy’ was *vana spes*.¹¹⁹

This ‘vain hope’, however, might help us pinpoint the influence of the Ruddimans on the Foulis press. The Edinburgh-based Ruddiman press had many connections with Allan Ramsay, who went on to be printed consistently in Glasgow by Robert and Andrew Foulis. Furthermore, we may look at the publishing record of the latter press during the second Jacobite uprising and select George Buchanan’s (1506-1582) *Francisci Valesii et Mariae Stuarta Epithalamium* – ‘with its fervent prayer for Scotland to be united with France’;¹²⁰ Lady Wardlaw’s (1677-1727) *Hardyknute, a fragment of an antient Scots poem* – a precursor to James Macpherson’s (1736-1796) Ossian cycle; and their second edition of Ramsay’s *Gentle Shepherd* as evidence of their provisional Jacobitism.

Grier Gordon (1999) and Fairfull-Smith (2001) have considered these texts, and Foulis’ early connections with Father Thomas Innes (1662-1744) in the Scots College in Paris, and the Jacobite Sir Andrew Ramsay (1686-1743) – the tutor of the young Prince Charles Edward Stuart – in their claims that the brothers were in fact Jacobites.¹²¹ And while this does risk neglecting the impact of Hutcheson’s tolerant Stoicism, their allegiances do point to the conclusion that they were often inclined to Jacobitism. However, one must remember that between 1745-6 they maintained a diverse publication record, including a Greek Aristotle, Thomas Otway’s (1652-1685) *The Orphan*, and Benjamin Bennet’s (c.1674-1726) evangelical tract *The Persecution and Cruelty of the Church of Rome*. This balancing act may seem contradictory on their part, but it may have stemmed from their need to at least appear objective during certain moments of political and religious tension. After all, their return from France had attracted much negative attention.

Their associations with prominent Catholics and Jacobites, above, was at one point regarded as treasonous to the memory of the Covenanters in Glasgow. An inflammatory tract was published in the early 1740s, supposedly ‘done by an old soldier of Drumclog’. The battle of Drumclog is remembered as a site of victory for the Covenanters over the Royal forces, later immortalised in Walter Scott’s *Old Mortality* (1816). Of Robert Foulis, the ‘old soldier’ said: ‘In charity I am obliged to believe you were received by your baptism a

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ MacLehose, 167.

¹²⁰ Robert Crawford, *Scotland’s Books: The Penguin History of Scottish Literature* (London: Penguin, 2007), 292.

¹²¹ Grier Gordon, ‘The Foulis Academy, 1753-1776’, *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* 4 (Oxford: Oxfam Print Unit, 1999), 2-7 (6); George Fairfull-Smith, *The Foulis Press and The Foulis Academy: Glasgow’s Eighteenth Century School of Art and Design* (Glasgow: The Glasgow Art Index in association with the Friends of Glasgow University Library, 2001), 17.

member thereof, if you have not renounced it, when you received the lick of the mug in the Popish Church in France; if you have done so, prey discover yourself...I advise you to go back to France, and trade and traffick there, for indeed your ware is not the commodity that Scotland, especially Glasgow and the West of Scotland, hath use for.’¹²² Meanwhile, Thomas Innes was praising the brothers’ moderate, non-sectarian Christianity.¹²³ In Robert Hay Carnie’s delineation of ‘Scholar-Printers of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740-1800’, he refers to the Foulis brothers as Innes’ ‘young Protestant visitors.’¹²⁴ This, one of the only explicit references to their religion, helps us understand not only the response from the old soldier, above, but also the direct impact of Hutcheson’s efforts to inspire a tolerant religious atmosphere in Glasgow. Professor William Richardson (1743-1814) had even remarked that Robert Foulis’ ‘religion was nearly allied to that of [François] Fénelon’;¹²⁵ the Archbishop of Cambrai whose works went through the brothers’ press on several occasions.

But it was the dominant, intolerant religiosity in Glasgow which led Dougal Graham, above, to class the city as ‘being of the Georgian way.’ Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair (or Alexander MacDonald, c.1695-1770) – whose *Aiseirigh na Seann Chànain Albannaich* (*The Resurrection of the Ancient Scottish Tongue*, 1751) promoted Gaelic as an intrinsic aspect of Scottishness – would surely have noticed such sentiments during his time as a student at the University of Glasgow.¹²⁶ It is unfortunate that he was in Glasgow before the Foulis brothers established their printing press:¹²⁷ one can only presume what sort of relationship might have been forged, and what further insights into the brothers’ Jacobitism might have been gained. By 1750, the brothers had recognised the importance of the Gaelic language, as is evident from their edition of Richard Baxter’s *Gairm an de mhoir* (*A call to the unconverted to turn and live*). With Latin, Greek, and Gaelic, the brothers provide various entry points into the multifaceted literary genres which dominate their era. As we will see, their editions of Homer rekindled the power of epic poetry in the mind of

¹²² Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department, Call Number: Mu.21-c39, relating to Gabriel Neil, *The Poetical Remains of the Late James Moor; As Printed in a series of papers in the “Northern Notes and Queries”* (Glasgow, 1853).

¹²³ Richard B. Sher, ‘Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow’, *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* eds. T. M. Devine & Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 312-359 (325).

¹²⁴ R. H. Carnie, ‘Scholar-Printers of the Scottish Enlightenment, 1740-1800’, *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment* eds. Jennifer J. Carter and Joan H. Pittock (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 298-308 (301).

¹²⁵ This hint towards Robert’s religion can be found on page 104 of David Murray’s text on the brothers (op. cit.), although it is more than likely that the brothers were Episcopalians.

¹²⁶ Derick S. Thomson, ‘MacDonald, Alexander (c.1695-c.1770)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17422>.

¹²⁷ According to the chronology of Alasdair mac Mhaighstir Alasdair’s life [in Camille Dressler and D. W. Stiùbhart’s *Alexander MacDonald: bard of the Gaelic Enlightenment* (2012)], the poet was active in Glasgow c.1720, well before the brothers were old enough to have an impact on the city’s print culture.

generations to come. When their early ancient fragments of Scottish verse are reconsidered, as above, it becomes clear that Macpherson's heralding in of Romanticism via Ossian, 'rivalling if not surpassing Homer' along the way,¹²⁸ is intimately connected with the aesthetic of the classics for which Glasgow became so famous. As such, this re-examination of the impact of the Foulis brothers undoubtedly points to their national as well as their local importance. We have already established some of the connections between the brothers and Europe, but their recognition in the capital should have made their legacy permanent. Indeed, their award-winning productions symbolise the shift in a classical print culture centred in Glasgow and celebrated nationally. Once dominated by evangelical texts, the trade in Glasgow was increasingly improved to a standard, if not a volume, which was unsurpassable.

In volume two of *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, Brian Hillyard illustrates the superiority of the Glasgow edition. 'The Glasgow Homer', or, as others have called it, 'the splendid Homer,'¹²⁹ actually refers to two folios: *Iliad*, vols. I-II (1756) and *Odyssey* and *Homeric Hymns*, vols. III-IV (1758).¹³⁰ It is interesting that two folios containing more than one volume, or indeed more than one Homer, have come to be known collectively as a singular item. Hillyard's delineation does much to explain this. 'The Glasgow Homer,' he says, 'differs from previous Foulis classical texts in being printed at the expense of Glasgow University's professors.' From the outset this was an endorsed, collaborative effort. But what makes the Homer more important in the context of cultural memory is its intended purpose as well as its aesthetic beauty. It won the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture award in 1756 (*Iliad*), 1757 (*Odyssey*), and 1758 (*Homeric Hymns*).¹³¹ 'Given its status and value,' says Hillyard, 'the Glasgow Homer was almost entirely restricted to being an institutional gift.' Among a host of notable recipients of the Homer as offered by the University, Hillyard notes that General Paoli (1725-1807) received this gift personally from his friend and chronicler James Boswell (1740-1795), whose *Dorando* (1767) and *An Account of Corsica* (1768) were published by the Foulis brothers.¹³² More than most, then, this Glasgow edition of a Classical work becomes much more an object than a textbook or piece of literature. The esteem of Homer's works, and their historical importance, is inherent in the memory of the gift-givers and receivers, while the proliferation of these near-flawless objects transforms them into tools with which the prestige of the University is promoted.

¹²⁸ Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 72.

¹²⁹ Eyre-Todd, 192.

¹³⁰ Brian Hillyard, 'The Glasgow Homer', *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Volume 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707-1800* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 70-80 (70)

¹³¹ *Ibid*, 70.

¹³² *Ibid*, 76.

It was Boswell who gave the brothers the affectionate name by which they are often known: 'The Elzeviers of Glasgow.' There is also the often-repeated story of the brothers teasing Samuel Johnson (1709-1784) when he was touring Scotland with Boswell, stopping off at Glasgow to meet several distinguished literati. Boswell made light of Johnson's dismay, calling them 'good and ingenious men.'¹³³ As noted above, Thomas F. Bonnell's writing (2008) provides an excellent consideration of the brothers' reputation. Interestingly, he introduces the Johnson encounter with the fact that Boswell's warmth for the brothers likened them to an 'institution' of their own. Boswell's comparison of the Dutch firm with the Foulis name recalls a different, past Enlightenment culture and superimposes it over a new one.

This kind of change was affected in labelling Britain the 'Greece of Europe' and Scotland the 'Athens of Britain.'¹³⁴ The nature of this comparison was illustrated by Sher, who points to the irony that Edinburgh 'was poised to acquire the epithet "Athens of the North" on account of its growing stature as a centre of culture,' while 'the Foulis brothers were establishing Glasgow as the leading site in Britain for the printing of fine Greek classics.'¹³⁵ It is not the purpose of this discussion to decide which city deserves the title, or which publishers deserve the compliment. Instead, these labels, being transportations of culture, reveal the ways in which the sites of culture have been positioned historically. Bonnell's idea of 'brand' names 'in the minds of consumers and collectors' is equally important. It suggests the idea that fame and reputation are at once sellable and memorable. In bringing 'Foulis' and 'Elzevier' together, they become repackaged for subsequent generations. The time and distance separating the two firms is broken down and, to use Jan Assmann's term, 'disembodied'. It is only through 'reembodiment' in cultural memory that the two become distinctive - as with the 'Glasgow Homer', and the 'Brothers Foulis'; seemingly unified 'objects' in the minds of cultural historians. There were simply no other Scottish printers who worked within these unique parameters.

David Murray's text (1913) on the brothers ends with the sentimental idea that their work 'lies before us now as fresh and beautiful as when it left [Robert's] hands more than one hundred and fifty years ago, and is still a model for to-day.'¹³⁶ That their books are relics of the past and models for the future tells us that the self-made name 'Foulis' cut across Glasgow's character, changing it permanently. Their name, like Elzevier, was 'connected

¹³³ Bonnell, *The Most Disreputable Trade*, 62.

¹³⁴ Quoted in Sher, *The Enlightenment & the Book*, 67.

¹³⁵ Sher, 'Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment', 312-359 (331).

¹³⁶ Murray, 131.

with ideas of quality, aesthetic appeal, and value':¹³⁷ the 'stillness and calm' of the classical world.

The discussion thus far has provided a new contextual grounding for the Glaswegian brothers. Their work in Glasgow has been positioned by Murray, above, as symbolic of a 'new world' which 'had opened upon Glasgow.' This new world included the relaxation of the 'narrow views of the older generation of Scottish preachers and the fading out of 'the memory of the bitter persecution of previous times.'¹³⁸ They stood, then, in the midst of a print culture which responded to the growth of evangelicalism. Murray reminds us that, 'in less than a score of years,' Glasgow-based print culture (in terms of English-language history, criticism, and belles-lettres) outnumbered the entire output from the previous century.¹³⁹ With a view to identify their impact on the Scottish Enlightenment more specifically, their Academy of Fine Arts must also be considered.

Contrary to popular belief, this secondary institution was intrinsic to the evolution of their first. The same philosophical values which dictated their print culture also found root in their art teaching which, during its twenty-two year life-span, created yet another arm of the Glasgow Enlightenment.

The Foulis Academy of Fine Arts & Their Legacy

In 1753, the Foulis brothers established their Academy of Fine Arts within the grounds of the University of Glasgow, within the University Library.¹⁴⁰ In so doing, they affected an unprecedented culture of literature and high art in Scotland, with strong links to France and Italy. In his *Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture* (2004) Peter McEwan calls it 'the single most influential factor in the development of eighteenth century Scottish art.'¹⁴¹ It was not the first of its kind, despite the often-quoted remark in John Rae's *Life of Adam Smith* (1895) that the Foulis Academy 'was the first school of design in Great Britain.'¹⁴² This statement should be corrected and expanded.

The origins of the Academy date to the 1730s, when Robert Foulis was in Paris. He noted how the trips to Paris allowed the brothers to witness 'the connection and mutual influence of the Arts and Sciences upon one another and upon society' and observe 'the

¹³⁷ Bonnell, 44.

¹³⁸ Murray, 33-34.

¹³⁹ Murray, 34.

¹⁴⁰ The specific location of their Academy, on the upper floor of the University Library, will be studied in the pages below.

¹⁴¹ Peter J M McEwan, *The Dictionary of Scottish Art and Architecture* (Ballater: Glengarden Press, 2004), 187.

¹⁴² John Rae, *Life of Adam Smith* (London: Macmillan & co., 1895), 72.

influence of invention in Drawing and Modelling on many manufactures.’¹⁴³ So, the concept of an Academy was at the forefront of Robert Foulis’ mind before he became the University printer. And while the French Academy in Paris was ‘used as the prototype for art schools throughout the continent’ including Florence, Rome, Bologna, Milan, and Vienna before 1720,¹⁴⁴ and was undoubtedly the model for the brothers, there *was* activity in the British Isles before 1753. The first was the short-lived Edinburgh Academy of St. Luke, opened by Allan Ramsay the Elder,¹⁴⁵ the architect William Adam (*bap.* 1689, *d.* 1748), and the English engraver Richard Cooper (1701-1764) among others in 1729.¹⁴⁶ The other was a school of design in Dublin, opened by Robert West (*d.* 1770) in 1742 ‘under the auspices of the Dublin Society’ which was initiated in 1731.¹⁴⁷

On top of being short-lived, neither of these had a partner press or an evolved range of arts. Indeed, for all the Scottish Enlightenment publishing that would take place in Edinburgh and London (where the Royal Academy was established in 1768) in later decades, neither city was equipped with a combined culture of print and fine art in the same location. The Foulis brothers meanwhile had already established a recognisable and prestigious trademark in the classics, and led the way in painting and sculpturing as well as drawing and engraving. François Antoine Aveline (1718-1762), their choice engraver, would go on to inspire a truly eminent style by, above others, Robert Paul (1739-1770), whose topographical views of Glasgow comprise the greater part of the remnants of the Academy. The brothers also hired two painters and a copperplate printer from France and modellers from Italy to initiate their art teaching.¹⁴⁸ Besides Paul’s views, the models of James Tassie (1735-1799) – one of the best remembered pupils of the Academy – (famously known as ‘Tassie medallions’) are vital elements in several museum collections in the United Kingdom. They include likenesses of Adam Smith, Joseph Black, Robert Foulis himself [Fig. 5], and several other players of the Scottish Enlightenment, making Tassie one of the major artists of eighteenth-century Britain.

¹⁴³ Quoted in George Fairfull-Smith, 17.

¹⁴⁴ Arthur D. Efland, *A History of Art Education: Intellectual and Social Currents in Teaching the Visual Arts* (New York & London: Teachers College Press, 1990), 44.

¹⁴⁵ Murray G. H. Pittock, ‘Ramsay, Allan (1684-1758)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23072>.

¹⁴⁶ David Irwin & Francina Irwin, *Scottish Painters: at home and abroad, 1700-1900* (London, Faber and Faber, 1975), 83.

¹⁴⁷ Anton W.A. Boschloo et al, *Academies of Art Between Renaissance and Romanticism* (The Hague: SDU, 1989), 443.

¹⁴⁸ Fairfull-Smith, 23.



Figure 5: Tassie Medallions of Adam Smith, Robert Foulis, and Joseph Black.

Yet for all the work carried out in the Academy between its opening and its closure in 1775 (following the death of Andrew Foulis the elder),¹⁴⁹ the venture remains almost extinct in Glasgow's public imagination. Even in most historical and literary scholarship, the Academy is overwhelmed by other, more consistently accepted points: especially Glasgow's commercial and industrial character and Edinburgh's historic nurturing of the arts.¹⁵⁰

It is also commonly cited that the Academy effectively brought about the downfall of the Press. Joseph Black, whose presence in Glasgow will be considered in the next chapter, apparently advised against the brothers' overzealous approach to the academy.¹⁵¹ Writing in 1757, Sir John Dalrymple (1726-1810) begged Robert to take the advice of Smith and Black, suggesting that he should have his pupils work on 'what will sell the best' as opposed to 'what you think the best.'¹⁵² The Foulis brothers' taste, rooted as we know it to be in Hutcheson's inspired classicism, was perhaps seen as an issue by their contemporaries. It would appear that this speaks more to the brothers' continuous money problems¹⁵³ than the aesthetic value of their vision. Nonetheless, Irwin and Irwin have outlined the art texts that the brothers did publish upon the opening of their Academy. The first was Charles Coypel's (1694-1752) *Dialogue sur la connaissance de la Peinture* (1753/54), followed by Charles-Alphonse Dufresnoy's (1611-1665) *A Judgement on Painters* (1755). Based on their new Academy, the brothers could thereafter use illustrated plates within their texts, which, although uncommon in their press, nonetheless developed their spare, uniform style into something more commercially accessible. The first hint of this came in 1753, when their

¹⁴⁹ Murray, 98.

¹⁵⁰ All of these points are made in a twentieth-century newspaper clipping describing the Foulis Academy, of an unknown source and date, held in Glasgow University Library's Special Collections: http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/manuscripts/search/detail_c.cfm?ID=40391 [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁵¹ Murray, 73-4.

¹⁵² Rae, 75.

¹⁵³ Murray, 90-91.

edition of Torquato Tasso's (1544-1595) *Aminta* was produced with plates after Sébastien Le clerc (1637-1714).¹⁵⁴

The legacy of the brothers should surely have benefited from their founding of a prestigious academy with soon-to-be prestigious students, but this was not to be. Captain Edward Topham (1751-1820) remarked that 'During the rage of their fancy, [the Foulis brothers] forgot their former business, and neglected an art which, from their editions of Homer and Milton, might have made them immortal.'¹⁵⁵ For David Murray, 'the enthusiasm for art of the people of Glasgow and of the neighbourhood was less than that of [Robert Foulis], there were few picture-buyers in Glasgow.'¹⁵⁶ In his unfinished 1809 memoir, one of the Academy's other better-known pupils, David Steuart Erskine, 11th Earl of Buchan (1742-1829), suggested the same. Although the 'University of Edinburgh as connected with the Capital would have been more proper', the brothers' education in Glasgow through Hutcheson was crucial in their decision to 'carry their scheme into execution.' Erskine acknowledges the strength of the classical education the brothers had received, stating: 'From this union [of an Academy with a University] they hoped that a double benefit would be derived; for, as learning is necessary to artists, so a fine taste is necessary to complete a liberal education: nor should learned men be without a relish for these arts, which have in all ages been deemed liberal and polite.'¹⁵⁷ The reoccurrence of this key word, 'polite', in conjunction with brothers' contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment certainly challenges the preconceived notions of Glasgow's all-encompassing Presbyterian philistinism. Yes, we have noted its dominance, but to forget the brothers' activities within that dominance is to misremember Glasgow's artistic achievements in the eighteenth century.

And we need not look far to find examples of the Foulis Academy making an impact on Glasgow's newfound civic pride in the fine arts. Many of the works carried out within the Academy often portrayed the surrounding city itself, furnishing the material cultural history of Glasgow with impressive views from almost all points in the compass. Robert Paul's many engravings offer views of the city from the south, the south-east, the south-west, the west, prospects of the Cathedral from the north, as well as views from within the College garden. Therefore, an almost three hundred and sixty degree panorama of the city can be gleaned through the work of a student of the Academy. Some of these were recently

¹⁵⁴ For a full record of the usage of plates in the brothers' catalogue see Philip Gaskell, *A Bibliography of the Foulis Press* (Dorset, St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1986); for a breakdown of the same with images see Fairfull-Smith's website: <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/foulis/index.htm> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁵⁵ Murray, 91.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 83-84.

¹⁵⁷ 'Unfinished sketch of the history of the Messrs. Foulis by the Earl of Buchan,' 1809 (Glasgow: GU Special Collections – MS Murray 506), 87-89.

redisplayed in Kelvingrove Museum as part of Glasgow's rejuvenated interest in the Georgian era in 2014. In the re-launch of the permanent Glasgow Stories exhibition (March), Robert Paul's 'View of Glasgow from the South-West' was exhibited. Then, in the major temporary exhibition, *How Glasgow Flourished* (April-August), both of Robert Paul's Views of from the South East were displayed in the 'Printing and Publications' section. It was this section of the exhibition which I helped curate: negotiating the presence of the brothers by writing object labels, panel texts, choosing objects and relevant contextual imagery which would illustrate the brothers' press and academy. In the concluding chapter of this thesis I will go into more detail about this process. For now, however, we may consider the value of topographical views and scenes of exhibitionism as pieces of cultural memory.

With Halbwachs' theories of collective memory in mind, these scenes are essential for the visualisation of an institution which has diminished in the considered history of the city in recent times. Both 'The Foulis Academy of the Fine Arts' (1760) and 'Fine Art Exhibition in the Court of Old College' (1761) are engravings by David Allan (1744-1796) – 'the Scottish Hogarth'¹⁵⁸ – during his time at the Academy. The former piece is perhaps the most commonly depicted image in relation to the Foulis name. In 1762 Allan also produced an oil-sketch entitled *Interior of the Academy*, which is slightly different from the engraving in terms of the pictures hung on the back wall and the positions of some of the figures, including Professor Moor and the brothers themselves. The importance of these images cannot, therefore, be understated.

Not only do they offer a view of the lost interior, they give sudden weight to the impression of prestige one gathers when reading about the extent of the output of the Academy. It preserves the idea of the academy for subsequent generations in the same way that the brothers sought to preserve the classics with their celebrated books. Aleida Assmann unravels the theories of the relationship between image and memory in her book *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization* (2011). She uses as an example the idea that 'pictures accompanying the biblical tales and the catechisms made a far deeper and more lasting impression on [children's] imagination than any text could have done.'¹⁵⁹ It was perhaps that writing and print represented 'an emanation of the mind and a means of mental reactivation,' as stated by Assmann. 'Unlike the image,' she says, writing 'was not the product of a single, irreversible "excarnation", but allowed an unlimited number of

¹⁵⁸ See T. Crouther Gordon's book, *David Allan: the Scottish Hogarth* (1951).

¹⁵⁹ Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 216.

repeatable “reincarnations.””¹⁶⁰ What the Renaissance and Enlightenment scholars could not have anticipated, though, was one of the most important developments in the process, storage, and ‘reactivation’ of ideas: photography.

Walter Benjamin and Roland Barthes discuss these ideas at length.¹⁶¹ However, one must consider what effect is made on the presence of an original image by its reproduction in a different medium. It was David Allan who produced both versions of the interior of the Academy as shown in Figs. 6 and 7. But a photograph of the original image [Fig. 8] by Thomas Annan (1829/30–1887) remembers the image, as object, for us to remember today.¹⁶² Annan represents the plethora of reproductions of Allan’s image in various books and websites. In the photograph, the image becomes less an ‘irreversible “excarnation”’, thus representing the ‘unlimited “reincarnations” that are possible. As such, the cultural memory of the image, of the Academy, and of the brothers is repeated, manipulated, and dispersed; pertaining to the idea that plurality has, at all times, complicated rather than unified the cultural memory of their accomplishments. When one also considers the idea that Allan’s small oil-sketch is on display at the Hunterian Art Gallery,¹⁶³ the idea of an exhibition within an exhibition is a powerful spatio-cultural metaphor.

Yet, despite the prominence of the Academy in the context of the Foulis brothers, its precise location on campus is rarely defined. In abstracting the work of the Academy, the intimacy of the collaborative work being done in the College grounds is difficult to comprehend. When it has, the only point of reference has been David Allan’s engraving or painting of the interior which, on its own, is unable to portray the context and proximity of the Academy to other University buildings. In other words, few definitive points have been made about the Academy because of the scholarly preference given to the press alone. In his *Life of Adam Smith*, John Rae suggested that after the establishment of the Academy, the Foulis brothers were given the Faculty Hall for their venture.¹⁶⁴ David Murray’s text on the brothers, however, claims that Allan’s *Interior* shows ‘a hall of the Library.’¹⁶⁵ Murray later quotes the novelist Mary Anne Hanway who, writing in 1775 (at the end of the Academy’s

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, 206.

¹⁶¹ See, for example, Benjamin’s ‘The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction’ (1936) and Roland Barthes’ *Camera Lucida* (1980).

¹⁶² Annan is best remembered for his revelatory photographs of the ‘old closes and streets’ in Glasgow, captured between 1868 and 1871 as part of a commission from the City of Glasgow Improvements Trust.

¹⁶³ The placement of this small, unassuming oil-sketch in the Hunterian Art Gallery is a most relevant one indeed. It is placed at the entrance of the gallery, under the title ‘An Enlightened Collection.’ Nearby, two paintings which were owned by Robert Foulis for the Academy are exhibited, giving a sense of the scale of the ambition of the brother’s venture. They are: a copy of Raphael’s *The Entombment* c.1600-1750 and Jan Cossiers’ *The Martyrdom of St Catherine* (1647).

¹⁶⁴ Rae, 72.

¹⁶⁵ Murray, 68.

life), described the library as ‘a very noble room with a gallery round it, supported by pillars; there is likewise a very good collection of original pictures shown here.’¹⁶⁶

The Library [Fig. 9] was built by William Adam, above, between 1732 and 1745, and was therefore a reasonable choice for the Academy when it was established eight years later. Mungo Campbell has recently pointed to the resemblance between the three arched windows that feature in Allan’s depiction and the original plans for the Library.¹⁶⁷ This reiterates Hugh Ferguson’s observation in his history of the Glasgow School of Art (1995), in which he also states that the (now extant) Foulis Building and Foulis Press Glasgow School of Art were named after the eighteenth-century brothers.¹⁶⁸



Top left to right: Figures 6 & 7: David Allan, ‘The Foulis Academy of Fine Arts’ (1760); ‘The Interior of the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts (1762). Bottom left to right: Figures 8 & 9: Thomas Annan, photographic reproduction of Allan’s etching; ‘View of the William Adam Library’ (c.1880).

But the final clue, I suggest, can be found in the frontispiece of the brothers’ *Catalogue of Pictures, Drawings, Prints, Statues and Busts in Plaister of Paris, done at the Academy in the University of Glasgow* (1758) [Fig. 10]. The image itself is seemingly unambiguous, but when unpacked it connects Allan’s oft-repeated image from the Academy with work from the press itself, revealing a confluence of the brothers’ twin institutions.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid, 98.

¹⁶⁷ Mungo Campbell, “‘...A remote location where it is not needed’: Acquisition, Education and Reputation in Enlightenment Glasgow’, *Georgian Glasgow Symposium: Kelvingrove Art Gallery & Museum*, 19 May 2014.

¹⁶⁸ Hugh Ferguson, *Glasgow School of Art: The History* (Glasgow: The Foulis Press of Glasgow School of Art, 1995), 14.

The British Isles feature on the globe, and the motto *Ars Longa / Vita Brevis* (*Art is long, Life is short*) propagates the brothers' pride in their Academy. Within the image, however, other elements represent crucial points to the brothers' legacy. Firstly, the main figure atop the globe is Calliope, the Greek Muse of Epic Poetry, who holds in her left hand a statuette of Lady Britannia. Calliope certainly represents the brothers' print culture of classical works including, of course, their famous editions of Horace and Homer. That she is holding Lady Britannia may symbolise the triumph of the arts over empire, and her position on top of the British Isles certainly suggests the same.



Figure 10: Title page of Robert and Andrew Foulis, *A Catalogue of Pictures* (1758)

More importantly, however, is the object in her right hand: a tablet showing a plan. In most depictions of Calliope, she holds a tablet or book representative of classical Greek literature. Here, however, the brothers have inscribed the *location* of their Academy of which this catalogue takes account. By comparing the drawing on the frontispiece with the layout of the College on John McArthur's *Plan of the City of Glasgow* (1778) [Fig. 11], the similarity becomes obvious; especially in the L-shaped building that we know to be the University

Library [Figs. 12 & 13]. Now we can view Allan’s images alongside other pieces of material culture which, all told, offers a three-dimensional view of the Foulis Academy. For the first time, the seemingly unremarkable image on an otherwise important catalogue can be viewed as a memorial in itself, placing Glasgow’s classical Enlightenment as carried out on the University campus.



Figure 11: John McArthur, *Plan of the City of Glasgow* (1778) edited by author



Figure 12: McArthur, *Plan of the City of Glasgow* (further edit by author)

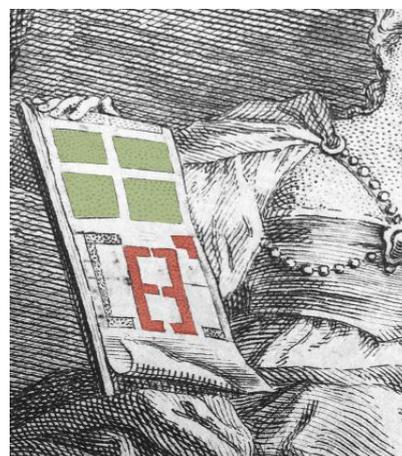


Figure 13: Cropped section of Figure 10

David Allan’s other engraving [Fig. 14] is also useful in locating the Academy and understating its impact on Glasgow. The event captured by Allan is described by James MacLehose as follows:

A curious but well vouched-for incident connected with the Academy is that the pictures were exhibited—*sub Jove frigido*—on the walls of the inner quadrangle of the University on 22nd September 1761 on the occasion of the coronation of George III; and annually ‘upon every return of his Majesty’s birthday’ till 1775.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁹ McCosh, *The Scottish Philosophy*, 188.



Figure 14: David Allan, 'Fine Art Exhibition in the Court of the Old College' (1761)

The combination of commemoration and exhibition is strongly redolent of present-day activities in art galleries, museums, and other public arenas. This pertains to the oft-repeated sentiment that the Academy was 'too far in advance of its time.'¹⁷⁰ As for the element of public engagement, the social frameworks of collective memory can be utilised in analysing the importance of the image. Following Pierre Nora's symbolic work on the 'lieux' of memory, Jay Winter's theories on the 'sites' of memory have been particularly influential. He says: 'Such sites... have an initial, creative phase, when they are constructed or adapted to particular commemorative purposes'—the use of the space in the quadrangle in order to exhibit new art. 'Then follows a period of institutionalization and routinization of their use. Such markings of the calendar, indicating moments of remembrance... can last for decades, or they can be abruptly halted'¹⁷¹—the repetition of this event to mark the King's birthday served as a method for positioning the new art within the already-perceived loyalty of Glasgow to the Hanoverians. However, Winter's estimation that some sites, and the routine practices within them, 'can be abruptly halted' is also true of the Academy and the University following its change of location in 1870. Although it is said to have closed in 1775, as a result of Robert Foulis' financial situation, the potential for a return to this 'site', and the potential to commemorate the commemorators, thus giving us a physical link to the past, was demolished along with the Old College buildings. If not for the success of the Academy's pupils, the memory of the brothers may be even less significant.

¹⁷⁰ Eyre-Todd, 193.

¹⁷¹ Jay Winter, 'Sites of Memory', *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates* eds. Susannah Radstone & Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), 312-324 (312).

Yet, there is more evidence to suggest that their press and their Academy were not mutually exclusive. As we know, the brothers printed two art texts upon the opening of their Academy. Their collaboration of print and art, however, did not end there. While Allan and Paul were working in the Academy, the brothers otherwise spent the 1760s reprinting works by James Moor, Francis Hutcheson, as well as the collaborative *Mediations* and their usual combination of Greek, Roman, and English classics. In short: their print culture was not altered in quality or quantity as the Academy flourished. In fact, in 1763 in particular, the press produced two Italian texts with plates copied from Sébastien Le clerc, as they did in 1753. Both Giovanni Battista Guarini's (1558-1612), *Il Pastor Fido* and Tasso's *Le Gierusalemme Liberata* contained numerous illustrative engravings. It may be that these unsigned plates were produced by Robert Paul, whose topographical engravings were produced between 1764 and 1768.

At the beginning of the 1770s, the brothers made more efforts to incorporate the aesthetic renown of their press with the burgeoning skills taught at their Academy. The first was *The Gallery of Raphael* (1770). Beside Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) – whose *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (c. 1614/1616) in the Hamilton Palace was something of an inspiration for the brothers – Raphael (1483-1520) was the key figure in the artistic development of the Academy. Their 1770 text was 'based on the sixteenth century frescoes' painted by Raphael, copied by Academy pupils James Mitchell (*fl.* 1750-74) and William Buchanan (1736-72).¹⁷² This volume of fifty four prints is one of the Foulis' most accomplished books, and it signifies their tradition of sending their pupils to Rome in order to maintain their tradition of Classical Enlightenment. Anton Boschloo et al have identified the following Foulis pupils to have travelled and worked in Rome: James Maxwell; William Cochran (1738-85); and Archibald McLauchlan (*fl.* 1752-70).¹⁷³ Although little is known of these less prestigious pupils, Maxwell is said to have won a prize while at the Accademia del Nudo in Rome (aided by the life drawing previously available in Glasgow);¹⁷⁴ while Cochran studied under Gavin Hamilton (above); and McLauchlan, who had painted the famous *Glassford Family Portrait* in 1767, also made a large copy of Raphael's *School of Athens* (1509-10) around 1770.¹⁷⁵ In 1771, the brothers published their second edition of *Don Quixote*, this time with three plates (the first edition contained none), and in 1773, Mitchell and Buchanan's talents were put through the press again. Buchanan had not long died when *The Seven Cartoons of Raphael*

¹⁷² Fairfull-Smith, 55.

¹⁷³ *Academies of Art Between Renaissance and Romanticism*, 85.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*; Marion Amblard, 'The Scottish painters' exile in Italy in the eighteenth century', *Études écossaises* 13 (Grenoble: Stendhal University, 2010), 59-77 (71).

¹⁷⁵ David Irwin & Francina Irwin, 88.

was produced. This work exemplifies the strong impact of the Academy upon the diversification of the press, amounting to an unparalleled combined culture of print and fine art.

The attempts that have been made to remember the Foulis brothers' achievements have taken them out of the archives and into the public realm. The first was an unsuccessful attempt in 1866 to establish a Foulis Library in the city. A subscription letter from the time declares: 'While Glasgow has great reason to be proud of being the birth-place and scene of labours of printers who rival Aldus and the Stephani, it is scarcely creditable to her sons that no complete Collection of the Foulis Works are in existence.'¹⁷⁶ While speculations should be limited, it is arguable that such a library may have served as a solid reminder of the brothers' contribution to Glasgow's print culture, and of their 'non-sectarian Christianity' which was unique in the city. There were also two exhibitions. The first was held in the University of Glasgow's Examination Hall in April 1913.¹⁷⁷ The five components of the exhibition were: an overview of the printing history of Glasgow from 1638 to 1742 (the date at which Robert Foulis commenced University Printer); the Foulis Press; examples of the typefaces of Alexander Wilson; Personalia; and examples from the Academy.¹⁷⁸ The second exhibition was dedicated to the Academy itself, held at the Mitchell Library, April through September 2001. It was entitled *The Foulis Academy: Glasgow's eighteenth-century School of Art and Design* and was advertised as 'the first major exhibition devoted to the history of the school.'¹⁷⁹

There is a permanent commemoration of the brothers in stone, on the pavement outside the Ramshorn Church in Glasgow's Ingram Street. Etched into the stone are the words 'FOULIS BROTHERS: PRINTERS AND BOOKSELLERS,' followed by their dates. This new stone cleverly resembles a book, slotted in among the other paving stones. It replaces the previous stone which contained a simple cross, and the brothers' initials on either side. This public reminder that once contained a cross, and now does not, is perhaps symbolic of the increasingly secular nature of memorialisation outlined above. Or is it the case that it is difficult to remember those who lived in a time when religion was ever-present in a city whose many churches and chapels are in disuse and disrepair? When Thomas Reid came to the University from King's College in Aberdeen to succeed Adam Smith, he 'drew attention to the unusually high interest in religion "of a gloomy, enthusiastical cast" among the

¹⁷⁶ Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department, Call Number: Mu2-x.9/13c.

¹⁷⁷ *Catalogue of the Foulis Exhibition Held in the University of Glasgow April 1913* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1913).

¹⁷⁸ Ibid.

¹⁷⁹ For the digital exhibition and details from the 2001 exhibition, see: <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/foulis/index.htm> [accessed 08/12/15].

“common people” of Glasgow.’¹⁸⁰ This statement supports the ideas illustrated above, thus providing the context in which the print culture of the city developed in the age of the brothers. In print and art Glasgow has cast an impressive archival cultural memory of its Georgian past as well as the Georgian ideas about the past. Taking it out of the archive has begun, but needs to continue.

Indeed, the printed word has always elucidated the nature of its time. The fragility of print culture¹⁸¹ would seemingly confirm its importance in the figuration of cultural memory. The example of Robert and Andrew Foulis, while undoubtedly revealing Glasgow’s cordoned-off, separate Enlightenment cultures, also helps locate their intersection. The more we understand them, more of Georgian Glasgow comes into view. Sher has said that the Foulis brothers’ crowning ‘achievement was to translate into print culture the values of the classical, aesthetic, moralistic, Hutchesonian Enlightenment in Glasgow.’¹⁸² We may extend this to include their unique contribution to the Scottish Enlightenment more generally, in the hope that a re-examination of this scale can alter the faltering image of Glasgow’s intellectual past.

¹⁸⁰ Sher, ‘Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow’, 317.

¹⁸¹ Perhaps the best example is that explored by Roger Emerson: Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll’s (1682-1761) book collection was destroyed in a fire. The only significant surviving text was, poetically, the catalogue of his 9,581 titles printed by the Foulis brothers in 1758. For more on this, see: Roger Emerson, ‘*Catalogus Librorum A.C.D.A.*, or, The Library of Archibald Campbell, Third Duke of Argyll (1682-1761)’, *The Culture of the Book in the Scottish Enlightenment, an Exhibition with Essays* (Toronto: Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library, 2000), 13-39.

¹⁸² Sher and Hook, 13.

Chapter II

*'Unimpair'd remembrance reigns':
Science and Medicine in the age of Tobias Smollett*

Here great Buchanan learnt to scan
The verse that mak's him mair than man.
Cullen and Hunter here began
Their first probations,
And Smith, frae Glasgow, formed his plan—
"The Wealth o' Nations."

- John Mayne – 'Glasgow: A Poem' (1803)¹

In chapter one the interconnected cultures of print and fine art in Georgian Glasgow were examined through the example of the Foulis brothers. It was found that they established a unique centre of classical humanism in keeping with the evolving, wide-spread Scottish Enlightenment. In this chapter, the Scottish Enlightenment will be considered as a mobile and sociable network of people and ideas with links to Glasgow. It will be argued that the fast-paced scientific and medical enlightenment involving Glasgow is much more difficult to harness and remember than the comparatively static Foulis brothers. Not only were there so many players at the heart of this movement but their mobility and diversity have affected a lack of focus or grounding. In order to clarify this picture and connect it firmly to literary culture, Tobias Smollett (1721-1771) will be reconsidered in light of Glasgow's improving reputation for scientific and medical achievement. By extension, his colleagues and friends in other parts of Britain with ties to Glasgow will help portray the intricacies of the city's place in Enlightenment history. What we will see is a sort of cyclical chronology, where the University of Glasgow produced some of the key figures who went on to establish themselves elsewhere, only for the cultural memory of this network to return in the form of the first Hunterian Museum (1807-1870). Among those to be considered in this chapter are William Cullen (1710-1790), William Hunter (1718-1783), Joseph Black (1728-1799), and James Watt (1736-1819).

Interestingly, none of the names in John Mayne's poem above – which offer an impressive and Enlightened view of Glasgow when woven together – were included in the poet's original version twenty years earlier. But why not? It seems that Mayne, in revising his poem, drew inspiration from Robert Fergusson's poetic descriptions of Edinburgh and

¹ John Mayne, 'Glasgow', *The Glasgow Poets: Their Lives and Poems* ed. George Eyre-Todd (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1906 [1903]), 73-87 [74-75].

collated Glasgow's most resonant names.² For Mayne, it seems, Smollett was not one of these. Yet despite his absence, there is much to be said about Smollett's Glasgow: from his formative years as a student and a medical apprentice in the city to his final novel, in which Glasgow receives his overdue attention.

Tobias George Smollett was born in Dalquhurn, near Renton, in Dumbartonshire, where the Smollett family had resided since the fifteenth century.³ Smollett was avidly interested in the history of Dumbarton; sending letters from London to his cousin, James Smollett, with reminiscences of his childhood there and anecdotes about early Briton settlers. In his *Present State of All Nations* (1768-9), Smollett displays clear pride for his ancient family, whose motto *Viresco* means 'I flourish.'⁴ In 1735 Smollett first entered Glasgow;⁵ the growing centre of trade and teaching where he was sent following his time under John Love (1695-1750) at Dumbarton Grammar School.⁶ It may be that his hopeful departure for London only four years later stifled his connections with the west of Scotland. Yet, as this chapter will illustrate, the Glasgow of Tobias Smollett is not a disconnected and distant city which he merely passed through. By studying the intricate network of scientific and medical people in which Smollett was involved, a more realistic image of Glasgow in Smollett's time comes to the fore.

Before this is outlined, however, some illustration of Glasgow's initial relationship with medicine should be made. As with the previous chapter, the seventeenth-century origins of print in Glasgow helped establish the institutional and technological foundations which the Foulis brothers built upon. Here, the origins of medicine in Glasgow help connect the subsequent figures of the Enlightenment who lived and worked there to a historical image of the city. Jenny Uglow's *The Lunar Men* (2002) is a fine example of the portrayal of the eighteenth-century world via the networks of leading learned figures. As such, Smollett's multifarious career – poet, surgeon, dramatist, novelist, editor – can be harnessed by focussing on the men surrounding his ever-changing social and professional milieu. In doing this we can also map the sites, the memorials, and the institutions which continue to perpetrate the memory of this network and its placement in collective impressions of Glasgow. It is soon revealed that the Scottish medical Enlightenment, often entirely focussed

² Richard B. Sher, 'Images of Glasgow in Late Eighteenth-Century Popular Poetry', *The Glasgow Enlightenment* eds. Andrew Hook & Richard B. Sher (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 190-213 [190].

³ Joseph Irving, *The book of Dumbartonshire: a history of the county, burghs, parishes, and lands, memoirs of families, and notices of industries carried on in the Lennox district* v. 2 (Edinburgh: W. and A. K. Johnston, 1879), 175.

⁴ Kenneth Simpson, 'Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25947>.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Irving, 189.

on Edinburgh, owes much to Glasgow's innovative University and its links with other civic institutions. As with print culture before – and slavery next – analyses of the legacies of people, ideas, and the places to which we connect them depends on an understanding of memory studies.

We have already discussed the lineage of this now-interdisciplinary field, from Maurice Halbwachs' 'collective memory' to Jan and Aleida Assmann's bifurcation of the term into 'communicative memory' and 'cultural memory.' By engaging with the latter, it will be shown that the image of Glasgow has come to represent the growth of heavy industry rather than the previous age of Enlightenment it helped create. Agnes Heller subscribes to the idea that 'cultural memory just like individual memory is linked to places.'⁷ As such, locating the development of medicine in Glasgow by way of the institutional places and objects that are, by now, cultural memories, helps challenge the persistence of Glasgow's unenlightened character.

In John Mayne's poem, above, his reflective decision to position Adam Smith alongside Cullen and Hunter may seem like a unique defence of Glasgow's Enlightenment (especially its Medical one), but we will see that studying the latter two figures unveils a larger issue. Their move from Glasgow to Edinburgh and London respectively symbolises Glasgow's marginal role in an Enlightenment narrative which was established in the introduction. In other words, if Cullen and Hunter only '*began* their first probations' in Glasgow; then some might read into the University's limitations; hence their decision to set themselves up in other centres of medical and scientific teaching. Glasgow – being less advanced in terms of medical practice and literary culture than Edinburgh and London – became not 'less Enlightened' in historiography, but 'unenlightened.' And wrongly so.

Following this, the plural cultural memory of Tobias Smollett will be examined. From Scot, to Briton, to North Briton and back: Smollett not only represents the political dilemma that affected literary society following the Union of 1707, but also the unfortunately displaced cultural narratives which can best tell the story of a place. Thus, by finding Smollett in the company of the Hunter brothers and other figures of the Scottish Enlightenment, we can reposition several cultural memories within the purview of Glasgow; therefore remembering the city without claims of superiority. This method also allows us to look beyond Smollett's short spell in Glasgow as a young apprentice, beyond the sporadic local references in his writing, and beyond his unpredictable medical career. With this in

⁷ Agnes Heller, 'Cultural memory, identity, and civil society', *Internationale Politik und Gesellschaft* 2/2001 (Berlin: International Politics and Society, 2001), 139-143 (139).

mind, his disorienting cultural afterlife seems even greater when we consider his presence in literary contexts.

In Jerry Beasley's text on the author (1998), he places Smollett alongside Defoe, Richardson, Fielding, and Sterne as one of the 'five "early masters" of English fiction.'⁸ Beasley is quick to 'remind' us that Smollett 'was a Scot', as though his inclusion in this list is enough to cause confusion, to render Smollett's Scottishness obsolete. Does this mean that English fiction as a term should be restricted to authors born in England? Gerard Carruthers asks similar questions of Scottish literature: 'The list of "exiled" Scottish writers is a long one. Is the work of these individuals any less Scottish, however, due to their non-residence?'⁹ Smollett's erratic Scottish patriotism, although of great interest, is not central to this chapter. And while his comments on Scotland are often relevant, especially as regards his cultural memory, it is more suitable here to consider the Scottish men with whom he was acquainted in London for their connections to Glasgow's Enlightenment than to define their identity through nationality alone. More than most eighteenth-century figures, Smollett's exhaustive career and contradictory politics which made him so prominent in his time have effectively dispersed his memory too far and wide for him to be easily remembered.

This chapter will note, by way of illustrating the medical network linked to Smollett, that the presence of Glasgow is more than coincidental in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment. This is not to refute the notion above that London provided Smollett with enough lively scenery to maintain his, and others', fame – but rather that the pace of change in the eighteenth century often sees Glasgow eclipsed by London and Edinburgh. As James A. Kilpatrick notes in *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow* (1898), Smollett lived in a 'beautiful Glasgow... surrounded by corn fields, flower gardens, and orchards.'¹⁰ Kilpatrick also states that 'Smollett was not so absorbed [in writing *The Regicide*] as to miss the comedy or farce of everyday life as it passed in and about the Saltmarket. Consciously or unconsciously, the people among whom he mixed were forming themselves into the *dramatic personae* of "Roderick Random."¹¹ While this sketch of young Smollett in Glasgow does adhere to the importance of place, and of the formation of place in the works of the writer – thus preserving a specific cultural memory – more can be said about the city in the examination of its role as a centre in which certain figures were born, lived, worked, and established the institutions which remain part of the legacy of medicine and science in Scotland.

⁸ Jerry C. Beasley, *Tobias Smollett: Novelist* (Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1998), pp. 3-6.

⁹ Gerard Carruthers, 'Introduction', *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature* eds. Gerard Carruthers & Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 1-12 (5).

¹⁰ James A. Kilpatrick, *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Saint Mungo Press, 1989), 22.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 17.

This chapter will therefore develop a chronological narrative of Glasgow's relationship with medicine via institutions, buildings, networks, and individuals. By looking at the origins of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, subsequent prolific members such as William Cullen and Joseph Black are seen as part of an institution still active today, which was initiated to regulate medical practice in a hitherto unregulated part of Scotland. In fact, Glasgow is one of only four Royal Colleges of medicine or surgery in existence in the British Isles (beside London, Edinburgh, and Dublin). The history of the Faculty is made accessible through Peter Lowe, who emblematically links France (where he was taught) to London (where his pioneering medical books were published) and Glasgow (where he chose to install his ideas). His legacy in Glasgow – in the form of the Faculty, and its links with the University – therefore encouraged the important medical and scientific developments that would later occur. The Glasgow medical network that will be outlined was responsible for taking these ideas to other parts of Britain and improving them in the process. Tobias Smollett becomes an important symbol, an unlikely mirror of Glasgow's placement in the medical Enlightenment. His own dual sentiments and achievements in London and Europe do not, I propose, belong to the *persistent* image of Glasgow (which will be highlighted throughout this thesis) in the eighteenth-century world of improvement and reason. The prevailing cultural memories of Smollett are unsuited to Glasgow as the prevailing cultural memories of Glasgow are unsuited to the Edinburgh-centric medical Enlightenment. As stated above: it was not until the nineteenth century onwards that Glasgow began to reclaim some of its glories in the form of the Hunterian Museum, only for the age of industrialisation to swiftly elide this potentially lasting monument to Glasgow's antiquarian and medical achievements.

The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow

The foundation of The Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow (FPSG) in 1599 marks the beginning of the growth of medical practice and regulation in Glasgow. In Tobias Smollett's day, the city was beginning to realise the potential of its medical prominence in the relationship between the Faculty and the University. Archibald Lamont Goodall has proved that no concrete evidence exists for the University having an established relationship with medicine or surgery before 1599.¹² Only two names are worth mention: Andrew de Garleis - 'a physician who was admitted to the University in 1469'; and Andrew Boorde -

¹² Archibald Lamont Goodall, 'The Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons', *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 10:2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), 207-225 (207).

‘the English spy who reported on Scottish families to Thomas Cromwell and on whose word little reliance can be placed,’ who had allegedly ‘wrote of studying medicine’ in the city in 1536. In both cases there is no indication that a medical school was founded.¹³ Until Peter Lowe (c.1550–1610) founded the Faculty, then, Glasgow was inactive in Scotland’s medical development. John D. Comrie’s *History of Scottish Medicine to 1860* (1927) best offers the context of Scotland’s growing reputation for medical excellence. As stated, the University of Glasgow can claim no such eminence for medicine or surgery before 1599. The cases of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and St. Andrews, however, illustrate the diverse and independent development of medicine in each of these seats of learning, which is worth summarising here.

We know that St. Andrews University was founded first (1413), followed by Glasgow (1451), Aberdeen (King’s College, 1495; Marischal College, 1593), and Edinburgh (1582). St. Andrews, says Comrie, ‘was a “*stadium generale*,” or “*universitas studii*”, and as such it was entitled to include all the faculties of theology, canon and civil law, arts and medicine.’¹⁴ In 1579, however, ‘the constitution of the University was changed,’ and of the three separate Colleges (St. Salvator’s, St. Leonard’s, and St. Mary’s), only the first two were responsible for ‘philosophy, law and medicine.’¹⁵ This distinction of subjects indicates a specialisation of practice, which explains the absence of a non-University medical incorporation at St. Andrews. Glasgow’s separate incorporation was founded long before Edinburgh’s (in 1681),¹⁶ but these dates can be misleading, for several attempts were made before the acquisition of the charter for the College of Physicians in Edinburgh. The first attempt involved the same James VI who granted the charter to Glasgow’s Faculty. But on revisiting Scotland in 1617, re-fashioned as James VI (of Scotland) and I (of England and Ireland) since the Union of Crowns in 1603, the attempt to establish the College in Edinburgh was allegedly blocked ‘by the Universities and Bishops.’¹⁷

These readings of dates similarly obscures Edinburgh’s eminence in medical practice outside the University and chartered incorporation. In 1505, the Town Council combined ‘the surgeons and barbers... under the Seal of Cause, ratified next year by the King’ (James IV).¹⁸ Therefore, Edinburgh’s position as the centre of the medical Enlightenment in the eighteenth-century can trace its roots to this guild, established before Glasgow’s Faculty. The situation in Aberdeen is more resonant of that in St. Andrews, for it had no chartered

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ John D. Comrie, *History of Scottish Medicine to 1860* (London: Baillière, Tindall & Cox, 1927), 175.

¹⁵ Ibid, 175-176.

¹⁶ Ibid, 185; In Aberdeen also, one may look to the incorporation of the Guild of Barbers in 1537.

¹⁷ Ibid, 183.

¹⁸ Ibid, 63.

incorporation. In terms of medical practice and teaching, however, “mediciners” played ‘an intrinsic part in the teaching of the University, and this was the first University recognition of the subject in Great Britain.’¹⁹ William Davidson, or D’Avissonne (c. 1593-1669), the Aberdeen-born chemist and physician who lectured on chemistry in Paris became, among other things, physician to the King, and the occupant of the first chair of chemistry in France.²⁰ Peter Lowe’s movements on the continent similarly illustrate the benefit of French medical schools to the development of medicine in Scotland. Furthermore, that ‘The Guild of Barbers was incorporated by the Town Council in 1537’²¹ also places Aberdeen’s beginnings with organised medical practice before Glasgow’s.

But it should be remembered that the differences in these organisational movements in the Kingdom of Scotland suggests independence, even a lack of communication between towns rather than the sense of competition which defines the migrating literati in the eighteenth-century. For instance, it is said that around 1577 Glasgow ‘began to offer salaries or “pensions” to doctors whom they invited to settle in the place.’²² The independence of the cultures of medicine that were forming in Edinburgh, Aberdeen and St. Andrews can therefore be seen as local rather than national cultures. As there seemed to be no need for the establishment of medical teaching before 1599, the FPSG alone went on to represent Glasgow until, in the early eighteenth-century, there evolved ‘a “free trade” system of maximising opportunity, especially if it culminated in the prestige – and additional income – attached to university teaching.’ As the next section will show, it was in Glasgow that William Cullen and Joseph Black developed and made permanent this ‘prestigious’ link between the Faculty and the University. Before then, ‘teaching agendas were not determined by [the University] but relied heavily on surgeons drawn to the FPSG qualification.’²³ The key texts on the history of the Faculty are by Alexander Duncan (1896) and, more recently, the extensive work by Johanna Geyer-Kordesch and Fiona MacDonald (1999) which, in two parts, outlines 1599 to 1858 (from its founding until the passing of the Medical Act, regulating medical practice throughout the United Kingdom); and from 1858 to 1999.

The founding of the faculty was a result of Peter Lowe’s ‘petitioning James VI about the unorganized and primitive state of medicine and surgery in Glasgow.’²⁴ To use Lowe’s

¹⁹ Comrie, 140.

²⁰ Lawrence M. Principe, ‘Davisson, William (c.1593–1669)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7307>.

²¹ Comrie, 139.

²² Alexander Duncan, *Memorials of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow* (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, 1896), 17.

²³ Johanna Geyer-Kordesch & Fiona MacDonald, *Physicians and Surgeons in Glasgow: The History of the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow* (London: Hambledon, 1999), 155.

²⁴ Helen M. Dingwall, ‘Lowe, Peter (c.1550–1610)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17086>.

words, he had complained to the King that: ‘some fowerteene yeeres agoe vpon certaine abusers of our Art, of diusers sorts and ranks of people, whereof we haue good store, and all things fayling, vnthrifts and Idle people doe commonly meddle themselues with our Art, who ordinarily doe passé without either tryall or punishment.’²⁵ The charter granted in 1599 allowed Lowe (surgeon), alongside Robert Hamilton (physician) and William Spang (apothecary) to fill the void, the ‘regulatory vacuum in the west of Scotland in the late sixteenth century.’²⁶ The areas under their jurisdiction included Glasgow (with a population of seven thousand),²⁷ as well as Renfrew, Dunbarton, Clydesdale, Renfrew, Lanark, Kyle, Carrick, Ayr and Cunningham.²⁸ According to Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, ‘Anyone practising surgery within the Glasgow Faculty’s extensive bounds could be summoned and examined.’²⁹ However, they are careful to note that ‘the west of Scotland, like the rest of Europe at this time, had a flourishing irregular medical culture,’³⁰ which reduced the Faculty’s ability to fully control the infrequent non-professional treatment of inhabitants. In other words, the unregulated medical culture that existed in the city in medieval times continued to exist, and the ancient remedies that were believed to have worked in the past were most likely still in use, maintained in the passing down of oral histories and traditions. An eighteenth-century handwritten collection of herbal remedies³¹ held by the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow (the present name of the FPSG) shows us this coexistence of older medical cultures with the quest for regulation and reason. Moreover, ‘Accounts of the prosecution of quacks and unqualified practitioners show that irregular healers came from an immense range of occupations from shoemakers and gardeners to merchants,’ thus proving that the Faculty, although active in an official sense, had ‘little regulatory control.’³² This is the key proponent for the importance of academic culture as being collaborative in Glasgow’s ability to be truly representative of leading medical development, as will be illustrated, in the eighteenth-century.

If the FPSG is the first Glaswegian institution of medicine, then Peter Lowe is the first to feature as a representative for medicine in Glasgow. Freeland A. Fergus’ brief text *The Origin and Development of the Glasgow School of Medicine* (1911) attests to this, as do the aforementioned histories of the FPSG. Fergus states that ‘Lowe was perhaps the first to

²⁵ Quoted in Duncan, 27.

²⁶ Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 6.

²⁷ Ibid, 3.

²⁸ Ibid, 7.

²⁹ Ibid, 117.

³⁰ Ibid, 138.

³¹ See: <http://www.rcpsg.ac.uk/Library/DigitalVolumes/Herbal.aspx> [accessed 08/12/15].

³² Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 139.

publish in the English language a treatise on surgery.’³³ The text in question, *The Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597), is the main reference point for the biographical sketches made by Duncan and Geyer-Kordesch/ MacDonald,³⁴ which proves its worth as not just an important object in a medical context, but as an invaluable account of Lowe’s own life. These accounts are more substantial than it would be necessary to paraphrase here, although some key points should be highlighted. The first is Lowe’s nationality. Helen M. Dingwall’s *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* entry on Lowe states that he ‘may have been born in the west of Scotland.’³⁵ The main reason for the uncertainty is that ‘Lowe described himself variously as “Arellian” (perhaps relating to Errol, or to the University of Orléans) and “Scottishman.”’³⁶ Duncan had taken up the same case, but was suspicious of previous attempts in assigning Ayr as Lowe’s place of birth. However, Duncan intriguingly states that the main piece of evidence for his roots being in the west of Scotland was that he chose Glasgow in which to establish the Faculty, a place, as we have seen, previously devoid of medical organisation.³⁷ Lowe’s activity on the continent is considerable. Following his departure from Scotland around 1566, he spent thirty or so years in France. During this time he served in the Spanish army, the French army, and the French royal household.³⁸ Lowe is also noted to have participated in the established medical networks belonging to the University of Orléans and the College of St Côme (‘the historic fraternity of surgeons in Paris’).³⁹ In Duncan’s opinion, returning to Scotland after so long would have had an unusual effect on Lowe: ‘the change from the Seine to the Clyde must have been immense [and] sufficiently uninviting.’⁴⁰

These sketches are transient in that they rely on snippets of autobiography and a small amount of records (including one in which The Presbytery of Glasgow ordered Lowe to stand “on the Piller” for an unknown offence).⁴¹ So, to consider Lowe’s published work as objects of cultural memory in the history of medicine in Scotland is perhaps more effective. His first work, *An Easy, Certain and Perfect Method, to Cure and prevent the Spanish Sickness* (1596) was published in London by James Roberts, while the first three editions of his main text, *Chirurgerie* (1597, 1612, 1634) were published by Thomas Purfoot, also in London. This tells us that Lowe’s work, which was clearly the product of his experiences in

³³ A. Freeland Fergus, *The Origin and Development of the Glasgow School of Medicine: From Maister Peter Lowe to Sir William T. Gairdner* (Glasgow: Alexander MacDougall, 1911), 6.

³⁴ Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 41.

³⁵ Dingwall, ‘Lowe, Peter (c.1550-1610)’.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Duncan, 21.

³⁸ Dingwall, ‘Lowe, Peter (c.1550-1610)’.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ Duncan, 26.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 26.

Europe, nonetheless had a pre-existing and consistent market in London; all of which circumvents Glasgow, and Scotland, in the succession of Lowe's reputation. As a result of this, Peter Lowe himself becomes the main 'object' of cultural memory as regards Glasgow's medical history. To this day, representatives of the College remember Lowe by laying a wreath on his tomb on the grounds of Glasgow Cathedral 'on the first Sunday after [their] Annual General Meeting.'⁴² His becoming such an object is made possible in the survival of the other 'objects' of cultural memory. Firstly, the several editions of his main texts (although not published in Scotland) are essential for the justification of his eminence and remembrance. Secondly, a pair of embroidered gloves which are thought to have belonged to Peter Lowe, dating from 1600-1610, are said to 'have been given as a gift to symbolise loyalty and service, as was customary.'⁴³ Lastly, he was painted, possibly by Daniël Mijtens (c.1590-1647/48) 'with his hand resting on a charter...towards the end of his career' [Fig. 15].⁴⁴ It can be presumed that this 'charter' is that relating to the FPSG and, as such, this painting⁴⁵ is central to the unification of Lowe as an experienced doctor and the very beginning of Glasgow's route to medical Enlightenment. Together, the texts, gloves, and painting serve as a strong collection; suitable, indeed, for the continuation of Peter Lowe as Glasgow's first medical man.



Figure 15: Daniël Mijtens (attributed), Maister Peter Lowe.

⁴² See: <http://www.rcpsg.ac.uk/news/latest/foundation-day-service.aspx> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴³ See: <https://www.rcpsg.ac.uk/library/archive-and-heritage/instrument-collection/maister-peter-lowes-gloves.aspx> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴⁴ See: <http://www.rcpsg.ac.uk/library/archive-and-heritage/college-art-collection/maister-peter-lowe.aspx> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴⁵ The painting found in the Faculty Hall is a nineteenth-century copy of the original.

These items were displayed together in the Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow, in an exhibition on Lowe which was held during September-October 2013.⁴⁶ While the Foulis brothers' Academy of Fine Art was fixed and short-lived, the shifting of the FPSG over the centuries has arguably diminished our cultural memory of it. The first site was acquired in 1698, almost one hundred years after the foundation of the Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow. The site [Fig. 16] is marked below, taken from John McArthur's *Plan of the City of Glasgow* (1778):



Figure 16: John McArthur, *Plan of the City of Glasgow* (1778), edited by author

The Faculty then moved in 1791 to St. Enoch's Square, west of the Trongate. The building is shown as 'Surgeon's Hall & Philos. Soc. Room', taken from Peter Fleming's *Map of the City of Glasgow and suburbs* (1807) [Figs. 17 & 18]:



Figure 17: Peter Fleming, *Map of the City of Glasgow and Suburbs* (1807) edited by author

⁴⁶ See: <http://libraryblog.rcpsg.ac.uk/2013/09/20/peter-lowe-and-the-whole-course-of-chirurgerie/> [accessed 08/12/15].



Figure 18: Thomas Annan, ‘The Second Faculty Hall, 1791-1860’ (1896).

From 1862 to the present day, the Faculty has been located on 242 St. Vincent’s Street.⁴⁷ From 1909, the Faculty was the ‘Royal Faculty of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow’ and, following its continuing ties with the University of Glasgow, became the ‘Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow’ in 1962. Below (left), one can see the ‘Faculty Hall’ from John Bartholomew’s OS map of 1888 [Fig. 19]; and a screenshot from Google Maps [Fig. 20].



Figure 19: John Bartholomew, OS Map of Glasgow (1888) edited by author

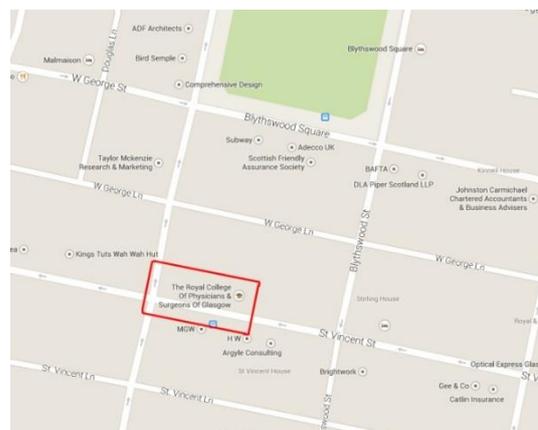


Figure 20: Google Maps screenshot, edited by author

Duncan also tells us that the Faculty Library was initiated in 1698, ‘immediately after the erection of the Faculty Hall in the Trongate.’⁴⁸ This marks the beginning of the Faculty as a physical institution; a site in today’s sense of the word. Its importance as a site of memory for Glasgow’s medical history is upheld today by the accumulation of archive materials and paintings, which, undoubtedly, places Lowe at the centre of the site. The importance of a

⁴⁷ See <http://www.rcpsg.ac.uk/the-college/about-us/our-history.aspx> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴⁸ Duncan, 211.

site in the consideration of memory will feature again in this chapter, especially in the context of the Hunterian museum.

Connecting Lowe to the FPSG and Glasgow's medical development is made all the more important when the same theoretical framework is applied to the eighteenth century. With this, it becomes clear how diverse and movable Glasgow's School of Medicine truly was. As a physician who was educated and trained in Glasgow, Tobias Smollett is part of this network. Working from here, we can locate the involvement of William Stirling, John Gordon, William Smellie, William Cullen, John Moore, and Joseph Black with the FPSG in the Trongate building.

The next section, then, will consider how these members of the Faculty migrated, alongside non-members, from Glasgow to arguably more advanced centres of medical education, as well as the other branches of science which continued to flourish. Glasgow's distinctive Presbyterian governance will be considered for its historiographical effect on the image of the city in the Scottish Enlightenment. Here, key scholars of medicine and the Enlightenment are conflicted: portraying religion on one hand as the chief force driving Glasgow's medical education and on the other as just one of the many aspects of Glasgow which can be counted towards a unique, diverse Enlightenment. The former line of thought, I suggest, is often destructive. It moves Glasgow further away from the commonplace identifiers of the Scottish Enlightenment, rendering it overly insular and generalised. Key words such as 'tolerance... reason... empiricism', all indicative of the Scottish Enlightenment, certainly seem incompatible with a city alleged to have grown from a purely religious set of values. The latter argument – that Glasgow's rate of development in the eighteenth century was paced according to its diverse and conflicting features – not only improves our understanding of what the city was really like but also contextualises otherwise marginalised figures such as Peter Lowe and Tobias Smollett. As we will see, some of the key conflicts of Scottish Enlightenment scholarship are prevalent in our comprehension of cultural memory.

'The Living Centre'

Because of the wide-reaching influence of the Scottish Enlightenment, any consideration of the importance of networks or social circles inevitably attracts most discussion and specialised study. This is evident in the historiographical overview offered at the beginning of *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2002) by Charles W. J. Withers and Paul Wood. The excellent chapter on Glasgow in this period by Wood and Roger L. Emerson

is one of the few extensive accounts on the city's relationship with medicine in the context of social structures and the literati. Both Wood and Emerson were also contributors to *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (1995), the text which, as mentioned in the introduction, remains a unique collection of insights. Withers and Wood have pointed out that Arthur Donovan's 1975 text *Philosophical Chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment* was one of the first major works on 'not only the theoretical legacies of earlier chemists and Newtonians, but also their place within the Scottish universities and their engagement with efforts at economic improvement.'⁴⁹ Donovan's text is halved, each with its own focus on William Cullen and Joseph Black. Incidentally, the first section is about Glasgow and its placement in the narrative of Scotland's medical development. Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald (1999) also dedicate a considerable portion of their study of the FPSG to this context in their 'Enlightenment' section.

One of the key dates in their discussion can also be found in both Donovan's book and the chapter by Wood and Emerson: the 1690 Parliamentary Commission of Visitation which, to use the words of Wood and Emerson, 'was struck to reform the Scottish universities and to remove those who remained loyal to the Jacobite and Episcopalian cause,' bringing about 'the beginning of a new era in Scottish academic and intellectual life.'⁵⁰ The impact of this intervention effectively disabled King's College, the older of Aberdeen's institutions, from becoming proactive in the Scottish Enlightenment. As Emerson (1987) points out, the Episcopalian and Jacobite sympathies harboured at King's led to Marischal surpassing it 'in almost every way.'⁵¹ Like the other university cities, Glasgow had no such issues. As we have seen in the chapter on print culture, Glasgow's Presbyterian activists played a large role outside the university grounds. Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald assert that 'the fertile soil from which [the Enlightenment] flourished was not the cleansed one of *literati* moderation and civic humanism,' and that 'the raw body of Scotland's intellectual industry was tempered by Calvinism, forged in the truly gruesome trials endured by Covenanters and Presbyterians.'⁵² Note the careful use of the language here: 'flourish' and 'industry' stand out as Glasgow words, linking to the 'images of tall, square-rigged, three-masted ships, with wooden sterns high over the waves and flags flapping briskly in the

⁴⁹ Paul Wood & Charles W. J. Withers, 'Introduction: Science, Medicine and the Scottish Enlightenment: An Historiographical Overview', *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment* ed. Charles W. J. Withers & Paul Wood (Phantassie: Tuckwell, 2002), 1-16 (1-2).

⁵⁰ Roger L. Emerson & Paul Wood, 'Science and Enlightenment in Glasgow 1690-1802'. *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment* ed. Charles W. J. Withers & Paul Wood (Phantassie: Tuckwell, 2002), 79-142 (80).

⁵¹ Roger L. Emerson, 'Aberdeen Professors 1690-1800: Two Structures, Two Professoriates, Two Careers', *Aberdeen and the Enlightenment* eds. Jennifer J. Carter & Joan J. Pittock (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987), 155-167 (155-156).

⁵² Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 153.

breeze' which, as Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald themselves remark, are permanent in the histories of Glasgow.⁵³ As such, their rejection of 'the notion that Enlightenment was the creation of moderates and *literati*' is in fact a reconstruction; a proclamation that medical advancement in Glasgow was a direct result of religious battles (especially those led by William of Orange), and the lasting impressions of civic pride, family ties, and the Kirk.

But to subscribe to this bifurcation of the Scottish Enlightenment is to ignore both the achievements of the Foulis brothers (whose humanist qualities were well-known in Glasgow in their time) and the nuanced methodology in the very text alluded to: Sher's *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment* (1985). As Jeffrey Smitten (1986) put it, 'Sher chooses a more inclusive, interdisciplinary approach' than his predecessors, looking at the ideas behind the achievements in an attempt to rectify the 'restricted' Scottish Enlightenment image of philosophy and science.⁵⁴ As stated in the introduction,⁵⁵ Sher's contribution to scholarship on the Scottish Enlightenment seems to have tipped the scales in favour of Edinburgh over other cities. It is this which Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald seem to focus on; using Glasgow's collective Presbyterianism as a way of discerning a unique Enlightenment. In one sense, they are right to quarrel with Edinburgh's perceived dominance, but in another they fail to take account of Sher's diverse examination of both Moderateism and, as he calls it, 'Whig-Presbyterian Conservatism'.⁵⁶ Indeed, to cast Edinburgh as the antithesis to Glasgow in terms of its tolerance is to ignore some glaring divisions within the capital itself. We should remember Thomas Aikenhead (*bap.* 1676, *d.* 1697), the last person to be executed for blasphemy in Britain. His prisoner's march from Edinburgh to Leith "between a strong Guard of Fuzileers, drawn up in two Lines" is emblematic of the newfound power of the Presbyterian authorities then active in the capital, undoubtedly at their zenith following the Revolution of William of Orange.⁵⁷ This lingering atmosphere of religious intolerance – often associated only with Glasgow in the eighteenth century – was the same which blocked David Hume (1711-1776) from the Chair in Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh in 1745.⁵⁸

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Jeffrey Smitten, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (review), *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 19:4 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 580-583 (580).

⁵⁵ See page 17, above.

⁵⁶ Richard b. Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1985), 187.

⁵⁷ Michael Hunter, 'Aikenhead, Thomas (*bap.* 1676, *d.* 1697)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/225>.

⁵⁸ Roger L. Emerson, *Academic Patronage in the Scottish Enlightenment: Glasgow, Edinburgh and St Andrews Universities* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), 341.

This is not to say that Sher's text is misleading, but rather that its varied reception has shown up Glasgow and Edinburgh's most opposing features: ignoring Edinburgh's intolerance (as above). After all, Sher states that 'it was Adam Ferguson and the Moderate literati of Edinburgh who adopted [Francis] Hutcheson's Christian-Stoic principles most enthusiastically and most completely.'⁵⁹ Rather than reading this as Glasgow's failure to do the same – after all, the Foulis brothers and their circle went on to manifest his philosophies throughout the century – we should consider the Scottish Enlightenment as a mobile network of values manifesting itself in various places through various people.

Hume's philosophies help us pinpoint the struggle between religion and reason in the Scottish Enlightenment, but what about the unquestionable secularisation that ran alongside the growth of medical practice and teaching in Glasgow via this migrating network? Would the very deep-set, sectarian predilections of traditional communities not be diluted with such movement? As Donovan has said:

A new generation was coming to maturity during the first third of the eighteenth century, a generation which was unimpressed with the heroics of their fathers. For these young men, at least for those who attended the universities, the opportunities opened by the Union of 1707 were more important than the defence of reformationary truths.

...Ambitious young Scots could now leave North Britain and seek out the opportunities available in London without surrendering the rights and identity which were theirs by birth.⁶⁰

This new generation is that found in the age of Tobias Smollett. It is also important that William Smellie, William Cullen, William Hunter, Tobias Smollett, John Anderson, John Hunter, John Moore, James Watt, and John Robison (in order of birth) were all born in and around Glasgow. Joseph Black, although not born in Scotland, played a vital role in this Glasgow network which is essential to Glasgow's medical status. This has been noted by David Hamilton: 'No less than four of the greatest names in European medicine were born and worked within a few miles of each other... Cullen, the Hunters, and Smellie. Add to this that Tobias Smollett was a surgical apprentice in nearby Glasgow at about the same time, and the case for the investigation of the origins of the Scottish enlightenment is easily made.'⁶¹ Smollett's apprenticeship will be examined later, but recognising Smollett here places him in the middle of a living, moving body of learned Scots. And while we do not know the precise details of Smollett's time in the University, Donald Bruce reminds us that

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Arthur Donovan, *Philosophical chemistry in the Scottish Enlightenment: the doctrines and discoveries of William Cullen and Joseph Black* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1975), 11-12.

⁶¹ David Hamilton, *The Healers: A History of Medicine in Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mercat, 2003), 108.

‘it was during the Faculty’s first intense pullulation, which threw off men such as Cullen and the Hunters, that Smollett attended the lectures.’⁶² A vital tool in illustrating this further is Emerson and Wood’s extensive table denoting ‘Glasgow’s Men of Science’; including the different memberships and professorships of 168 men. By combining this with Alexander Duncan’s ‘Roll of Members’ of the FPSG (1896) – with its carefully noted interrelationships – it is clear that in Smollett’s age the FPSG was simultaneously bolstered by the membership of these prominent ‘Men of Science’ and weakened by their freedom to change location and University. This tells us for sure that Glasgow was in a state of flux; growing in eminence while competing with other cities: all in all a sure sign that we cannot continue to define Glasgow with one overbearing banner.

Donovan’s claim, above, that this new generation was ‘unimpressed’ contradicts Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald’s staunch defence of Glasgow as having the ‘fertile soil’ of the Enlightenment as a result of its defiant Presbyterian character, adhering more to the ideas of humanist toleration in Glasgow that were laid out in the previous chapter. Mike Barfoot (1977) uses the same botanical metaphor in demonstrating Glasgow’s importance: ‘Cullen and Adam Smith... moved in the same circle of colleagues, students, and friends. Both were former pupils of the Glasgow Professor of Mathematics, Robert Simson... Both contributed to the general flowering of the Glasgow Literary Society... Friendships which grew out of the soil of Glasgow were transplanted to Edinburgh.’⁶³ This idea of friendship should not be taken lightly. The intolerance of the previous century was changed if not destroyed by the rise of polite society. Crucially, though, it was not the stasis of the Scottish Enlightenment that helped change the places in which it developed. Indeed, we should be wary of continuing a discussion which cordons off all of the secular, Enlightenment ideas in one place and all the intolerant, industrial ones in another. The Scottish Enlightenment was simply not that simple.

Further examples can be found in Scotland’s literary history. John Home (1722-1808), a Presbyterian minister-playwright known for his play *Douglas* (1756), represents staunch religious values giving way to a tolerant cultural expression. While he certainly impacted the kirk, it was not an evenly-spread change, as the case of John Wilson (1720-1789), the poet from Lanarkshire, shows. His *Earl Douglas* (1760) – inspired by Home – might have been emblematic of this new tolerant atmosphere spreading throughout Scotland.

⁶² Donald Bruce, *Radical Doctor Smollett* (London: Victor Gollancz LTD, 1964), 23.

⁶³ Mike Barfoot, ‘Introduction’, *An account of the life, lectures, and writings of William Cullen, v.1* (Bristol: Thoemmes, 1997), vi; see also Barfoot’s diagram in ‘Philosophy and method in Cullen’s medical teaching’, *William Cullen and the Eighteenth Century Medical World* eds. A. Doig et al (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 110-132 (115) [Many thanks to Jane Corrie for these references].

But, while Glasgow had carved itself a classical culture in the University by then, the satellite towns were not always as progressive. While working in Greenock, Wilson ‘was forced to forswear...“the profane and unprofitable art of poem-making.”’⁶⁴ It is episodes such as Wilson’s burning of his manuscripts in the years following his and Home’s plays which suggest the imbalance of Presbyterian authority across Scotland. In other words, the conflicts between the Kirk and the Enlightenment are not easily placed. As we will see, Charles W. J. Withers (2007) has written from this geographical stance. Proceeding with these newer approaches often reveals the ‘hidden’ narratives of certain places. For instance, ‘Scotland’s invisible Enlightenment: subscription and heterodoxy in the eighteenth-century kirk’ (2000) by Colin Kidd and ‘Terror and intrigue: the secret life of Glasgow’s Episcopalians, 1689-1733’ (2010) by Roger Edwards take us outside the commonplace Enlightenment binary: strict-Presbyterian (Glasgow) vs. Moderate (Edinburgh).

As regards the Episcopalian presence in Glasgow, Edwards illustrates their symbolic use of religious history. For instance, it is pointed out that on the 30th January 1703, Mr. John Hay preached on the anniversary of the beheading of Charles I. ‘By publicly marking this day... Glasgow’s Episcopalians were making a forceful declaration of their allegiance to the Stuarts and the Jacobite cause.’⁶⁵ Such gestures were common on all religious fronts, and, if anything, should remind us once more that Glasgow’s religious situation was not one-dimensional. Why, then, has it been packaged much more conveniently as Edinburgh’s dark, devout, and unenlightened counterpart? Glasgow’s sporadic presence, reared only for comparison, makes it Mr. Hyde to Edinburgh’s Dr. Jekyll: an inconsistent translocation of the Scottish Enlightenment from the ‘Athens of the North’ to fields further west, where deep-set religious beliefs are alleged to be so overwhelming that they are practically breathable. The following delineation of Glasgow’s role in a Britain-wide network credited for advancing the Scottish Enlightenment proves that this was far from the case.

For Roy Campbell, Glasgow ‘lost the initiative in science and medicine to Edinburgh... largely through its own fault. Glasgow’s scientists and medics moved to Edinburgh in a steady stream, to a large extent because the faculty was unwilling to see their rights, privileges and, above all, their emoluments shared or affected in any way by new disciplines.’⁶⁶ This argument is well known even in the small corpus of work on the

⁶⁴ Gerard Carruthers, ‘Wilson, John’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29665?docPos=9>.

⁶⁵ Roger Edwards, ‘Terror and intrigue: the secret life of Glasgow’s Episcopalians, 1689-1733’, *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* v. 40, ed. James Kirk (Edinburgh: Scottish Church History Society, 2010), 31-68 (42).

⁶⁶ Roy Campbell, ‘Scotland’s Neglected Enlightenment’, *History Today* 40:5, 1990: <http://www.historytoday.com/roy-campbell/scotlands-neglected-enlightenment> [accessed 08/12/15].

Enlightenment in Glasgow.⁶⁷ But what do these migrations to different cities, universities, and social circles tell us? Going with Withers' belief that the 'variety of locales, institutions, and spatial settings in which the Enlightenment was grounded' depended on 'intellectual mobility' and 'intellectual traffic', the case for reconnecting Glasgow's lost links with the Scottish Enlightenment's scientific and medical development across Britain is easily made.

In Glasgow, several key figures in this network should be discussed. Their relationships and movements help clarify the image of the city in the Georgian period. In terms of medicine, one must begin with William Cullen, who can be said to represent the beginning of Glasgow's most profound changes in medical teaching. For Donovan, Cullen's career was the pursuit 'to articulate and advance the best of modern and natural philosophy and to make it the living centre of the institutions in which he taught.'⁶⁸ The concept of 'the living centre' is vital; it represents the medical network as a singular body, intermingling with, but standing aside from, these institutional sites – beginning with the University of Glasgow. Cullen was born in Hamilton, near Glasgow, and even after he was awarded an M.D. by the University of Glasgow in 1740, he practised as a physician in his hometown.⁶⁹ Before becoming the occupant of the Chair in Medicine at the University of Glasgow in 1751, Cullen was offering lectures 'extra-murally, scheduling them, we may presume, so that students could attend both [Robert] Hamilton's anatomy lectures and his own lectures on medicine.'⁷⁰

His ties to the FPSG are important, for they represent an early, strong bond between the two institutions. Cullen entered the FPSG in 1744 as a physician, and was president from 1747-49. He was apprenticed in the city to John Paisley (c.1698-1740), who, according to Duncan, opened his 'large and valuable medical library' to his students when Cullen became a lecturer.⁷¹ Not only does this offer a glimpse into the relationship between the FPSG and the University at this time, but it also suggests Cullen's popularity. After all, Cullen was considered 'the most popular lecturer in medical subjects in the United Kingdom... before he left Glasgow for Edinburgh.'⁷² This is evident in the fact that large portions of Cullen's students followed him to the capital.⁷³ He mainly lectured in English as opposed to the

⁶⁷ Emerson and Wood, 84.

⁶⁸ Donovan, 18.

⁶⁹ W. F. Bynum, 'Cullen, William (1710–1790)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6874>.

⁷⁰ Donovan, 50.

⁷¹ Duncan, 251.

⁷² Henry L. Fulton, 'John Moore, the Medical Profession and the Glasgow Enlightenment', *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, eds. Andrew Hook & Richard B. Sher (Phantassie: Tuckwell, 1995), 176-189 (179).

⁷³ Christopher Lawrence, 'Ornate physicians and learned artisans: Edinburgh medical men, 1726-1776', *William Hunter and the eighteenth-century medical world*, eds. W. F. Bynum & Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 153-176 (169).

customary Latin, and, for Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, his decision to go against Hermann Boerhaave's 'recently installed' medical model – as found in his *Institutes of Medicine* (1708) and *Aphorisms concerning the Knowledge and Cure of Disease* (1709) – represented a turning point in the popularisation of medicine. However, while they rightly point out that Cullen's 'achievements in chemistry... have been taken out of context, creating the impression that Cullen... managed to pull discoveries like rabbits out of a hat,' their realignment of Cullen with Protestant dissent, rooted in Glasgow, is excessive. In Wayne Wild's *Medicine-by-post* (2006), a more balanced argument is expounded: that 'it was the harmony of philosophical system and everyday practicality in Cullen that most embodied the ideal of the Scottish Enlightenment, and that this element he brought both to classroom, clinic, and private practice.'⁷⁴

Thus, it was Cullen's 'sensibility', as Wild calls it, his combination of the hitherto separate registers of private practice and formal teaching in the mould of Francis Hutcheson that was unique, rather than an altogether Protestant dissent. This new reading aligns the University and the FPSG with his time as a physician in Hamilton, wherein his 'philosophical system' met 'everyday practicality,' offering us yet another example of the pioneering Enlightenment pedagogy that took place in Glasgow. Before moving on to Joseph Black, who also became a hugely popular figure in chemistry, it is worth noting that 'William Hunter became [Cullen's] resident pupil and a partner in the practice [in Hamilton] for three years'; that 'it was at Glasgow that Cullen became close friends with Adam Smith and David Hume'; and that he was friends with James Watt.⁷⁵ As will be seen, these relationships do not merely confirm the origins of the Glasgow medical network which sections off and migrates, but also offer us an illustration of this 'living centre.' It would be much easier to remember Georgian Glasgow if such important, recognisable figures were brought together.

The introduction of Joseph Black, and the starting point for his renown in chemistry, is his enrolment in Cullen's course in 1748.⁷⁶ In 1757 he became a member of the FPSG, and was president twice: 1759-1761 and 1765-66. His entry in Duncan's roll call of the members of the FPSG outlines his two greatest achievements: his *Essays and Observations* (1756) which 'established the separation of carbonic acid, thereby opening up a wide field of research'; and his 'doctrine of Latent Heat' in 1761.⁷⁷ Interestingly, Donovan believes that Black 'used the freedom and security that accompanied his appointment to the faculty

⁷⁴ Wayne Wild, *Medicine-by-post: The changing voice of illness in eighteenth-century British consultation letters and literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 187.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 181-182.

⁷⁶ Donovan, 93.

⁷⁷ Duncan, 258-259.

in Glasgow to turn his attention to those questions that he had long believed were of fundamental importance to the advancement of theoretical chemistry.’⁷⁸ Glasgow thus becomes important as the location for Black’s experiments and discoveries, in spite of his prominence, like Cullen’s, in Edinburgh. Like Adam Smith, Cullen and Black did not publish their works in Glasgow through the well-known Foulis press but through Edinburgh printers with a much more lucrative book market. It could be argued that Edinburgh is more easily associated as the primary ‘place’ of Cullen and Black because of their published works. To borrow from Sher’s revisionist work (1985), it is better to consider the ‘social history of ideas’⁷⁹ which contributes to their respective settings than to consider the ‘phenomenon’ of scientific achievement through milestones such as publication. After all, the value of their publications represents a mere fraction of their impact on the Scottish Enlightenment through teaching. For Comrie, ‘the foundation of the Glasgow School of Medicine may reasonably be credited’ to Cullen and Black.⁸⁰ Therefore, it is as appropriate for Withers to describe Edinburgh as ‘Joseph Black’s and William Cullen’s’⁸¹ as it is for us, now, to consider Glasgow in the same possessive terms.

Following Black in the chronology of this network are John Robison (1739-1805) and James Watt, the three of whom were close friends in Glasgow. The nuances of this relationship are too varied to handle here, and have already been outlined in many of the texts mentioned above. The extensive correspondence between Black and Watt was reproduced by Eric Robinson and Douglas McKie in *Partners in Science* (1970). For Roy Campbell, this relationship is taken up as a symbol of the emergence of a more ‘modern’ Glasgow, wherein a union was forming between ‘its internationally renowned merchants’ and ‘its scientific and engineering geniuses’:

The classic instance is in the association of James Watt, the mathematical-instrument-maker within the university, with others in the development of the steam engine, particularly with Joseph Black, lecturer in chemistry, whose discovery of the principle of latent heat may be held to have been a prerequisite of Watt’s idea of the separate condenser which was fundamental to the later success of his engine.⁸²

Watt’s contribution to the development of the steam-engine; being a great symbol of power, progress, and industrialisation, is popular in the public imagination. Given the importance of Watt’s invention to the nation and the continent, we can connect Watt with Adam Smith,

⁷⁸ Donovan, 222.

⁷⁹ Sher, *Church and University*, 12.

⁸⁰ Comrie, 174.

⁸¹ Charles W. J. Withers, *Placing the Enlightenment: Thinking Geographically about the Age of Reason* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 76.

⁸² Campbell, ‘Scotland’s Neglected Enlightenment’.

whose economic doctrine was in its own right a global improver rooted in Enlightenment-era Glasgow. David Philip Miller's article (2000) should be noted here, for its astute inquiry into 'why it was important for various historical actors that Watt be constructed as a philosophical inventor.'⁸³ This question points to Watt's complicated Victorian legacy; yet another illustration of Glasgow's dilemma with its own important historical figures in the process of memorialisation. In the next chapter, the statue of David Livingstone in Glasgow's Cathedral Square will be examined as the only visual manifestation of the city's links with slavery. It will be argued that the canonisation of Victorian figures like Livingstone has overshadowed the legacy of Smith and his own refutation of slavery. In the context of a medical and scientific society, Watt has been similarly canonised. In Thomas Carlyle's *On Heroes, Hero-Worship, and The Heroic in History* (1841), he says 'The History of the world is but the Biography of great men.'⁸⁴ In the case of Watt – his colossal heroic status has raised him higher than his contemporaries. This becomes problematic because, in the process of inscribing the 'philosopher' label to Watt's cultural memory in the nineteenth-century,⁸⁵ the other philosophers and medical men in Glasgow during Watt's time there – such as Cullen and Black – are forced into competition with Watt in the public imagination. With so many statues, paintings, and celebratory occasions through the years, there could only be one winner. Again, this is why the evocation of key figures *together* is much more beneficial to the image of a place (Glasgow) in the context of a complex and movable concept (the Scottish Enlightenment).

We may expand this idea of the network and the imbalance of cultural memory by taking Christine MacLeod's *Heroes of Invention* (2007) into account. Her excellent model for the framing of the legacy of one's cultural afterlife as represented in artworks and monuments will help us comprehend the situation regarding Tobias Smollett. MacLeod's combination of the reading of monuments with ideas on collective memory is especially successful in her analysis of the relationship between the working-class men of the industrial age and Watt. Of particular interest here is her reading of the mid-nineteenth century painting *The Interior of the first Hunterian Museum with the statue of James Watt*, by William Stewart (1823-1906) [Fig. 21].⁸⁶ The first Hunterian museum will be examined later in this chapter, although it is interesting that Watt's statue is captured here, illuminated, and his

⁸³ David Philip Miller, "'Puffing Jamie": The commercial and ideological importance of being a "Philosopher" in the case of the reputation of James Watt (1736-1819)' in *History of Science* 38:119 (Cambridge: Science History Publications, 2000), pp.1-24 (3).

⁸⁴ Thomas Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero Worship* (Chicago: W. B. Conkey Company, 1900), 42.

⁸⁵ Miller, 3.

⁸⁶ Christine MacLeod, *Heroes of invention: technology, liberalism and British identity, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 292-293.

engine is behind the curtain: a symbolic portrayal of the man eclipsing his work. Indeed, this painting represents the point of departure from the local: in statue form Watt not only eclipses the Hunterian and the invention for which he is recognised, but also William Hunter himself. MacLeod states that while ‘Stewart may have painted an imaginary scene, proposing Watt as an exemplar for artisans to emulate,’ it is just as likely that ‘he captured a real occurrence – even a regular one.’⁸⁷

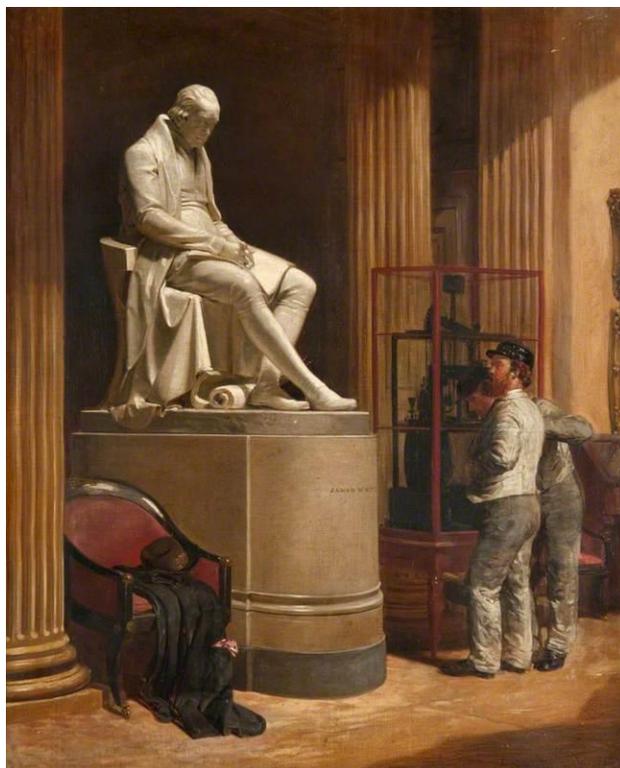


Figure 21: William Stewart, The Interior of the first Hunterian Museum with the statue of James Watt (c.1850)

In either case the painting remains an interesting piece of cultural memory. Whether or not it represents an occurrence of collective memory, there is an unusual sense of immediacy in the space. It speaks to the Victorian taste for memorialisation as discussed previously with the towering Knox statue in the Glasgow Necropolis. Here, the emphasis is shifted entirely from the *place* of Enlightenment – the Hunterian museum – to the *person*.

In reading Uglow’s text alongside MacLeod’s, we can perceive the fundamental differences in analysing the importance of the network and the importance of the individual. Uglow’s *Lunar Men* focuses on movement and exchange rather than objects and memory: ‘The 1760s were alive with discoveries and as circles of friends spread in Birmingham and Scotland, Liverpool and Warrington, the sense of individuals working on their own began to

⁸⁷ Ibid, 293.

give way to a feeling of shared ground.’⁸⁸ In this narrative, Uglow draws the astute image of these enlightened friends, whose paths ‘crossed like cotton threaded between pins on a map.’⁸⁹ Finding Watt in this environment therefore depends on a progressive narrative. For instance, Uglow refers to Glasgow’s not-so-distant past as a ‘small cathedral city surrounded by hills and woods and nursery gardens.’ Incidentally, religion is used again to identify the Watt’s Scottish origins. ‘Scottish Calvinism could inspire bigotry,’ says Uglow, ‘but it also encouraged a self-sufficient, questioning approach, and learning was seen as the key to progress.’ This is not at all unlike Geyer-Kordesch/MacDonald’s connection of prevalent religious doctrine with scientific progress. Watt himself is characterised as a ‘staunch [man] of the kirk... tut-tutting at the ceremonies and the chattering of the clergy in York Cathedral’ on his journey from Leith in 1755.⁹⁰ Interestingly, Watt’s ‘circle in Glasgow’ is said to be so influential that Birmingham could be seen, at times, as ‘an intellectual colony of Scotland.’⁹¹ MacLeod has shown us that Watt was at once a British and Scottish hero, and it is therefore necessary to follow this line in comprehending the individual’s cultural memory within movable networks rather than centralise them only in one place: as Uglow did with Birmingham.

By working in this way, MacLeod seems to reclaim Watt for Scotland and Glasgow. ‘It was in Scotland’, she says, where ‘Watt’s memory burned brightest. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, both Greenock, his birthplace, and Glasgow, where he had invented the separate condenser, regularly celebrated their connection with him.’⁹² This memory was ‘secured’ – to use Murray Pittock’s term (2010)⁹³ – by erecting statues, hanging paintings, writing biographies, and in public commemoration. While Uglow’s text was Birmingham-centric, the migratory nature of her enlightened group takes us away from the static, abstract image of the individual. It is with this in mind that we can harness the presence of prominent cultural memories and analyse the plural locations so often attached to Glasgow medical men. These untidy pluralities should not be ignored. They should be examined more thoroughly for the details and ideas they can lend to local narratives which, like Glasgow’s, often exist in the shadow of a wider concept. As we will see in the last section, James Watt’s significance to Glasgow is symbolic and ironic at the same time.

With Edinburgh’s draw on Glasgow’s in mind, we may look to London for the concentration of Glasgow people who took their Scottish Enlightenment education south.

⁸⁸ Uglow, 70.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 35.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 28-29.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 34.

⁹² MacLeod, 108.

⁹³ See: <http://projects.beyondtext.ac.uk/sg-murray-pittock/index.php> [accessed 08/12/15].

Before this, something should be said of the scientific work carried out within the University of Glasgow in the field of astronomy. Alexander Wilson (1714-1786), the type-founder whose impact on the print culture of Glasgow was examined in the previous chapter, also helps illustrate the mobility of the Scottish Enlightenment. Following his graduation from St. Andrews in 1733, Wilson moved to London with the intention to find work as a medic. It was in London where he became involved with a sort of ‘Scottish colony in London’ including Dr Charles Stewart, the private physician of Archibald Campbell, Lord Islay (1682-1761), the soon-to-be Duke of Argyll. After a visit to a type-foundry in London, Wilson decided to move back home from London in 1739 and set up business with a friend from St. Andrews.⁹⁴ After establishing himself in Glasgow, Wilson became the first Professor of Practical Astronomy.

His achievements, which include his discovery of sunspot activity in 1769 (known as the ‘Wilson effect’ in science today),⁹⁵ would not have occurred without some crucial groundwork further afield. In fact, the professoriate was only established because a former graduate, Alexander Macfarlane, bequeathed the University with instruments he had taken on his emigration to Jamaica.⁹⁶ This occurred in 1756, and the following year the Observatory on the College grounds was built, named after Macfarlane. It is known that the famous telescope maker from Edinburgh, James Short (1710-1768), provided Macfarlane with some of his equipment for his new estate in Jamaica.⁹⁷ Before the Observatory was opened it was James Watt who put the instruments and equipment in order for Wilson,⁹⁸ illustrating a very intricate and enlightened network of friendships that led to Glasgow’s astronomical prominence. As Smollett put it in *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), Glasgow became known for its ‘observatory well provided with astronomical instruments.’⁹⁹ As with the book trade, though, London was the centre of a ‘global market’ of instrument makers,¹⁰⁰ which leads us to the most tangible connection between Glasgow and London in the form of anatomy and midwifery through William Hunter (1718-1783).

William and his brother John (1728-1793) were born in East Kilbride, near Glasgow. For Roy Porter, who has written extensively on Georgian London’s medical environment,

⁹⁴ David Clarke, *Reflections on the Astronomy of Glasgow: A story of some 500 years* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 79.

⁹⁵ George Stronach, ‘Wilson, Alexander (1714–1786)’, rev. Roger Hutchins, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29633>.

⁹⁶ A. D. Morrison-Low, ‘Feasting my eyes with the view of fine instruments’: Scientific Instruments in Enlightenment Scotland, 1680-1820’, *Science and Medicine in the Scottish Enlightenment* ed. Charles W. J. Withers & Paul Wood (Phantassie: Tuckwell, 2002), 17-53 (38).

⁹⁷ Clarke, 51.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁹⁹ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: Penguin, 1985 [1771]), 283.

¹⁰⁰ Morrison-Low, 36.

the brothers were ‘unmatched for anatomical, physiological and obstetrical expertise.’¹⁰¹ As stated, Cullen, as Hunter’s teacher, can be seen as a link to the displacement of the members of the Glasgow medical network. This is because London, where the Hunter brothers lived and worked, was also home to Smollett and John Moore, all of whom were friends. It was also in London that, from 1740, William Hunter learned midwifery from William Smellie.¹⁰² Born in Lanarkshire, Smellie went on to become a member of the FPSG, and it is believed that he worked under John Gordon, who is a more relevant example in the context of Smollett’s apprenticeship. In 1745 Smellie received an honorary M.D. from the University of Glasgow and, when settled in London, his seminal three-volume text, *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Midwifery* (1751-54), was published. Smollett edited large parts of the *Treatise*, a role which ‘was responsible in no small degree for the influence which Smellie has had in obstetrics.’¹⁰³ For Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, ‘the Glasgow story of midwifery’ is ‘both unique and indispensable in charting its development as a medical discipline.’ Rather than being marginalised by the displacement of its physicians and surgeons to other towns and cities, they argue that Glasgow men such as Smellie were ‘pivotal’ and in many ways responsible for ‘the work of William Hunter’ et al.¹⁰⁴

There is a sense of generational progression: an evolution of the Scottish Enlightenment brought about by improvements made upon improvements. It is in this argument, in line with Donovan’s reflections on an entirely new generation ‘coming to maturity’, that cities, towns, and institutions can be seen to forge connections. And while we should note that London was not necessarily a friendly place for Scots¹⁰⁵ it is perhaps reductive to focus too much on national identity. While it could be argued that Smollett’s youthful, patriotic tendencies – in his poem ‘The Tears of Scotland’ (1746) – made it difficult for him to fully establish a medical practice in London; it is more realistic that his career as a novelist was simply more enjoyable and profitable to him.¹⁰⁶ For Porter, Hunter’s nationality and alignment with fellow Scots in London meant that he had to carry out an ‘assault on the social climbers’ mountain’ lest he ‘get bogged down in the morasses of

¹⁰¹ Roy Porter, ‘Medical lecturing in Georgian London’, *The British Journal for the History of Science* 28:1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 91-99 (94).

¹⁰² Helen Brock, ‘Hunter, William (1718–1783)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14234>.

¹⁰³ Paul Harper, ‘Tobias Smollett and the Practice of Medicine’, *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine* 2:6 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930), pp. 408-416 (415).

¹⁰⁴ Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 254.

¹⁰⁵ Roy Porter, ‘William Hunter: a surgeon and a gentleman’, *William Hunter and the eighteenth-century medical world*, eds. W. F. Bynum & Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 7-34 (10).

¹⁰⁶ Kenneth Simpson, ‘Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25947>.

marginality.’¹⁰⁷ Further still, Porter suggests that, as a result of his birth, Hunter was fated for an altogether different life: born in ‘the wrong country’... into the ‘wrong religion – Presbyterianism’... matriculating ‘at the wrong university – Glasgow’... and very nearly making a start in the wrong career as a minister.¹⁰⁸ As we have seen, Presbyterianism’s dominance in Glasgow has impacted negatively on the city’s ability to stand firm in Enlightenment discourse. Porter’s dismissal of Scotland, Glasgow, and Presbyterianism as factors of London’s Enlightenment unfortunately continues in this vein. Rather than considering Hunter’s formative education at Glasgow as a factor in his success (which included classes under Hutcheson) he is wrongly portrayed as a heroic exception to the rule. With the centralisation of the Scottish Enlightenment in Edinburgh diluting cultural memory in Glasgow and Aberdeen, arguments such as Porter’s are all the more damaging. In both cases, it is as though all efforts to cement an impression of Enlightenment figures has ironically neglected all but two centres. In the end, only part of the story is told.

Before obtaining his M.D. from Glasgow University in 1750, Hunter was nothing if not mobile. Beginning with a move to London in 1740, he later travelled to Paris (1743) and Leiden (1748) ‘attending anatomical demonstrations and medical lectures.’ In 1749 he moved to Covent Garden, London, in 1756 he moved to 42 Jermyn Street, ‘and finally in 1767 to a specially extended house in Great Windmill Street.’¹⁰⁹ This latter property becomes more important in the sion of the Hunterian in Glasgow, but is known to have allowed his practical teaching style to flourish. Several key figures of the Scottish Enlightenment attended his lectures, including Tobias Smollett and Adam Smith. His renown rapidly increased: becoming a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1767; first Professor of Anatomy in the ‘newly-created Royal Academy of Arts’ in 1768; a Foreign Associate of both the Royal Medical Society (1780) and the Academy of Sciences in Paris (1782).¹¹⁰ But, while Hunter’s value to the notion of a mobile network is undisputable, our next course of inquiry into Tobias Smollett lets us delve deeper into the issues of cultural memory and plurality.

We may consider Jane Oppenheimer’s (1947) parallel description of Smollett and Hunter as an avenue into the concepts of location, education, and Enlightenment. ‘Smollett,’ she says, ‘was focussing attention, in his vivid and pointed satires, on the necessity for improvement of medical and surgical education and practice’ while William Hunter ‘was

¹⁰⁷ Porter, ‘William Hunter: a surgeon and a gentleman’, 9.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Keppie, 3-5.

¹¹⁰ C. H. Brock, ‘Dr William Hunter’s Museum, Glasgow University’, *Journal of the Society for the Bibliography of Natural History* 9:4 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1980), 403-412 (403).

devoting his energies to instituting the needed reforms by introducing into England enlightened and modern methods of medical teaching.’¹¹¹ As it has been argued, highlighting the friendships and connections helps ‘ground’ the messy mobility of ‘the living centre.’ Before we turn to examples of the post-mortem (so to speak) cultural memory of this network, we should first harness the ideas in the analysis of just one person. In doing this, we can discern the tropes of cultural memory that arise when peripheral non-hero figures during this age are isolated.

Locating Tobias Smollett

Somewhere in this upheaval of people and ideas Tobias Smollett was contributing, effervescently, to the Scottish Enlightenment. In his novels he was doing much more than satirically crying out for better medical teaching in England. As we will observe, he was perhaps doing a little too much. In this section, his restless activities will be compared and his cultural memory repositioned. In Smollett’s case we can dig deeper into the issues of the memorialisation of Georgian historical figures. It will be argued here that Smollett’s desire for independence (from political, religious, and cultural affiliations) effectively brought about the centrelessness of his legacy. This is not to say that the diaspora of Smollett’s name has been fruitless, but that, unlike other figures of international esteem, Smollett has a more complicated, plural cultural memory which remains insurmountable. As Brian Lavoie’s study of Scottish works in the published record (2013) tells us, Smollett is not far behind David Hume in the ‘Most widely held Scottish Enlightenment works.’ Following Adam Smith (30,580), James Boswell (20,125), Hugh Blair (8,921) and David Hume (6,835), Smollett’s debut novel *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (1748) has 6,611 global library holdings.¹¹² We may therefore accept his status as a classic novelist in the English language under the remit of the Scottish Enlightenment.

In the previous chapter, Thomas Hamilton’s novel *Cyril Thornton* was utilised for the interesting memories of late-Georgian Glasgow it captures. At the same time Cyril discovers the ancient University of Glasgow, he notes how his intended host, Mr. Spreull, was a collector of various books. Among these he notes ‘Swift’s Works and De Foe’s [sic], the Tatler, Spectator, and Rambler, Smollett’s Novels, a translation of Rabelais, the Institutes of Scottish Law, Burke’s Letters on a Regicide Peace, an odd volume of Hume’s History,

¹¹¹ Jane M. Oppenheimer, ‘A Note on William Hunter and Tobias Smollett’, *Journal of the History of Medicine* 2:4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947), 481-486 (485-486).

¹¹² Brian Lavoie, *Not Scotch, but Rum: The Scope and Diffusion of the Scottish Presence in the Published Record* (Dunlin & Ohio: Online Computer Library Center, 2013), 29.

and a considerable body of Calvinistic divinity.’¹¹³ Herein lies Hamilton’s take on a Glasgow elite’s bookcase. That Smollett is present among various nations and genres speaks volumes of his cultural memory in the decades after his death in 1771. As discussed, the print culture of the Scottish Enlightenment essentially preserved the ideas of a complicated and movable body of ideas in amber. In almost all contexts, Smollett has been the object of interest to scholars since Lewis M. Knapp’s pre-eminent Smollett book in 1949. Here, his connections to Glasgow will aid the inquiry into the city’s forgotten cultural memories.

According to Richard Jones in *Tobias Smollett in the Enlightenment* (2011), locating Smollett in Glasgow is to combine the two Enlightenments – artistic and commercial – outlined by Richard Sher.¹¹⁴ For Jones: ‘The mercantile character of the Enlightenment in Glasgow can be traced as clearly in Smollett’s literary works as in the ideas of Adam Smith. Smollett was also heavily influenced by the strength of evangelical Presbyterianism in the west of Scotland.’¹¹⁵ This is admirable, specifically in the assertion that Smollett ‘remained within the sphere of Glasgow’s attraction.’¹¹⁶ Yet, if Glasgow was solely Presbyterian in character, then why are Glasgow and Smollett rarely found to be synonymous? Indeed, to enforce Presbyterian Glasgow’s permanence in Smollett is not at all dissimilar to Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald’s claims, above, that the city’s Enlightenment was forged in a collectively resilient religious environment. Neither Smollett nor Glasgow was a product of collective resilience because, as we have seen, it was not truly collective. In Smollett’s wandering sojourns into medicine throughout his writing career you see an enlightened person in search of enlightened others, all of whom are individually innovative. In short, Smollett’s initial incompatibility with Glasgow is the same as the ill-fitting story of medicine in Glasgow: an unfortunate by-product of the overriding features which Glasgow is said to possess or fail to possess.

In *Roderick Random*, Smollett draws his hero as having a distinct knowledge of medical science. Crab, a surgeon he meets, is surprised by this: ‘You can already account for muscular motion and explain the mystery of the brain and nerves—ha!—You are too learned for me.’¹¹⁷ This ‘mystery’ Crab refers to is the problem of understanding the brain in anatomy. Writing about the Hunter brothers’ relationship to Smollett, Donald Bruce attests that William believed the mind to be ‘immaterial’ while John and William Cullen

¹¹³ Thomas Hamilton, *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton* ed. Maurice Lindsay (Aberdeen: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1990 [1827]), 28.

¹¹⁴ Richard Jones, *Tobias Smollett in the Enlightenment: Travels through France, Italy and, Scotland* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011), 6.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 6.

¹¹⁷ Tobias Smollett, *The Adventures of Roderick Random* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008 [1748]), 27.

were of the opinion that ‘Life is merely an emanation of nervous energy’.¹¹⁸ He claims that Cullen, being ‘from the same school of thought’ as Smollett, highlights the significance of this mind-body connection in the Scottish circle of medical thought in London. It is concluded that through this circle of ideas, when extended to include John Moore, there emerges a ‘Glaswegian argument’ in medical discourse, and that Smollett’s novels contributed to this.¹¹⁹ Again, these links form a complex story of medical progression through the portrayal of Glaswegians plying their trade in London. Smollett’s participation here is therefore another window into Glasgow’s roles in the Enlightenment.

His only published piece of medical writing was a pamphlet, *An Essay on the External Use of Water* (1752), in which he set forth his opinions on normal water in medicine as more effective than mineral water before going on to expose ‘the unhygienic conditions which endangered those who sought health at Bath’. His descriptions are vivid and damning, drawing attention to the mixture of healthy with unhealthy skin tissue as promiscuous.¹²⁰ In Matthew Bramble from Smollett’s last novel, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, we can visualise Smollett’s own degenerative health at the end of his life. For instance, beside more scathing accounts of Bath – where he witnesses ‘a child full of scrophulous ulcers, carried in the arms of one of the guides, under the very noses of the bathers’¹²¹ – Bramble also refers to his relentless ill-health: ‘I have had an hospital these fourteen years within myself, and studied my own case with the most painful attention.’¹²² The novel itself has been alluded to as ‘Dr. Smollett’s travelling clinic.’¹²³ Indeed, Smollett’s biographers often refer to his ill-health as having an effect on his judgements of French and Italian customs as revealed in *Travels through France and Italy* (1766). As put by John Ingamells: ‘Smollett and his wife were not in the best frame of mind when they set out from Dover... their only child had just died’ and ‘Smollett was suffering from the onset of consumption’.¹²⁴ In Letter twenty-five of *Travels*, Smollett complains of ‘violent fits of passion’ and being ‘continually agitated either in mind or body, and very often both at the same time.’¹²⁵ These intertwining narratives, the fictional and the autobiographical, do much to explain the issues surrounding a lasting cultural memory of Smollett.

¹¹⁸ Bruce, 25.

¹¹⁹ Ibid, 29.

¹²⁰ Lewis M. Knapp, *Tobias Smollett: Doctor of Men and Manners* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949), 146.

¹²¹ Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker*, 75.

¹²² Ibid, 53.

¹²³ Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 186.

¹²⁴ John Ingamells, ‘Tobias Smollett’, *A Dictionary of British and Irish Travellers in Italy 1701-1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 873.

¹²⁵ Tobias Smollett, *Travels Through France and Italy* (London: The Folio Society, 1979 [1766]), 244.

The first biography of Smollett was published in 1797 by his cousin and fellow physician-writer John Moore (1729-1802), whose career has been used as an example to chart ‘the medical profession and the Glasgow Enlightenment’ by H. L. Fulton in the aforementioned text (1995). As we will see, Fulton has also elaborated on Smollett’s medical training in Glasgow, almost the same as that which Moore went on to receive. Upon leaving Glasgow, Moore worked in England and attended the lectures of Hunter and Smellie in London. When he returned in 1751 he became a member of the FPSG, which, in the context of the discussion so far, is an important marker separating him from Smollett, who was never in Glasgow long enough to become a member.¹²⁶ He travelled with Smollett in France and, after his *Medical Sketches* (1786), published the very well-received novel *Zeluco* (1789). In 1769, at the recommendation of Cullen, Moore first attended James George, Seventh Duke of Hamilton, and went on to become the private physician of Douglas, the Eighth Duke.¹²⁷ They travelled together with Moore’s young son – the soon-to-be exalted war hero Sir John Moore of Corunna, whose statue stands in Glasgow’s George Square – and their Grand Tour has been the subject of paintings by Jean Preudhomme (1732-1795) and Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798).

Fulton’s account of Smollett’s apprenticeship opens with the argument that Knapp ‘reflects the traditional view that Smollett was an English writer who happened to be born a North Briton, so that any facts about his younger days in Scotland cannot be known except through secondary accounts.’ While admitting that details about Smollett’s life at home are ‘scarce’, Fulton states that through the ‘examination of public documents in Glasgow and certain other sources, it is possible to correct some of [Knapp’s] assumptions about Smollett’s training in that city.’¹²⁸ The article illuminates the key details of Smollett’s apprenticeship under William Stirling (1682-1757) and John Gordon (1700-1770) following two years attending lectures at the University. According to Fulton, ‘much of Gordon’s medical business and instruction took place’ in their High Street ‘shop’ or ‘in the coffee-house, tavern, or on house-calls.’ As such, these ‘were the centres of Smollett’s apprenticeship, rather than the university across the street.’¹²⁹ One of the few surviving documents from Glasgow is an order note from John Gordon to Archibald and John Hamilton, dated May 2nd 1738 and updated June 6th 1739, detailing around £11 worth of

¹²⁶ H. L. Fulton, ‘Moore, John (1729–1802)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19130>.

¹²⁷ Tom Gibson, *The Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons of Glasgow: A short history based on the portraits and other memorabilia* (Edinburgh: Macdonald Publishers, 1983), 46.

¹²⁸ Henry L. Fulton, ‘Smollett’s Apprenticeship in Glasgow, 1736-1739’, *Studies in Scottish Literature* 15:1 (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1980), 175-186 (175).

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 180-181.

material such as cloth and sheep skin for Smollett's use.¹³⁰ These details of Smollett's early manoeuvres in Glasgow allow us to locate his contacts and physical surroundings. In Kilpatrick's *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow* an informative, if deliberately romantic, account of these surroundings is sketched.¹³¹ Together with Fulton's account of Smollett's apprenticeship, a fuller picture of Smollett's youthful medical activities in Glasgow can be envisaged. It is important to note, however, that Smollett's work under Gordon and Stirling came 'about a decade before the Scottish medical renaissance reached the otherwise progressive university of Glasgow.'¹³² in other words before the arrival of William Cullen. While we can point to their generational cohesion, we cannot place them together in Glasgow. Gordon and Stirling, both members of the FPSG, are said to have had 'the most distinguished medical copartnership in Glasgow.'¹³³ Furthermore, Fulton points out that in *Humphry Clinker*, Matthew Bramble 'calls Gordon a "patriot of truly Roman spirit... the great promoter of the city workhouse, infirmary, and other works of public utility. Had he lived in ancient Rome, he would have been honoured with a statue at the public expense.'¹³⁴ As these lines on the importance of monuments suggest, Smollett's ideas can be tied to contemporary discourse on cultural memory. In essence, Smollett looks forward to the Victorian cult of remembrance, one in which Gordon and, to a certain degree, Smollett himself were ironically forgotten.

Smollett is believed to have left Glasgow for London in 1739 without completing his apprenticeship.¹³⁵ Kilpatrick has stated that Smollett had 'no pronounced liking for mixing medicines,'¹³⁶ while Henry Graham said that 'Smollett, tired of this abode of commerce, set forth, filled with literary ambition.'¹³⁷ This image is resonant of the young Boswell in Glasgow, who, as we will encounter in the next chapter, was 'rapidly' tiring 'of his academic confinement' in the 'culturally constricted atmosphere of Glasgow.'¹³⁸ The main problem that these portrayals of Smollett and Boswell perpetrate is, of course, that Glasgow could not fire their imaginations. Indeed, these literary men have been as removed from Glasgow's purview in much the same way as Cullen's and Hunter's departure from Glasgow has led to

¹³⁰ National Archives of Scotland, reference RH9/2/228.

¹³¹ Kilpatrick, 14.

¹³² Fulton, 'Smollett's Apprenticeship in Glasgow', 181.

¹³³ Henry L. Fulton, 'John Moore, the Medical Profession and the Glasgow Enlightenment', *The Glasgow Enlightenment*, eds. Andrew Hook & Richard B. Sher (Phantassie: Tuckwell, 1995), pp. 176-189 (178).

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ Fulton, 'Smollett's Apprenticeship in Glasgow', 178-179.

¹³⁶ Kilpatrick, 23.

¹³⁷ Henry Grey Graham, 'Tobias Smollett', *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1908), 299.

¹³⁸ Gordon Turnbull, 'Boswell in Glasgow: Adam Smith, Moral Sentiments and the Sympathy of Biography', *The Glasgow Enlightenment* eds. Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 163-175 (163).

the historic conclusion that Glasgow was wholly ‘unenlightened’ rather than ‘less Enlightened’. It will be argued here that, for Smollett, his exit from Glasgow does not signal a cultural closure with Glasgow, nor does it represent the end of his engagement with medicine. If anything, it brings him into the fold of like-minded men from Glasgow who were vital to the Enlightenment.

Most recently, Richard Jones has taken this same position: that Smollett’s leaving Glasgow in 1739 ‘has deflected scholarly attention away from his Scottish origins.’¹³⁹ Previously, David Craig remarked: ‘J. M. Robertson’s idea that “the Scottish polity would die unremembered or but dimly inferred from our idealistic novelists” comes home to us if we think of the realistic impressions of Scottish life that we might have had if Smollett had stayed and written in Scotland.’¹⁴⁰ Such conjecture is reminiscent of David Hamilton’s portrayal of a Glasgow enriched by the return of great men of science and medicine: ‘William Hunter once proposed to Cullen that they and Black should return to Glasgow and set up a medical faculty which would rival Edinburgh... it is interesting to speculate on the fame of a school headed by such a triumvirate.’¹⁴¹ Jones’ text therefore becomes an important scholarly reunion of Glasgow as perceived through Smollett; promoting a renewed sense of civic pride that can be seen in many of Smollett’s works. In *Roderick Random*, Glasgow is never mentioned by name. The indistinctness of Roderick’s description of his early years (‘A town not many miles distant, famous for its colleges’) has perhaps contributed to the underwhelming consideration of the city in the chronologically-modelled scholarship on Smollett, such as Lewis Melville’s *Life and Letters* (1926). Later in the novel the introduction of Strap the barber,¹⁴² his old schoolfellow, figures as a comical example of Scots meeting in England. Later still, Roderick and Strap are interrupted while walking past a man who thinks they have dropped a half-crown. When the man is assured of being mistaken, he shares the half-crown with them by taking them to a public house. He notes Roderick’s accent, and says:

The Scots are very brave people. There is scarce a great family in the kingdom that cannot boast of some exploits performed by its ancestors

¹³⁹ Jones, 4.

¹⁴⁰ David Craig, *Scottish literature and the Scottish people, 1680-1830* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), 279.

¹⁴¹ Hamilton, *The Healers*, 126.

¹⁴² For David Murray, Strap – ‘the young barber who could quote Latin to order’ – in Smollett’s novel may well have been Robert Foulis himself: ‘Smollett had lived in Glasgow for several years, had attended the University, and must have known the barber-scholar and his brother the student and tutor.’ – *Robert & Andrew Foulis and the Glasgow Press, with some account of the Glasgow Academy of the Fine Arts* (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1913), 6.

many hundred years ago. There's your Douglasses, Gordons, Campbells, Hamiltons. We have no such ancient families here in England.¹⁴³

The men are evidently moved by these words, as Roderick says: 'This eulogium of my native country gained my affections so strongly, that I believe I could have gone to death to serve the author; and Strap's eyes swam in tears.'¹⁴⁴ Smollett's most important expression of national sentiment, 'The Tears of Scotland', was a reaction to the Jacobite defeat in the Battle of Culloden in 1746. Through Alexander Carlyle's autobiography, John Moore's biography of Smollett, and an account by William Richardson, Lewis Knapp has informed us that 'when the news of the battle of Culloden arrived,' Smollett was first inspired to write the poem.¹⁴⁵ Crucially, we can read Smollett's passion in the final stanza, which was added after he was told by Englishmen in a coffee-house that the poem was 'too strongly expressed':

While the warm blood bedews my veins,
And unimpair'd remembrance reigns,
Resentment of my country's fate,
Within my filial breast shall beat;
And, spite of her insulting foe,
My sympathizing verse shall flow:
"Mourn, hapless Caledonia, mourn
Thy banish'd peace, thy laurels torn."¹⁴⁶

The aforementioned John Wilson, before giving up his creative license completely, used Smollett to embody the fearlessness of Scots in verse (that 'brave' Scots virtue mentioned in *Roderick Random*), for instance his passing reference: 'here dauntless Smollett rose/ Who sung with filial ardour Scotia's woes.'¹⁴⁷ We can also 'imagine,' says Knapp, Smollett's 'hot anger when his former friend Wilkes sneered at [the poem's] vogue among Scots in 1762, in the *North Britain*.'¹⁴⁸ Overall, the poem reads like an elegy for the hammer-blow to Scotland's ancient and wild frontier. Lines such as 'In smoky ruins sunk they lie/ the monuments of cruelty' and, above, 'unimpair'd remembrance reigns' illustrate Smollett's keen awareness that Culloden would resonate long in the public imagination; rendering subsequent manifestations of the battle as cultural memories 'to ages yet unborn.'¹⁴⁹ Yet, these associations with Smollett and Scotland have been complicated by other, more lasting

¹⁴³ Smollett, *Roderick Random*, 69.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Knapp, 57-59.

¹⁴⁶ Knapp, 59.

¹⁴⁷ John Leyden, *Scottish Descriptive Poems; with some illustrations of Scottish Literary Antiquities* (Edinburgh: Mundell & Son, 1803), 25.

¹⁴⁸ Knapp, 61.

¹⁴⁹ George Eyre-Todd, *The Glasgow Poets: Their Lives and Poems* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1906 [1903]), 29.

impressions of the author as a traveller. Laurence Sterne's *A Sentimental Journey* (1768), in which he portrayed the travelling Smollett as 'the learned Smelfungus',¹⁵⁰ has become a common signpost in Smollett criticism;¹⁵¹ a sort of echo-chamber leading to the representation of Smollett as unreasonable and bull-headed in his approaches to European custom in *Travels Through France and Italy*.

'The problem of cultural identity,' writes Jerry Beasley, 'was perhaps especially acute for Scottish writers trying to achieve commercial success with the English reading public and critical success among those who counted in the English world of letters.'¹⁵² National identity, I propose, while a vital feature of Smollett's portrait, has been too strongly focussed on England, where his Scottishness is most stark, thus displacing the local points which can be drawn. Writing from Chelsea in December 1755, Smollett wrote to John Moore about his situation: 'I have neither interest nor acquaintance with any person whose countenance or favour could be of advantage to myself or my friends. I live in the shade of obscurity, neglecting and neglected, and spend my vacant hours among a set of *honest* phlegmatic Englishmen, whom I cultivate for their integrity of heart and simplicity of manners.'¹⁵³ In other letters to Moore, Smollett asks after their mutual 'Glasgow friends.' Yet, for Beasley, Smollett is 'tantalizingly vague on the subject of Glasgow's personal importance to him'.¹⁵⁴ It is therefore helpful to consider his trips home, three of which are known.¹⁵⁵

One of these was in 1755, when, according to John Moore, Smollett returned to Scotland rather impatiently following his translation of *Don Quixote*. This is an important marker in locating Smollett's sense of nationality. As Moore states: 'Those who had opportunities of knowing him intimately, have assured me that he not only maintained his unshaken steadiness towards the friends of his choice, but that he was also endowed with some share of that affectionate prejudice in favour of his relations and countrymen, of which the natives of Scotland are accused by their philosophic neighbours.'¹⁵⁶ Moore may be remembering an event some years before this meeting, when they were travelling together in France and 'fell in with a party of exiled Scotch Jacobites,' whose situation is said to have moved' Smollett 'very *honestly*.'¹⁵⁷ This, the second instance of Smollett's use of the word

¹⁵⁰ Kenneth Simpson, 'Smollett, Tobias George'.

¹⁵¹ Oliphant Smeaton, *Tobias Smollett* (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1897), 114.

¹⁵² Jerry C. Beasley, 'Tobias Smollett: The Scot in England', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 29:1 (Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1996), 14-28 (16).

¹⁵³ Irving, 194-195.

¹⁵⁴ Jerry C. Beasley, 'Tobias Smollett: The Scot in England', 15.

¹⁵⁵ Jones, 6.

¹⁵⁶ James P. Browne, *The Works of Tobias Smollett, with memoirs of his life, to which is prefixed a view of the commencement and progress of romance by John Moore*, volume 1 (London: Bickers & Son, 1872), 103

¹⁵⁷ David Hannay, *Life of Tobias George Smollett* (London: Walter Scott, 1887), 82.

'honest' (italicised), is a potentially interesting note in locating his politics. As Murray Pittock states, "'Honest" was one of the code-words which indicated (Jacobite) patriotism.'¹⁵⁸ Unlike the issue of the Foulis brothers' provisional Jacobitism, Smollett's sympathies here, when coupled with his youthful verses of 1746, are much more difficult to align. A more realistic suggestion would be that Smollett sought independence from any one concept, movement, or sect. By discriminating against no-one in particular, he was free to judge everyone equally.

Glasgow features most strongly 'in the letters in *Humphry Clinker* written at Glasgow... by Melford, Bramble, Lydia, and Winifred,' in which 'there are descriptions of short trips to Hamilton, Paisley, and Renfrew, as well as the longer expedition to Loch Lomond.'¹⁵⁹ Through Jery Melford and Matt Bramble, Smollett illustrates as many descriptions of Glasgow as would seem necessary for a sketch of his own opinions of the city. In Melford's letter, it is stated that 'Glasgow is the pride of Scotland'; that 'here is a great number of young fellows that rival the youth of the capital in spirit and expence'; and that 'the town of Glasgow flourishes in learning as well as in commerce.'¹⁶⁰ It is in the next letter from Bramble that John Moore and John Gordon are said to represent the 'noble spirit of enterprise' which defines 'the people of Glasgow,' concluding with the 'Ode to Leven-Water' which was discussed in the chapter on poetry. For Tom Keymer, the references to Scotland's clan system by Melford and Bramble forms 'an acutely fragmented response', or re-examination, of the Jacobite sympathies that were found in Smollett's 'The Tears of Scotland', culminating in 'a complex and divided attitude to Jacobitism and highland culture' which is 'left unresolved.'¹⁶¹

For James G. Basker, Smollett's nostalgic reveries of Glasgow (and Edinburgh) are 'tinged with the pathetic fact that [they were] a kind of valedictory from exile, sent to his publishers from his deathbed in Italy.' Basker also laments Smollett's failure to produce a recognisably Scottish hero, and, more importantly, his eradication of 'Scotticisms out of later editions of *Roderick Random*.'¹⁶² These contradictions beg the question: what are Smollett's permanent markers? The answer might be found beneath the surface of the term 'Smelfungus'. In an interesting comparison of two portraits,¹⁶³ Louis Kirk McAuley makes

¹⁵⁸ Murray Pittock, *Poetry and Jacobite Politics in Eighteenth-Century Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 67.

¹⁵⁹ Knapp, 269.

¹⁶⁰ Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, 274.

¹⁶¹ Tom Keymer, 'Smollett's Scotlands: Culture, Politics and Nationhood in "Humphry Clinker" and Defoe's "Tour"' in *History Workshop Journal* 41 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 118-132 (127-128)

¹⁶² James G. Basker, 'Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 15 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 81-95 (89).

¹⁶³ The first is by Willem Verelst in 1756, and is said by Joseph Irving (1879) to accurately represent 'the costume of the London physician of the time' (pp.201-202); the second is by Nathaniel Dance c. 1764.

the claim that an older and rather unwell Smollett ‘wore’ his ‘consumption as would a Highland clansman his traditional tartan plaid,’ though ‘not in an egotistic sense... but rather as a testament to his public spiritedness.’¹⁶⁴ Beside Smollett’s romantic view of the Highlands through Jerry Melford, we are reminded of Matt Bramble as being ‘Dr. Smollett’s travelling clinic.’ In all, Smollett’s obsession with health in decline is symbiotic of an Enlightenment perspective, one which relies on not one but several political and national markers. Smollett did, after all, enliven the epistolary mode with the multi-perspective *Humphry Clinker* – a comment on the complexity of Britain with all its competing voices and cultures. Kenneth Simpson has said that ‘Smollett’s concern with the physical derives jointly from the medieval plenitude of vision and his Enlightenment social concern.’ By looking at himself as one in a teeming mass of others, Smollett, ‘like a true child of the Enlightenment... is committed to the amelioration of the living-conditions of his fellow-men.’¹⁶⁵ In order to do that, however, Smollett had to craft a niche for himself into which no-one else could enter. In this niche he found his sense of ‘independence’.

In the last decade of his life, Smollett wrote his ‘Ode to Independence’. It was published posthumously (in 1773) by the Foulis brothers in Glasgow, who Smollett had known and, as Basker believes, tried to promote in his positive reviews of Latin verse fables in 1756.¹⁶⁶ In tracing the poem’s history, Byron Gassman cites the following statement made by Smollett in 1763: ‘I have always piqued myself upon my Independancy [sic], and I trust in God I shall preserve it to my dying day.’¹⁶⁷ In the verses themselves it would be tempting to associate the ideas of national independence with Boswell’s promotional *Account of a Tour of Corsica* (1768) – ‘Even now he [Independence] stands on Calvi’s rocky shore/ And turns the dross of Corsica to gold’¹⁶⁸ – but, for the purposes of this chapter, the notion of Smollett’s personal independence is much more appropriate. The geographical range of the poem is noteworthy, covering ground across the globe and through the centuries. It is as though Smollett is trying to illustrate his own historical knowledge via his classical education at the University of Glasgow. With this, it is interesting to consider that in *Humphry Clinker*, Smollett goes as far as referring to himself: ‘S—, whom you and I have known by his writings... is one of those few writers of the age that stand upon their own foundation,

¹⁶⁴ Louis Kirk McAuley, *The ‘Chaos of Publication’ in Scotland and America, 1740-1801* (State University of New York: PhD Thesis, 2005), 189.

¹⁶⁵ Kenneth Simpson, *The Protean Scot: The Crisis of Identity in Eighteenth Century Scottish Literature* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 18.

¹⁶⁶ James G. Basker, *Tobias Smollett: Critic and Journalist* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), 91.

¹⁶⁷ *Poems, Plays, and The Briton*, ed. Byron Gassman (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1993), 17.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid*, 59.

without patronage, and above dependence. If there was nothing characteristic in the entertainer, the company made ample amends for his want of singularity.’¹⁶⁹ This self-portrait, in which definition, ‘foundation’, and ‘singularity’ go wanting, may be the most accurate of all ‘images’ of Smollett. It is also no mistake that later in the novel, Glasgow is described as being ‘opulent’ and ‘independent’.¹⁷⁰ As for his ‘Ode’, published there, we might even consider Smollett’s methodology and its connotations of Enlightenment.

If the omniscience of ‘Independence’ in the ‘Ode’ is relatable to Smollett’s authorial, multi-national voice in *Humphry Clinker*, then his *History and Adventures of an Atom* (1769) must also be acknowledged. In this work, Smollett created an ‘allegorical narrative of fantastic events that had taken place in Japan a thousand years previously, dictated to a London haberdasher named Nathaniel Peacock by an all-knowing atom that has resided in the bodies of the greatest figures of the state.’¹⁷¹ According to Robert Adams Day, Smollett’s unusual narrative device may have been influenced by Charles Johnstone’s *Chrysal* (1760, 1765); a work which features ‘the spirit of gold, temporarily embodied in a guinea, [recounting] to an emaciated alchemist at the end of his tether its recent adventures in the hands of George II, his mistress the countess of Yarmouth, Frederick the Great,’ et al.¹⁷² In one respect, Johnstone’s guinea and Smollett’s atom (‘or constituent particles of matter, which can neither be annihilated, divider, or impaired’)¹⁷³ might be literary embodiments of the age of the Enlightenment in literature; of scientific discourse in art. What they also represent is the consideration of history in a deliberately skewed frame, an imaginary breakdown of time in which the presence of the past is folded into the present.

In Smollett’s case, the political and literary allusions are so frequent that ‘keys’ were commonly printed with the work so that readers from future generations could make sense of which characters from Smollett’s day were being mentioned. Smollett’s extraordinarily diverse range of subject matter, offered to Nathaniel Peacock by the atom, does, at times, reveal his own experiences with medicine. ‘Alchemy’, says the atom, ‘was... a favourite study in Japan.’¹⁷⁴ A footnote then explains that the atom’s account of Jean-Baptiste Van Helmont’s plagiarism in the seventeenth century ‘is taken almost verbatim from the great

¹⁶⁹ Smollett, *Humphry Clinker*, 156.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 283.

¹⁷¹ Robert Adams Day, ‘Introduction’, *The History and Adventures of an Atom* ed. Robert Adams Day (Athens: The University of Georgia press, 1989 [1769]), xxv.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, xli.

¹⁷³ Tobias Smollett, *The History and Adventures of an Atom* ed. Robert Adams Day (Athens: The University of Georgia press, 1989 [1769]), 5-6.

¹⁷⁴ Smollett, *Atom*, 60.

Dutch physician, Hermaan Boerhaave... whose *Elementa chemiae*...must have been included in Smollett's reading as a medical student.¹⁷⁵

It appears that Smollett deployed his own knowledge of medical as well as political and literary history into the all-knowing remit of his atom: a symbol of the Enlightenment man's role as an all-encompassing thinker. It should be remembered that, while he only published one medical text, Smollett's work as editor of the *Critical Review* better exemplifies his range. Basker has noted that, during this tenure Smollett analysed 'essays in chemistry, physics, geology, archaeology, anatomy, astronomy, natural history, and medicine.'¹⁷⁶ It is no wonder that he considered the periodical as 'a small branch of an extensive plan which I last year projected for a sort of Academy of the Belles Lettres.'¹⁷⁷ But to return to the point made at the beginning of this section: Smollett's plurality, his very independence, seems to have compromised his stability in Georgian London.

We can visualise this plurality, for instance, in a portrait by T. Holloway used as the frontispiece to both James P. Browne's new edition of Moore's *The Works of Smollett* (1872) and volume one of the twelve-volume *Works* edited by George Saintsbury (1928). The image depicts a youthful Smollett wearing his wig, presiding above a representation of the devil; a picaresque hero; a mask; a trumpet; and the medical symbol of the staff entwined by the snake [Fig. 22]. The question is no longer, which Smollett should we remember – but how do we begin to remember such a complicated character? As such, it can be said that no-one (dramatist, artist, biographer, scholar) has been able to reinvigorate Smollett's cultural afterlife *beyond* the initial collection of motifs that were used by Holloway to define him. Indeed, non-academic texts such as *Tobias Smollett* (2003) by Jeremy Lewis can re-open these images to the public, but can images so entrenched in their times be truly reinvented, or reconstructed? In the next section, we consider the sites which might finally ground some of the mobile and contradictory expressions of the Scottish Enlightenment that have been outlined thus far.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 188.

¹⁷⁶ Basker, *Critic and Journalist*, 118.

¹⁷⁷ Kenneth Simpson, 'Smollett, Tobias George (1721–1771)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25947>.



Figure 22: Frontispiece in James P. Browne, *The Works of Tobias Smollett* (1872)

Constructing Legacies, Deconstructing Memory

Today, one can visit the monuments erected in memory of Smollett in Renton, his birthplace [Fig. 23], and in his final place of residence: Leghorn (Livorno), in Italy. And, in spite of the uncertainty surrounding the existence of an octagonal tomb erected in Leghorn,¹⁷⁸ the inscriptions written for these monuments by figures such as John Armstrong (1708/9-1779), Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), and Lord Kames (Henry Home, 1696-1782) do encapsulate Smollett's fame among his contemporaries. In Kames' inscription it is said: 'This pillar, erected by James Smollett of Bonhill, is not for his cousin, who possesses a more noble monument in his literary productions, but for thee, O Traveller!'¹⁷⁹ This eighteenth-century idea of literature-as-monument is a useful insight into the perceptions of literature in that time. In order to correlate the medical and literary impressions of Glasgow, we should look beyond the network; the individual; and the text, to the institutional sites which can be said to harness the eighteenth-century world to which Smollett and his fellow Glaswegians belonged. Each of the three sites in focus (the Town's Hospital; the Royal Infirmary; and the Hunterian Museum), represent a landmark in chronology of Georgian Glasgow's buildings of the Scottish Enlightenment.

¹⁷⁸ For a full breakdown of this, including letters and scans, see: <http://leghornmerchants.wordpress.com/2012/03/29/smolletts-first-grave/> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁷⁹ Quoted in Knapp, 335.



Figure 23: Smollett's Birthplace and Monument, reproduced from Joseph Irving, *The Book of Dumbartonshire* (1879)

So far, the University of Glasgow has featured as the prominent site: the centre of these active members of the Glasgow Enlightenment. The move to its present site in Gilmorehill in 1870 saw the transportation and expansion of this institution, as well as the retention of some of the original eighteenth-century features including the Lion and Unicorn Staircase.¹⁸⁰ The different locations of the FPSG, already outlined above, represent a narrative of institutional growth. Emerson and Wood have stated that before 1752 'there were no significant clubs or societies possessing instruments or libraries to rival' the University.¹⁸¹ It was in 1752 that the Glasgow Literary Society was founded, whose members included such men of science and medicine as John Anderson, Joseph Black, Thomas Hamilton, and Alexander Wilson, as well as moral philosophers Adam Smith and Thomas Reid. But how can their meetings, their shared ideas, and their contributions to the Enlightenment be seen in everyday life when there is simply not enough of Georgian Glasgow left? For instance: we can say that, in one sense, the University of Glasgow, despite its Victorian relocation, has survived as an institution, encompassing all of its history. But the examination of the Foulis Academy showed us that their legacy was partly destroyed at the same time as the Old College. Beyond the University and the FPSG, with a moving legacy of its own, we can trace other important sites of medical interest in the same area as these original sites. Charles

¹⁸⁰ See: <http://glasgowuniversity.wordpress.com/tag/lion-and-unicorn-staircase/> [accessed 0/12/15].

¹⁸¹ Emerson & Wood, 88.

McKean has pointed out that ‘after the reformation,’ and following the ‘evaporation’ of ‘the ecclesiastics...Glasgow merchants at last began to emerge from obscurity and subordination’ and ‘their hand,’ he says, ‘can be seen in the town’s decisive shift downhill [from the Cathedral]: a new civic kirk at St. Mary’s Tron; a new Tolbooth in 1626; a splendid double-quadrangled university halfway down the High Street in 1631, and Hutchesons’ Hospital in 1639.’¹⁸² The last is an example of the combination of charitable and educational doctrines, the legacy of which is embodied in Hutchesons’ Grammar School.¹⁸³

For Emerson and Wood, though, ‘only the Glasgow Town’s [or Toun’s] Hospital, which opened in 1733, offered institutional support for the cultivation of natural knowledge outside of the College.’¹⁸⁴ Thomas A. Markus has described the Town’s, situated ‘on Clyde Street, near the site of the present Catholic Cathedral’ [Figs. 24 & 25] as ‘a mixture of workhouse, hospital, lunatic asylum and poorhouse.’¹⁸⁵ Using ‘before and after’ samples (John McArthur’s map of 1778, left, and David Smith’s in 1828, right, Fig. 26) of the same site, we can see the rapid progression of Glasgow’s growth in the Georgian period and, eventually, the overcrowding of the city which left the Town’s Hospital unfit as the centre of public healthcare.



Figure 24: Painting of the Town’s Hospital.



Figure 25: Engraving of St. Andrew’s RC Cathedral beside the Town’s Hospital.

¹⁸² Charles McKean, ‘Glasgow: how the energy of the City reflects in its architecture’, *RSA Journal* 139:5413 (London: Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 1990), 914-925 (914)

¹⁸³ See: <http://www.hutchesons.org/school/history/buildings>

¹⁸⁴ Emerson & Wood, 88

¹⁸⁵ Thomas A. Markus, ‘Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland, 1780-1830’, *Order in Space and Society: Architectural Form and its Context in the Scottish Enlightenment* ed. Thomas A. Markus (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1982), 25-114 (38)

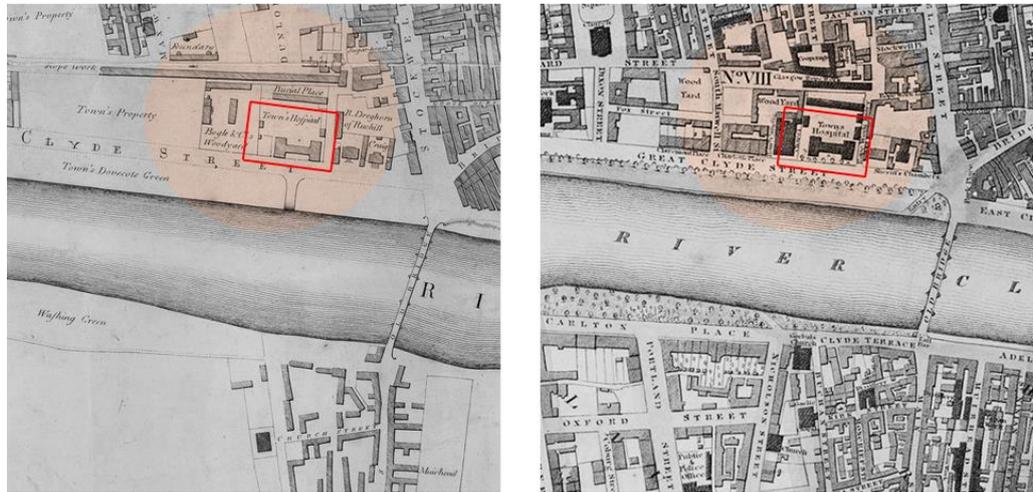


Figure 26: [left] McArthur, *Plan* (1778)
[right] David Smith, *Plan of the City of Glasgow and its Environs* (1828) edited by author

For Geyer-Kordesch and MacDonald, it ‘was not just another civic foundation in the tradition of providing for the sick poor’ in that ‘attendance to hospital wards was linked to the patronage of the FPSG and its corporate medical policies.’¹⁸⁶ That Cullen, Black, and Moore were all physicians in the Town’s Hospital offers a rounded picture of the medical development within the city in their time. In this site we can see the intersection of renowned figures of the Scottish Enlightenment with places, making their time in Glasgow more traceable and less abstract. And while Smollett was never a member of the FPSG, Fulton has estimated that he would have ‘certainly visited’ the Town’s hospital during his apprenticeship.¹⁸⁷ No longer standing, the hospital fell in and out of use during the late Georgian period before being used as a warehouse for various goods. Unfortunately, the Town’s was not suitable for the rate at which the medical Enlightenment was advancing. In 1736, Glasgow’s first historian John M’Ure had praised the newly-opened building as ‘the most celebrated Hospital built by the city of Glasgow, for alimentering and educating upwards of one hundred and fifty-two poor decayed old men, widows, and orphans.’¹⁸⁸ When we consider its location, however, we may look at its distance from the University as a factor in its decreasing compatibility with medical teaching. As Emerson and Wood remark, ‘extramural teachers found no suitable homes outside the university in Glasgow as they did in Edinburgh, where they often taught at Surgeon’s Hall.’¹⁸⁹ Glasgow did eventually erect a hospital close to the University in the form of the Royal Infirmary.

¹⁸⁶ Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 305.

¹⁸⁷ Henry L. Fulton, ‘Smollett’s Apprenticeship in Glasgow’, 182.

¹⁸⁸ See: <http://www.glasgowhistory.co.uk/Books/Relics/RelicsFrame.htm> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁸⁹ Emerson & Wood, 97.

Markus has illustrated the construction of the Infirmary following a Royal Charter of 1791, with its ‘substantial dome some 14 metres in diameter.’¹⁹⁰ The quite considerable gap between the opening of the Town’s (1733) and the opening of the Royal (1794) affected a sort of delay in Glasgow’s reputation for medical excellence whom the likes of Cullen, Black, and Hunter had been known for. Unlike the Town’s, the Royal was built upon a significant site, I believe, quite deliberately. Not only was the nearby University a major factor in fixing a site for the Royal, but it also became an opportunity for Glasgow to collectively alter its topography and cleanse itself of a most unwelcome, religious monument: the ruins of the old Bishop’s Castle. As George MacGregor notes: the castle had long been in a ‘ruinous condition’ as ‘the spirit of the times did not favour the preservation of such a venerable relic, for it brought to the Presbyterian mind memories of Papal supremacy.’¹⁹¹ As such, it was appropriate for the civic leaders to mark the ceremony in 1792 with the laying of a foundation stone. The event was captured in verse by the Glasgow poet William Campbell,¹⁹² not at all unlike John Home’s 1753 poem detailing the ‘laying the foundation stone of the new Edinburgh exchange’.¹⁹³ Campbell’s poem (‘On laying the foundation stone of the infirmary on the ruins of the old castle’), began:

No more th’ impending wall offends our eyes
 A nobler happier dome is seen to rise
 Whose milder aspect bids contention cease
 And soothes the mind to harmony and peace...

There is a definite sense of Glasgow being ‘cured’ from ‘memories of Papal supremacy’ (MacGregor, above) in this symbol of what Campbell calls ‘a philanthropic age.’ The hospital also had a more regulated and beneficial relationship with the FPSG, while nearby the Physic Garden in the University added to this completely new centre collaborative of medical development [Fig. 27]. As Comrie explains, ‘the arrangement was made that the physicians and surgeons of the Faculty should act in rotation, each physician for six months and each surgeon for two months.’ This proved successful, and the ‘numbers of students attending the Glasgow Medical School almost immediately increased.’¹⁹⁴ It was in this building that Joseph Lister (1827-1912) was a surgeon, following his appointment to the

¹⁹⁰ Markus, ‘Buildings for the Sad, the Bad and the Mad in Urban Scotland’, 38-39

¹⁹¹ George MacGregor, *The History of Glasgow: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1881), 363

¹⁹² Little is known about this particular poet, beside a collection of his poems held in the Mitchell library; with much material on Glasgow, political reform, and the French Revolution.

¹⁹³ Sher, *Church and University*, 188

¹⁹⁴ Comrie, 133

chair of surgery in the University in 1860.¹⁹⁵ The Royal is still running to this day, although the original building designed by Robert Adam (1728-1792) – who also designed the Trades Hall, one of Glasgow’s finest remaining Georgian buildings – was replaced and expanded in the early twentieth century.

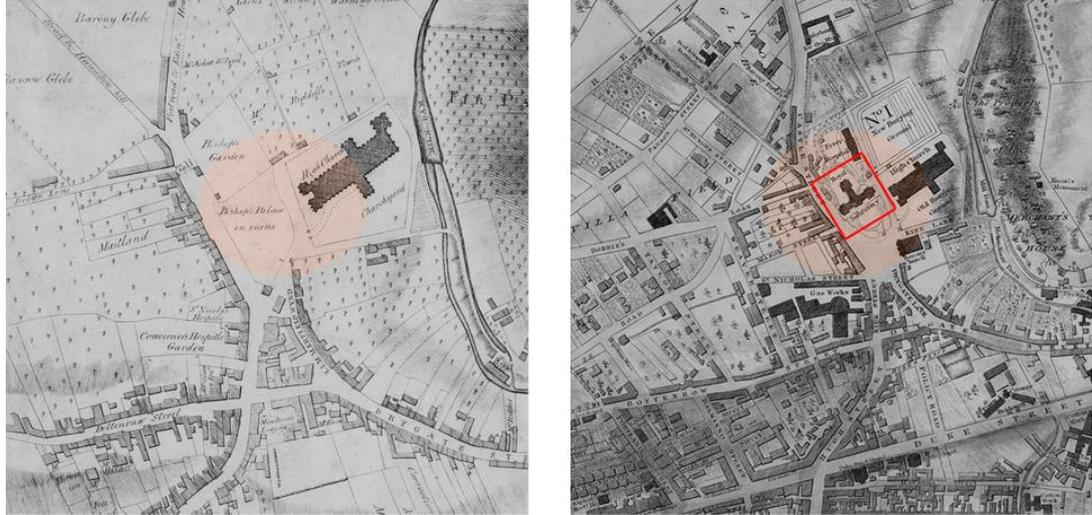


Figure 27: [Same source as Figure 26].



Figure 28: James Fittler, ‘Glasgow Infirmary’ (1804)

The symbolic importance of the dome built into the Royal Infirmary, as seen in the background of Figure 28, essentially leads us towards the discussion of the original

¹⁹⁵ Christopher Lawrence, ‘Lister, Joseph, Baron Lister (1827–1912)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34553>.

Hunterian Museum. For Markus, both the Hunterian's and John Anderson's University Museum's 'Domes of Enlightenment'¹⁹⁶ were classical expressions of the Age of Reason. Geyer-Kordesch and Macdonald have picked up on this, summarising these sites as 'architectural paeans to the need to classify and understand the natural order.'¹⁹⁷ The portrayal of these late Georgian buildings as a meeting point of natural and moral philosophy, of science and art, is firmly established in Markus' article: both in the excellent reading of William Hunter's movements in London, with particular focus on his house in Great Windmill Street which 'incorporated' his 'mature ideas on the physical framework needed for medical practice, teaching and dissection, and the housing of anatomical, natural history, coin, art and book collections';¹⁹⁸ and in the study of Anderson's Museum which formed 'part of the late eighteenth century westward development' of Glasgow.¹⁹⁹ One of the most intriguing insights in this reading is Markus' comparison of structure with natural order: 'The development of anatomy can be seen as an analogy which in an interesting way anticipates the relationship of form, function and space in architecture.'²⁰⁰ In this we can come to terms with the impact of 'the living centre' upon location and cultural memory. Unlike the functional designation of buildings such as hospitals (treatment and teaching), the Museum can effectively become the very 'image' of a place via its collections. That Hunter's work in London began to combine teaching with exhibition is a very interesting notion indeed, leaving us to consider the effect of the overlap of the individual and the place in the figuration of cultural memory.

The establishment of the Hunterian in Glasgow should have been a large enough statement in itself as to the Glasgow-ness of Hunter and his works; installing the idea that Glasgow and Hunter are synonymous. But, as Markus shows us: Hunter's contemporaries often noted the enthralling effect of Hunter's teaching in London, seemingly animating his collections: 'One contemporary description speaks of each section of the collection being (in Hunter's presence) "a centre of instruction and illumination." Now [after his death] the chain of all these truths is broken; all is mute in this vast building.'²⁰¹ If this was the case in London, how was the legacy of Hunter (and of Glasgow's scientific and medical Enlightenment more generally) constructed in Glasgow from where, like Smollett, Hunter had been largely absent?

¹⁹⁶ Thomas A. Markus, 'Domes of Enlightenment: Two Scottish University Museums', *The International Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* 4:3 (1985), 215-242.

¹⁹⁷ Geyer-Kordesch & MacDonald, 186.

¹⁹⁸ Markus, 'Domes of Enlightenment', 221.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid, 237.

²⁰⁰ Ibid, 224.

²⁰¹ Ibid, 223.

As regards the Hunterian in its original location [Fig. 29], it is important to note firstly that construction did not begin until the early nineteenth century. Hunter's death in 1783 did not signal the immediate transportation of his vast collections to Glasgow, but rather 'that for 30 years it would remain in London, and continue to be used for teaching and demonstration.'²⁰² This extensive period, during which Cullen, Black, Smollett and Moore all died, has had a sort of delayed-reaction effect on Glasgow's ability to crystallise its scientific and medical achievements. For W. D. Ian Rolfe, Hunter's 'collections' were 'inevitably disturbed' when they 'were removed to Glasgow in 1807.'²⁰³ What is being argued is that the absence of Hunter in the building of the Glasgow site was made more apparent by the interruption of order and preference, even taste (after all, Hunter was an experienced collector of fine art as well as scientific curiosities). Therefore, the collections as they were in 1807 were separated from Hunter himself, making their subsequent relocation to Gilmorehill in 1870 a sort of double dilution of what Markus and Rolfe see as a living, breathing connection between Hunter's ideas and his displays. These ideas are in opposition with C. Helen Brock, who has considered the pleasure which Hunter would have felt in having 'all his collections' in Glasgow; thus creating 'a lasting memorial to himself.'²⁰⁴ Lawrence Keppie's text (2007) lays out the precise details behind the lengthy process of the different architects that were approached for the Museum. In the end, William Stark's (1770-1814) plans were accepted and the building, with its Graeco-Roman style complete with dome, became Scotland's first public Museum [Fig. 30].



Figure 29: [Same sources as Figures 26 & 27]

²⁰² Ibid, 224

²⁰³ W. D. Ian Rolfe, 'William and John Hunter: breaking the Great Chain of Being', *William Hunter and the eighteenth-century medical world*, eds. W. F. Bynum & Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 297-319 (299)

²⁰⁴ C. Helen Brock, 'The happiness of riches', *William Hunter and the eighteenth-century medical world*, eds. W. F. Bynum & Roy Porter (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 35-54 (49)



Figure 30: Joseph Swan, engraving of the Hunterian Museum (1829)

But while we may praise its immediate effect on the University on High Street, it is essential to remember that by 1807 Glasgow's most enlightened printing press was on the decline, and the same Academy of Fine Art had been closed for three decades. The Hunterian, then, formed a new quadrangle with the building that once housed this Academy and the professor's houses, 'known as Museum Square.'²⁰⁵ As we will see in the next chapter, the spoils of Empire were beginning to compete with the virtues of Enlightenment in the public imagination, especially in Glasgow where the city was perceived to alter itself accordingly. It is understandable, then, that this late-Georgian University culture with the Museum at its core was just too late to affect any real cultural memory of Enlightenment Glasgow. In Thomas Hamilton's novel *Cyril Thornton* this very argument is expressed. Coming back to Glasgow after his youthful student days, Cyril states that the building, 'barbarously discordant with the prevailing character of the place', was a shock to his eye: 'It almost seemed to have dropped from the clouds, and stood staring on the dark and time-honoured masses, by which it was surrounded, as if wondering by what extraordinary chance, it had been thrown into such company.'²⁰⁶ The Londoners who expected Hunter's collections to remain in place probably felt similarly bewildered.²⁰⁷ But at least we can discern in Glasgow a sense of the Scottish Enlightenment the people there wished to capture. The posthumous portrait of Hunter (1787) by Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792) commissioned by the

²⁰⁵ Keppie, 51.

²⁰⁶ Hamilton, *Cyril Thornton*, 426.

²⁰⁷ Keppie, 36-7.

University of Glasgow tells us that they were making an effort to promote the forgotten connections between the city and the mobile Scottish Enlightenment.

Crucially, we can add into this a completely overlooked facet of Glasgow's civic awareness, within the museum itself. As Thomas Hastie Bryce (1862-1946), Regius Professor of Anatomy at Glasgow and curator of the archaeological and anatomical specimens at the Hunterian Museum tells us: the museum housed many paintings of all kinds brought from Hunter's house in London, 'with three exceptions. These are the portraits of Cullen, his master; of Tobias Smollett, his friend - both by Cochrane,²⁰⁸ the Scottish portrait painter; and of Francis Hutcheson, whose teaching of Moral Philosophy helped to mould Hunter's character as a young student.'²⁰⁹ These paintings surely represent a Glaswegian triumvirate of the Scottish Enlightenment. That they were the 'exceptions' to Hunter's paintings tell us that they were put there for contextual purposes by the University. Together with the painting of Hunter and the statue of Watt, there is little doubt that 'the living centre' was entirely represented here under one roof – or rather one dome.

Today, the Hunterian Museum remains an important reminder of Glasgow's Enlightenment. One of the prevailing issues, perhaps, in prolonging the memorable connection between William Hunter and Glasgow, beside the delay of his collections coming to Glasgow, is the separate displays in the University of Glasgow. The first is the Hunterian Museum's permanent exhibition, 'William Hunter: Man, Medic and Collector,'²¹⁰ which stands separate from related objects held in the Museum of Anatomy²¹¹, also on the campus grounds. While the two complement each other, their separation may impinge on the holistic impression of Hunter's collections. In saying this, Hunter's cultural memory will be undoubtedly rejuvenated in the 2018 tercentenary commemoration events to be held by various Glasgow institutions.

Again, the scholarship contributing to cultural memory studies is useful here. According to Peter Meusburger, 'Symbolic places and memorials arguably do inspire thoughts about the past, but not necessarily in the way the designers of memorials or the curators of museums had planned. The process of knowledge transfer between the sender

²⁰⁸ The named artist is the same William Cochrane (1738-1785) from the Foulis Academy in the previous chapter. His portrait of Cullen is well-known (c.1765), but his Smollett portrait less so. In fact, to attribute this to Cochrane may help clarify the murkiness surrounding another portrait of 'A Gentleman', believed to be Smollett, painted by another pupil of the Academy: Archibald McLauchlan (*fl.* 1752-70).

²⁰⁹ T. H. Bryce, 'The Hunterian Museum', *Glasgow University Students' Handbook* (Glasgow; Glasgow University, 1935), 50-52 (51).

²¹⁰ See: <http://www.gla.ac.uk/hunterian/collections/permanentdisplays/williamhunter/#d.en.199545> [accessed 08/12/15].

²¹¹ See:

<http://www.gla.ac.uk/schools/lifesciences/aboutus/themuseumofanatomy/aboutthemuseumofanatomy/> [accessed 08/12/15].

(museum, memorial) and the receiver of information (audience, visitor) is much more complex than generally assumed.²¹² In this sense, both the original and the present Hunterian Museums in Glasgow have not suffered any cultural or geographical dislocation because, going by Meusburger's analysis of public interaction, it is the introduction to the past, rather than the immersion into it, that museums effectively offer.

In sum, the already established Presbyterian-based framework exists alongside, not over and above, the medical enlightenment initiated by Cullen and Black, taken to London by the Hunters and Smollett, and brought back to Glasgow in the memorialisation of the age in 1807. In the case of William Hunter, the delayed attempt to align his life and works with Glasgow's academic image is nonetheless indicative of the proliferation of cultural memory. Smollett, on the other hand, is in want of a definitive location. As outlined above, his meandering efforts in Britain and abroad have resulted in a divisive afterlife which does not easily fit the Scottish or English literary canon; while his pockmarked medical career has unfortunately left him, for the most part, on the periphery of Scottish Enlightenment scholarship. This medical network, then, with its institutions and diverse body of members, does not exist in harmony. This should not, however, take away from Glasgow's ability to feature as a communicative touchstone from which competing cultural memories can be distributed. If anything, the complexities which have hindered the legacy of certain figures above should illustrate the limitations of reading Glasgow as the singular alternative to Edinburgh's medical progress; thus inviting new discussions of Scotland's nuanced relationship between medicine and teaching.

As we look towards another major theme in the next chapter, it will be shown that Glasgow's heroes and sites of slavery and empire are as unevenly remembered as we have seen them to be here. With slavery comes the dilemma of remembering a transatlantic mass-movement of people. Already, it seems, the majority of Georgian Glasgow's most significant historical figures have been either misremembered or neglected in the public imagination. At this point we might presume that Glasgow today lacks the correct locations, sites, cultural memories through which we can recall these consecutive people, ideas, and themes. As Maurice Lindsay states: 'the medieval College of Glasgow...was probably the City's greatest ever loss.'²¹³ While I agree with this entirely, I find it befitting to end this chapter with one final, ironic observation made by David Clarke regarding the sale of the lands of the University to the City of Glasgow Union Railway Company 'for a goods station serviced

²¹² Peter Meusburger, 'Knowledge, Cultural Memory, and Politics', *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (London: Springer, 2011), 51-69 (63).

²¹³ Hamilton, *Cyril Thornton*, 458.

by steam engines.’²¹⁴ What we have is the work of the Scottish Enlightenment in Glasgow manifesting itself so powerfully that it unwittingly causes the demolition of the very site of this intellectual centre, affecting the city’s cultural memory gravely indeed. Clarke quotes freely from *The Herald*:

Deep-brooding Watt, sitting in his academic shop, studying great physical powers, evoked from his brain the very spirit ... which is about to lay the walls of his student’s cell in ruins. It is to the railway that the University is about to yield up its ancient dwelling-place, and, in a few months, there will sweep over the spot where the great philosopher sat the very spirit which he was then chaining to the car of civilisation.²¹⁵

Perhaps these words deserve more attention for their incredible relevance to the understanding of memorialisation. For ‘Deep-brooding Watt’ in his shop, see Figure 31. For ‘the walls of his student’s cell’, see Figure 32 (in the background of which you might imagine the paintings of the Foulis Academy hanging ceremonially as in Figure 14).

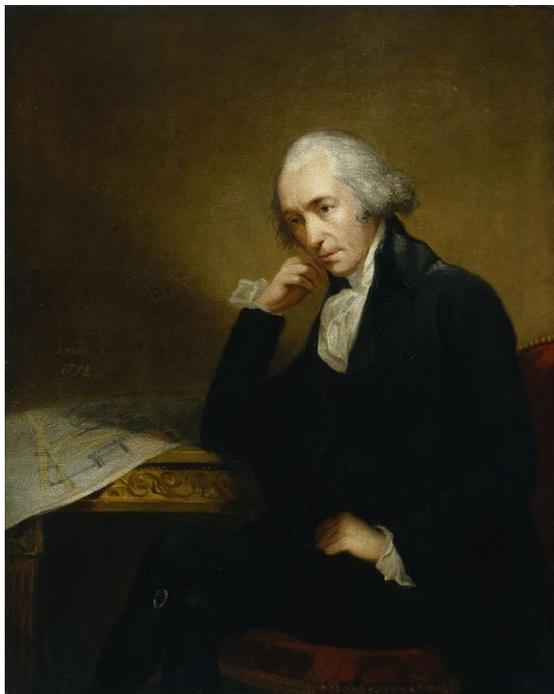


Figure 31: Carl Frederik von Breda, *James Watt* (1792)



Figure 32: John Blake MacDonald, *James Watt* (1858)

To blame Watt for the demolition of the College and the Hunterian would be to blame Cullen, Black, and his colleagues across Britain in the lead-up to his most famous achievement. More reasonably, it can be accepted that Watt’s unprecedented impact on the pace of society and the nature of memorialisation has obscured many of his contemporaries

²¹⁴ Clarke, 59.

²¹⁵ Quoted in Clarke, 59.

including Smollett and, to a lesser extent, Hunter, from view. Methodologically, the placing together of these fragile connections into some sort of order might rejuvenate public interest in Georgian Glasgow as well as new scholarly attention. We should look behind the metaphorical curtain that has been draped over these histories, as one might imagine the two artisans in Figure 7 doing not long after they considered Watt's colossal presence. Hopefully, what we find is a rediscovered image of the city that can be comprehended and utilised in both professional and public arenas.

Chapter III

'That barbarous traffic':

Slavery in the age of Adam Smith and James Boswell

There's mair o them in Scotland than ye micht imagine. Maistly in Glasgow and roond about. Wi the trade tae the Indies, ye ken. It's no like Bristol or Liverpool, sir, whair I'm tellt they are very numerous, but there's mair here than ye'd think.

- James Robertson, *Joseph Knight* (2003)¹

Glasgow's relationship with slavery is not a straightforward one. In fact, the complexities of this relationship exist in the midst of a limited number of tangible sources and with no single access point through which subtler connections can be dismantled. As we have observed thus far, the city's prominent Georgian figures have been poorly remembered. We are therefore required to seek out certain aspects of Georgian Glasgow, grounding the scattered references and ideas which feed into the new picture being built in this thesis. Having established the framework for the cultural memories of print culture, religion, fine art, literature, and the Scottish Enlightenment (especially science and medicine), we can add the changes brought to society by the growth of Empire. The intricacies of this task reveal Glasgow's growing prominence in British Imperialism, while the issues surrounding the legacy of this growth suggest the much larger truth that the image of Glasgow today is a product of Victorian era exhibitionism during which time the city was projected as a vital cog in the British industrial machine.² As is often the case here, Glasgow is seen to have towered above other Scottish trading centres. The next chapter on John Galt and Empire will illustrate how Glasgow made full use of its geographical advantage held over Edinburgh as well as key English trading points in its colonial ventures across the Atlantic. But where does slavery appear in the story of Glasgow's growth?

This chapter makes the case that Glasgow's links with slavery, on both sides of the debate, are present in the work coming from the University and other individuals with Glasgow connections in the Georgian era. But, as a result of the powerful imperial posturing that took place in the Victorian era, these connections remain obscured. Indeed, one of the key concepts in this chapter is obscurity, with a focus on the hidden aspects of the past as they emerge in the context of contemporary exhibitions. It will be proposed that the strong

¹ James Robertson, *Joseph Knight* (London: Fourth Estate, 2003), 9.

² Glasgow is often represented as the 'Second City of the Empire' in literature dating from the nineteenth century to the present day:
http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/scottishhistory/victorian/trails_victorian_glasgow.shtml [accessed 08/12/15].

emphasis on slavery in Liverpool and Bristol have, by comparison, rendered Glasgow (and, at times, Scotland) as something of an afterthought in modern presuppositions of transatlantic slave trading. Tom Devine – who recently called for a permanent commemoration of Glasgow’s involvement in the trade³ – had previously suggested that ‘only a handful of direct slaving voyages from Glasgow and Edinburgh probably took place.’⁴ There were twenty-one known slave voyages from Glasgow between 1707-66 (seven from Port Glasgow in the first half of the century and fourteen from Greenock in the latter half)⁵, the number of slaves aboard being unknown. When this is compared to Liverpool, from where 15,375 slaves were transported to Jamaica in 1791 alone,⁶ it seems understandable if not permissible that Glasgow has, for the majority of the twentieth-century, been perceived as a minor offender. But as Devine points out these figures are more useful for elucidating how certain ‘English outports were already so well established in the African trade’ that Glasgow benefited instead from tobacco and sugar importation.⁷ In other words, these figures do not consider the countless slaves who worked on the plantations linked to Glasgow’s elite merchants.

In a national context, Scotland’s relationship with slavery has been examined in two key texts: C. Duncan Rice’s *The Scots Abolitionists 1833-1861* (1981) and Iain Whyte’s *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery 1756-1838* (2006). The latter offers more in terms of the pioneering actions and legacies of Scottish figures during the time in question for this chapter while the former offers a history of America’s fight for abolition, at the front of which stood William Lloyd Garrison, and the influence on Scots therein. Michael Fry’s (2001) and Tom Devine’s (2003) books on empire offer a more rounded picture, but unfortunately lack any depth beyond ‘a few references’ to slavery.⁸ However, Devine’s *The Tobacco Lords* (1975) takes full account of the elite traders in Glasgow connected to plantation slavery, including John Glassford of Douglaston and Whitehill (1715-1783) and William Cunninghame of Lainshaw (1731-1799). Beside this seminal text on what remains one of Glasgow’s chief narratives of the Georgian era, Devine’s scholarly work has expounded more about Glasgow’s West-Indian business elite (1978). To this we can add

³ Ben Riley-Smith, ‘Call for memorial to Glasgow slave trade’, *Sunday Herald* 17 March 2013: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/call-for-memorial-to-glasgow-slave-trade.20523508> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴ T. M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire 1600-1815* (London: Penguin, 2003), 245.

⁵ T. M. Devine, ‘Did Slavery make Scotia great?’ from *Britain and the World 4:1* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 40-64 (44).

⁶ John Haggerty, ‘Visual Analytics of an Eighteenth-Century Business Network’ from *Enterprise & Society* 11:1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 1-25 (6).

⁷ Devine, ‘Did Slavery make Scotia great?’ (2011), 44.

⁸ Iain Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery, 1756-1838* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 4.

Stephen Mullen's 'A Glasgow-West India Merchant House and the Imperial Dividend, 1779-1867' (2013), which offers a detailed insight into, among other things, the trading firms involved in the Glasgow West India Association: a group which sought protection from the sanctions brought about by the Abolition of Slavery bill in 1807. From here, it becomes clear that 1807 – nationally commemorated through bicentenary events – does not altogether represent the end of slavery as an active issue in Britain. As will be shown, the debate raged on into the middle of the nineteenth century, running parallel with the push for Catholic Emancipation in a largely Protestant Glasgow.

Glasgow's role in the national context has been gaining momentum in recent years. On top of the 2007 bicentenary events which will be examined at the end of this chapter, University College London's new resource, the *Legacies of British Slave-ownership* database, returns 75 individuals with Glasgow connections to plantations, banks, and trading companies. Matthew Adam (1780-1853), for example, a graduate of Glasgow University, is noted as having a connection to a plantation in the parish of St. Ann, Jamaica, where sixteen slaves were recorded as active at the time of a legal claim in 1836.⁹ Cases such as these offer a more rounded image of slavery existing outside the city with connections to certain Glasgow individuals. It is perhaps true, then, that Glasgow's underwhelming presence in slavery discourse is a result of the invisibility of its actions. Paul Connerton suggests the same in conjunction with Jane Austen's *Mansfield Park* (1814). He analyses the 'dead silence' following Thomas Bertram (whose estate in Antigua provides much of his wealth) being asked about the slave trade to mean that 'one world could not be connected with the other, since there was no common language for both.'¹⁰ In this reading, distance without mediating language prolongs this silence (or ignorance) towards slavery in Britain. It follows that Glasgow's relatively silent complicity with the trade was a result of a similar distancing between the result of the trade (wealth) and the cause of it (slavery). It is here that the framework of memory studies specific to discussions of slavery should be outlined.

Maurice Halbwachs' term 'collective memory' marks the beginning of this framework. In its widest sense, it refers to the memories of events and ideas shared by small groups (particular witnesses) and/or large groups (members of the same city or country). Therefore, historical events might be actively 'remembered' only by a small group while impressions of these events might be generally 'remembered' later by large groups. As such, the term 'collective' has been appropriately recast as either 'communicative' (short-term,

⁹ See: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/lbs/claim/view/19029> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁰ Paul Connerton, *The Spirit of Mourning* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 77.

generational) or ‘cultural’ (long-term, transgenerational) memory.¹¹ With a focus on the Georgian era, the majority of this thesis has an obvious dependence on ‘cultural’ memory. However, the rejuvenation of slavery discourse in recent years has brought about a unique situation, drawing issues of ‘trauma’ memory (usually attributed to the Holocaust) and ‘sites of memory’ (following Pierre Nora’s seminal work) into the same framework.¹² To begin, Tom Devine’s recent use of the word ‘amnesia’ regarding Scotland’s memory of slavery is, I propose, ambiguous.¹³ On the one hand I agree that Scotland and slavery is in need of more focussed research and, more importantly, accessible narratives which last longer than memorial events. On the other hand, the term ‘amnesia’ implies that people have gradually ‘forgotten’ something about the history of a place. One cannot, for example, make the case that pedestrians in Glasgow at one point lost their memory of Virginia Street and Jamaica Street being named after the city’s most tangible links to plantation slavery, as this occurred in a bygone era. In doing this, the term ‘collective memory’ is confused to mean that large societal groups can actively ‘remember’ events in the way that is, as stated above, particular to the small group of witnesses and their generation. These mnemonic terms, then, require a level of handling after which the reasons leading to the legacy of a particular place can be established.

As well as initiating the term ‘site’ or ‘lieu’ of memory, Pierre Nora has also famously set ‘history’ and ‘memory’ on opposite sides. ‘History,’ he says, ‘belongs to everyone and to no one, whence its claim to universal authority... Memory takes root in the concrete, in spaces, gestures, images, and objects.’¹⁴ In essence, we can use Nora’s point to understand the limit of cultural memories of the transatlantic empire in Glasgow: that limit being the lack of spaces, buildings, statues with readable connections to slavery. Jan Assmann goes beyond Nora’s oppositional definitions by describing cultural memory as ‘that body of reusable texts, images and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose “cultivation” serves to stabilise and convey that society’s self-image.’¹⁵ Thus, rather than

¹¹ For more, see Jan Assmann, ‘Communicative and Cultural Memory’, *Media and Cultural Memory: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* eds. Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2008), 109-118 (110); Christina West, ‘Memory—Recollection—Culture—Identity—Space: Social Context, Identity Formation, and Self-construction of the Calé (Gitanos) in Spain’, *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (London: Springer, 2011), 101-119 (104).

¹² Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past* ed. Lawrence D. Kritzman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1989 [1984-1992]).

¹³ See: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/comment/letters/the-lessons-of-slavery-must-be-taught-in-the-proper-context.23149105>.

¹⁴ Pierre Nora, ‘Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire’ from *Representations* 26 (California: University of California Press, 1989), 7-24 (9).

¹⁵ Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’ from *New German Critique* 56 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 125-133 (132).

setting memory and history in direct opposition, Assmann underlines the importance of a variety of cultural memories (and their re-use within history) which offer a view particular to the present day. Later, we will see examples of such ‘re-use’. Michael Morris’s thesis (2013) is an attempt ‘to fracture the flattering national narratives of Scotland to locate new *lieux de mémoire* that reveal the Atlantic issues of empire, slavery, rebellion, race and class that knit Scotland and the Caribbean together.’¹⁶ Morris’ use of Nora’s framework is effective here, proving the translatability of certain semantics famously particular to France. ‘Scottish Victorians,’ notes Morris, ‘were adept at deflecting attention onto English slave trade ports like Liverpool and focussing instead on heroes of abolition such as David Livingstone.’¹⁷ Not only does Morris allude to the shadow of the Victorian era on foregoing histories, but attention is shifted to hero-worship which gained momentum throughout Victorian Britain.¹⁸

Because of its international connections, there is a significant volume of interdisciplinary scholarship on slavery, such as that found within the *Slavery & Abolition* journal (1980-present). ‘Memory’ in slavery has therefore been subject to a variety of claims. For instance, the case studies in *Slavery in Africa* (2011) demand a wide-reaching consideration of ‘place’ that goes beyond the national levels found, for example, in Nora. Lane and MacDonald state that ‘the trend across the [African] continent has been to focus only on the localities and material remains which are linked in some way with European involvement in slavery,’ effectively restricting ‘indigenous systems and eras of slavery.’¹⁹ In Britain, the slavery system is often referred to as the ‘Triangular Trade,’²⁰ in which the concept of ‘the middle passage’ can be found.²¹ In and of themselves, these spatio-cultural terms should point to the difficulty of locating the memory of slavery in one place rather than the other. In turn, this centrelessness has resulted in frequent comparisons to the Holocaust in ‘trauma’ discourses of memory. Following Peter Meusburger’s terms, this ‘trauma’ strand of memory studies goes beyond the typical conditions as laid out above: ‘The traumata of slavery, colonialism, Gulag, Auschwitz, forced expulsions... do not

¹⁶ Michael Morris, *Atlantic Archipelagos: A Cultural History of Scotland, the Caribbean and the Atlantic World, c.1740-1833* (Glasgow: PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013), 16.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 12.

¹⁸ See Christine MacLeod, *Heroes of invention: technology, liberalism and British identity, 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

¹⁹ Paul J. Lane & Kevin C. MacDonald, ‘Introduction: Slavery, Social Revolutions and Enduring Memories’, *Slavery in Africa: Archaeology and Memory* eds. Lane & MacDonald (Oxford: Published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 2011), 1-22 (12).

²⁰ Denoting the routes from home to the coast of Africa and New World Plantations; see The Scottish Government’s webpage: <http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Publications/2007/03/23121622/4> [08/12/15].

²¹ See Eric Graham’s entry on *The Glasgow Story* for instance: <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story.php?id=TGSBD04> [08/12/15].

disappear with the death of the last witness.’²² Wulf Kansteiner and Harald Weilnböck (2008) have elucidated the ‘strangely narrow and aestheticised concept of trauma,’²³ as initiated, they propose, by Cathy Caruth in *Unclaimed Experience* (1996). Even before Caruth’s text, however, Charles S. Maier (1993) asked the question ‘can there be too much memory?’²⁴ Maier proposed that ‘former perpetrators and victims – pre-eminently, though not exclusively, Germans and Jews – have been locked into a special relationship. No matter what material or other public debts are paid, confessional memory is demanded as the only valid reparation.’²⁵ We can look to the Jewish Museum in Berlin, designed by Daniel Libeskind, for an example of these intertwined narratives of history and memories. As the host of the Commonwealth Games in 2014, Glasgow’s connections with slavery existed within a similarly ‘special’ dialogue, where memories of Empire and the associated guilt were brought to the fore.²⁶ Thus, an understanding of the various, if opposing, tropes of memory studies from ‘sites’ to narratives of ‘trauma’ are required before commencing the more focussed discussion on Glasgow.

The purpose of this chapter is not solely to highlight the links connecting Glasgow-based philosophy and literature to slavery, but to make clear the associated elements of this relationship which are presently displaced and overwhelmed. Firstly, the legacy of Adam Smith will be considered. As a representative of the Glasgow School of moral philosophy, Smith’s comments on slavery are a persistent feature on both sides of the debate. However, it will be argued that Glasgow’s obscured links with slavery have been a result of a wholesale forgetting of Adam Smith in this context – the city’s one major philosopher through whom this narrative can be accessed. From here, prominent students of Smith including John Millar (1735-1801) and James Boswell (1740-1795), both integral to this debate, can be added to the Glasgow context. Boswell in particular, vis-à-vis his *No Abolition of Slavery; or, The Universal Empire of Love* (1791) can be seen as an important marker in literary representations of slavery. Together, Smith and Boswell represent the confluence of Glasgow’s philosophical and literary ideas and, in terms of library collections; they are the

²² Peter Meusburger, ‘Knowledge, Cultural Memory, and Politics’, *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (London: Springer, 2011), 51-69 (54).

²³ Wulf Kansteiner & Harald Weilnböck, ‘Against the Concept of Cultural Trauma (or How I Learned to Love the Suffering of Others without the Help of Psychotherapy)’, *Media and Cultural Memory: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* eds. Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2008), 229-240 (229).

²⁴ Charles S. Maier, ‘A Surfeit of Memory? Reflections on History, Melancholy and Denial’ from *History and Memory* 5:2 (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1993), 136-152 (152).

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ See, for example, the following article: <http://www.heraldscotland.com/news/home-news/city-urged-to-apologise-for-connections-with-slavery.20883245> [accessed 08/12/15].

world's foremost Scottish Enlightenment figures.²⁷ Having established the fractured impressions of Smollett, Hunter, Cullen, Black, and Watt in the previous chapter, the seeming incompatibility of Smith and Boswell with the cultural memory of Glasgow should prove Glasgow's troubled relationship with the Scottish Enlightenment. Going into the nineteenth century, this chapter will consider the societies and public meetings within Glasgow that were crucial to the abolition debate. What these societies and their remaining artefacts provide is the direct link between the city and the opinions which are often enmeshed in the more obvious surviving 'sites' of memory such as the streets named after the group of wealthy tobacco lords with direct links to slave-labour.

Where is Adam Smith?

One of Tom Devine's most recent contributions to scholarship on Scotland and Slavery, 'Did Slavery make Scotia great?' (2011) opens with the idea that Smith's 'magnum opus', *The Wealth of Nations* (1776), 'famously asserted that colonies were usually a drain on the mother country,' but that 'even Smith's authority could not lay to rest the question' of empire as being invaluable to the nation 'as it developed toward economic transformation and industrialisation' or as destructive 'to the metropolis.'²⁸ David Brion Davis adds that 'from 1660 to 1807 Britain was by far the major carrier' of African slaves and, as a result, served as 'the model at that time of cultural and industrial progress.'²⁹ Davis then traces the main commentators (from Benjamin Franklin to Karl Marx) on what he calls 'a "scientific" tradition concerning slavery' which is bound up more generally in 'the ascending stages of history.'³⁰

It was during his *Lectures on Jurisprudence* (1762) at the University of Glasgow that Adam Smith set out a Four-Stage Theory of Development.³¹ Murray Pittock outlines this 'development', stating that 'warlike aristocracy... should give way to a society pursuing personal betterment in a commercial environment.'³² Our attention can therefore be drawn to the idea of successful commerce as being the pinnacle of society or, more accurately, the arena in which a society can grow. It is no surprise that Smith is featured so prominently in

²⁷ Brian Lavoie, *Not Scotch, but Rum: The Scope and Diffusion of the Scottish Presence in the Published Record* (Dunlin & Ohio: Online Computer Library Center, 2013), 29.

²⁸ Devine, 'Did Slavery make Scotia great?' (2011), 40.

²⁹ David Brion Davis, 'Slavery, Emancipation, and Progress', *British Abolitionism and the Question of Moral Progress in History* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2012), 13-26 (18).

³⁰ *Ibid*, 22-23.

³¹ Christopher J. Berry, 'Smith and Science', *The Cambridge Companion to Adam Smith* ed. Knud Haakonssen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006) 112-135 (129).

³² Murray Pittock, 'Historiography', *The Cambridge Companion to The Scottish Enlightenment* ed. Alexander Broadie (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 258-279 (262).

Christopher Berry's *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2013),³³ so much so that Smith's assertion ('slavery is a bad institution') is said to be 'without exception the position of the Scots and the rest of the Enlightenment.'³⁴ Alexander Broadie has pointed to Smith's successor, Thomas Reid (1710-1796), who wrote to his cousin James Gregory from Glasgow in 1788 saying: 'Our University has sent a petition to the House of Commons, in favour of the African slaves. I hope yours will not be the last in this humane design; and that the Clergy of Scotland will likewise join in it.'³⁵ As we will see later in this chapter, Scots clergymen were soon at the forefront of the Abolitionist cause. At this point, however, we can access the narrative of anti-slavery rhetoric in the name of progress and 'personal betterment' vis-à-vis this Enlightened cast. In aid of this, Srividhya Swaminathan states that *The Wealth of Nations*, while 'perhaps [Smith's] most overt expression of antislavery sentiment', should not be considered alone, for 'equally significant is his exploration of sympathy as the cornerstone of morality in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* (1759).'³⁶ One of the most telling passages reads as follows:

There is not a negro from the coast of Africa who does not... possess a degree of magnanimity which the soul of his sordid master is scarce capable of conceiving. Fortune never exerted more cruelly her empire over mankind, than when she subjected those nations of heroes to the refuse of the jails of Europe, to wretches who possess the virtues neither of the countries which they come from, nor of those which they go, and whose levity, brutality and baseness, so justly expose them to the contempt of the vanquished.³⁷

The American diplomat Arthur Lee made use of this 'extraordinary' passage as the lead for his examination of Africans and their masters in his *Essay in Vindication of the Continental Colonies of America* (1764); a sign of Smith's early influence on subsequent abolitionists. But for many modern scholars such as John Cairns, Smith's running 'imagery of noble African savages and decadent Europeans is undoubtedly too strong' here; in the end detracting from what is otherwise a strong and clear statement to be made in the case against slavery. Cairns also notes that by the sixth edition of *Moral Sentiments* Smith had added a passage on domestic slavery, portraying this 'vilest of all states': the selling of 'man, woman,

³³ It is worth noting that the cover of this text features an eighteenth-century image of the Old College in Glasgow.

³⁴ Christopher J. Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 125.

³⁵ Quoted in Alexander Broadie, *A History of Scottish Philosophy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 242.

³⁶ Srividhya Swaminathan, 'Adam Smith's Moral Economy and the Debate to Abolish the Slave Trade' from *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 37:4 (London: Routledge, 2007), 481-507 (482).

³⁷ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* Second Edition (London: A. Millar, 1761), 316.

and child' as being like selling cattle in a market.³⁸ When one considers the legacy of *The Wealth of Nations*, the succession of images from heroic savages to marketable cattle becomes increasingly interesting; as Smith by then focussed less on the moral abhorrence of slavery than the more economically founded reasons to abolish it. Between these key texts of Smith's there exists the discussion of colonial slavery as comparable to slavery in ancient times in his Lectures on Jurisprudence. At one point the wretched conditions of slaves as servants and within households is elucidated, with Smith stressing the point that 'their lives were taken away on the slightest occasion.'³⁹

The economic side of the debate is at its foremost in *The Wealth of Nations*, in which Smith states: 'It appears, accordingly, from the experience of all ages and nations, I believe, that the work done by freemen comes cheaper in the end than that performed by slaves.'⁴⁰ The point being made is that money spent by masters on their slaves is too costly, for, while they benefit from forced unpaid labour, they are responsible for the continued care of the slaves to ensure they are fit to work. This sentiment is extended: 'A person who can acquire no property, can have no other interest but to eat as much, and to labour as little as possible. Whatever work he does beyond what is sufficient to purchase his own maintenance can be squeezed out of him by violence only.'⁴¹ Although 'violence' is mentioned, the lamenting tone found in Smith's 'sympathetic' morals had somewhat faded. Nonetheless, Smith's popularity was secured with this work, and its memory was manipulated to suit both sides of the slavery debate. As Swaminathan says, Smith's influential works 'put forth ideas that abolitionists appropriated, and this appropriation forced slavery apologists to question and re-appropriate or counter Smith to serve their own ends.'⁴² Craig Smith, the current 'Adam Smith Lecturer in the Scottish Enlightenment' at the University of Glasgow is among the authorities to consider this problem most recently. His article 'Adam Smith: Left or Right?' (2013) challenges the attempts made by the 'political left' to 'rescue [Adam Smith] from his admirers on the free market "right."⁴³ In this case, the question 'where is Adam Smith?' is unanswerable; for the tug-of-war over Smith's legacy effectively diminishes the authority of both. One can, however, make an initial attempt by tracing Smith's legacy in the direct context of philosophies coming from the University both before and after his time there.

³⁸ John W. Cairns, 'John Millar and Slavery', *MacCormick's Scotland* ed. Neil Walker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 103.

³⁹ Adam Smith *Glasgow Edition of the Works and Correspondence Vol. 5 Lectures On Jurisprudence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976 [1762]), 173: <http://oll.libertyfund.org/title/196> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁴⁰ Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations Books I-III* (London: Penguin, 1986 [1776]), 184.

⁴¹ Smith, *Wealth of Nations* (1986 [1776]), 488-489.

⁴² Swaminathan, 'Adam Smith's Moral Economy...' (2007), 483.

⁴³ Craig Smith, 'Adam Smith: Left or Right?', from *Political Studies* v. 61 (London: Political Studies Association, 2012) 784-789 (784).

As Francis Hutcheson (1694-1746) was said to have influenced Smith, Smith has been said to have inspired others with ideas on, and historical accounts of, slavery. On the former, Michael Brown (2002) has noted Hutcheson's influence on David Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* and Smith's *Wealth of Nations*.⁴⁴ In Wylie Sypher's 'Hutcheson and the "Classical" Theory of Slavery' (1939) – in which Hutcheson is credited as being the first Georgian era philosopher to formulate 'ethical principles inimical to slavery as an institution'⁴⁵ – we can also observe the effect of Hutcheson's *System of Moral Philosophy* (published posthumously in 1755) on Smith's *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Specifically, Sypher pinpoints the passage in Hutcheson's *System* as being the 'precise moment when one of the greatest modern evils comes under the scrutiny of new "romantic" ethics.'⁴⁶

When the soul is calm and attentive to the constitution and powers of other beings, their natural actions and capacities of happiness and misery, and when the selfish appetites and passions and desires are asleep, 'tis alleged that there is a calm impulse of the soul to desire the greatest happiness and perfection of the largest system within the compass of its knowledge.⁴⁷

Unlike Smith, these are not explicit references to the slave trade, but rather an early manifestation of what Smith would expound, for instance, in his *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. 'That to feel much for others and little for ourselves,' says Smith, 'that to restrain our selfish, and to indulge our benevolent affections, constitutes the perfection of human nature; and can alone produce among mankind that harmony of sentiments and passions in which consists their whole grace and propriety.'⁴⁸ One can discern a parallel between Hutcheson's 'calm and attentive soul' and Smith's 'benevolent affections... [producing] among mankind' a profound 'harmony'.

Following this tradition, John Millar's seminal work *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* (1771) can be seen as a direct descendent of the theories laid out by Smith in his *Lectures on Jurisprudence*.⁴⁹ As is the case with Smith, Millar describes systems of slavery in ancient times before putting forward sentiments concomitant with the anti-slavery movement. One such example comes to the conclusion that, 'It is difficult to ascertain the degree of authority which, from the principles of justice and humanity, we are,

⁴⁴ Michael Brown, *Francis Hutcheson in Dublin, 1719-30: The Crucible of his Thought* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2002), 10.

⁴⁵ Wylie Sypher, 'Hutcheson and the "Classical" Theory of Slavery' from *The Journal of Negro History* 3 (Washington: Association for the Study of African American Life and History, Inc., 1939), 263-280 (263).

⁴⁶ *Ibid*, 276.

⁴⁷ Francis Hutcheson, *A System of Moral Philosophy* (Glasgow: Robert & Andrew Foulis, 1755), 10.

⁴⁸ Adam Smith, *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* Second Edition (London: A. Millar, 1761), 32.

⁴⁹ Cairns, 'John Millar and Slavery', (2012), 87.

in any situation, permitted to assume over our fellow-creatures.’⁵⁰ The language here, specifically ‘fellow-creatures’, is telling of a then-engrained ideology of the moral framework deployed by scholars and literary men at the heart of the debate. Cairns outlines the source of Millar’s *Ranks*, again comparable to Smith, being his series of lectures at the university as well his “Discourse on the Conditions of Servants in different ages and Countries” given before the Glasgow Literary Society in 1770.⁵¹ In Millar, an image of the progression of ideas stemming from the revolutionary moral philosophies particular to the University of Glasgow is clear. It is unfortunate that his legacy is not as great, as extensive in recent literature, as Smith’s. It is suggested by Cairns, however, that both David Brion Davis and C. Duncan Rice have placed Millar’s *Ranks* at the heart of the Scottish Enlightenment,⁵² which is often the starting point for those studying slavery in Scotland. Nonetheless, there exists little to the memory of Millar outside the prestigious John Millar Chair of Law established in 1985 at the University of Glasgow.⁵³

It can be argued that Smith, as the representative of the Glasgow Enlightenment, becomes subordinate to his companion David Hume. Perhaps his afterlife has suffered in its diversion from the literary and philosophical plane to the world of economics. As Donald Winch states in the Adam Smith entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*: ‘The fate of The *Theory of Moral Sentiments* continues to be linked with the *Wealth of Nations* for reasons connected with the remarkable revival of interest in Smith during the last decades of the twentieth century by those who regard him as the patron saint of free market capitalism.’⁵⁴ There is some irony, then, in Smith’s decision to have ‘sixteen volumes of manuscript material’ destroyed ‘just before his death... ensuring that attention would be focussed on his two longest and most highly polished works.’⁵⁵ This attempt to control his afterlife can be said to have impinged on the legacy of other works which might have resulted in a more rounded, less polarised image of Smith. And while his theories seem to lean towards a morally just Enlightenment narrative as they permeate through the work of his students, it is important to balance this with his connections outside the University. As we have seen in Sher’s dual-Enlightenment theory,⁵⁶ representations of Glasgow are often contradictory. Indeed, it is one thing to consider Smith in the parameters of the *Scottish* Enlightenment, but

⁵⁰ John Millar, *Observations Concerning the Distinction of Ranks in Society* Second Edition (London: J. Murray, 1773), 254-5.

⁵¹ Quoted in Cairns, ‘John Millar and Slavery’ (2012), 77.

⁵² John W. Cairns, ‘John Millar and Slavery’, *MacCormick’s Scotland* ed. Neil Walker (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 105.

⁵³ See <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/chair-and-lectureship/?id=67>>

⁵⁴ Donald Winch, ‘Smith, Adam’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/25767>.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Chapter I.

placing him in the heart of Glasgow is to take account of the intersection of classical intellectualism (as with the Foulis brothers) with networks of flourishing trade. Interestingly, it is in this middle ground that slavery can be further discussed. Berry, for example, reminds us that ‘Smith knew a number of the Glasgow “tobacco lords” and...does reflect [on their] activities.’⁵⁷ Stephen Mullen has also highlighted the relationship between Smith and the Glasgow trading firms to which slavery is connected. It was in conversations with Andrew Cochrane (1693-1777) that Smith gained ideas for his *Wealth of Nations*.⁵⁸ Additionally, Smith’s text worked its way into ‘the Glasgow merchant rhetoric... in favour of Smithian free trade in cotton’ following the decline of profits from West India colonies in the nineteenth century.⁵⁹ These Glasgow-centric points relating to the legacy of Smith’s chief work can be weighed against those in Berry’s introduction to *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith* (2013), which seeks to redefine the importance of Smith’s *Theory of Moral Sentiments* which, states Berry, has suffered a comparably underwhelming afterlife.⁶⁰ But, as I now propose, the centrelessness of Smith’s own cultural memory, as a figure of the Enlightenment in Glasgow rather than ‘the author of *The Wealth of Nations*’ has been unfortunately overlooked.

To better answer the question ‘where is Adam Smith?’ it is essential to interrogate his surviving cultural memories. In order to understand their locations, however, it is useful to consider the idea of Victorian hero-worship. Morris, above, considers this idea in connection with cultural memory: the same theoretical framework that we are applying to eighteenth-century literature and history. Working in this manner, the other sites of memory worth noting before outlining Smith’s presence are the statues of Livingstone in Glasgow and of Abraham Lincoln in Edinburgh. The Livingstone statue (1875-9) by John Mossman (1817-1890) can be found in Glasgow’s Cathedral Square [Fig. 33].⁶¹ Around the plinth of the statue are different scenes including toiling slaves and African natives gathered around Livingstone with an open Bible. The statue itself features a sextant, an astrolabe and an ankle shackle; completing the firmly abolitionist stance. There is also a statue of Livingstone in Livingstone Tower on Strathclyde University’s campus. This concentration of Livingstone’s cultural memory in Glasgow’s older district, I propose, distorts Smith from Glasgow’s civic

⁵⁷ Berry, *The Idea of Commercial Society in the Scottish Enlightenment* (2013), 3.

⁵⁸ Stephen Mullen, ‘A Glasgow-West India Merchant House and the Imperial Dividend, 1779-1867’ from *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies* 33.2 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 196-233 (196).

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 205.

⁶⁰ Christopher J. Berry, ‘Introduction, Adam Smith: An Outline of Life, Times, and Legacy’, *The Oxford Handbook of Adam Smith* eds. Christopher J. Berry, Maria Pia Paganelli & Craig Smith (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) 1-20 (15).

⁶¹ Originally erected in George Square, Glasgow’s city’s principal public square, it was moved in 1960: http://www.glasgowsculpture.com/pg_images.php?sub=livingstone [accessed 08/12/15].

memory. As a student of both the University of Glasgow and Anderson's Institution, both Glasgow universities have a say in Livingstone's legacy. Yet, many of the Old College's cultural memories moved west in 1870⁶² and, as a result, displaced key eighteenth-century figures such as Smith. The statue of Lincoln and the freed slave in Edinburgh's Old Calton Burial Ground similarly disorients Edinburgh's own men and women who fought for emancipation. Without wading too far into controversial waters, it is interesting to note the Victorian reliance on a recognisably heroic character through which historical events and ideas can be accessed. Indeed, in these examples, the heroic character overwhelms the narrative. The monumentality of these men, however contrived certain aspects of their legacy may be, is not something shared by Adam Smith. In other words, the names Livingstone and Lincoln conjure certain ideas that remain popular while Adam Smith, although familiar in Enlightenment and economic contexts, simply does not have the same universal presence. So, as well as wondering 'where he is,' we are still debating 'what he is.'



Figure 33: David Livingstone statue in Cathedral Square, Glasgow.

The only likeness of Smith rendered during his lifetime was in 1787 (three years before his death) by James Tassie (1735-1799). A similar image of Smith was used on the Kirkcaldy Penny, a token from 1797 which bears on the reverse side an imperial scene and the motto 'WEALTH OF NATIONS.'

⁶² When the new University campus was built, therefore encompassing all of its history from 1451 onwards.

In the nineteenth century his cultural memory grew considerably. Two plaster busts created in the 1840s can be found in Scotland: one in the Adam Smith Theatre in his home town, Kirkcaldy; the other in Glasgow's Kelvingrove Museum. Beside the statues of Smith and Hume on the north-west tower of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Edinburgh (1890), there were three statues of Smith made in the 1860s. The first (1860-1862) was erected at the entrance to the Vienna Business School; the second was created between 1866 and 1869 and was situated alongside figures such as Newton, Milton and Locke on the façade of 6 Burlington Gardens, London; and the third, dating from 1867, is situated beneath Randolph Hall in the Main Building of the University of Glasgow. However, Glasgow's civic appreciation of Smith outside the University is extremely underwhelming. As of 1967 the University campus contained the Adam Smith Building, but, besides Smith's name on the University Memorial Gate, he has been largely ignored. What better example of this cultural disembodiment than the 10ft. bronze statue of Smith being unveiled in 2008 in Edinburgh's Royal Mile [Fig. 34], 'within the view' of the statue of 'Smith's friend David Hume.'⁶³



Figure 34: Adam Smith statue in the Royal Mile, Edinburgh.

By cementing Smith's official Scottish Enlightenment in Edinburgh, Smith's time in Glasgow is essentially circumscribed. The other major monuments to Smith are chiefly in remembrance of his economic importance – again, prolonging his legacy as 'the patron saint

⁶³ For more information, see: <http://www.adamsmith.org/the-adam-smith-statue/> [accessed 08/12/15].

of free market capitalism.⁶⁴ These are a series of sculptures, created by American artist Jim Sanborn (b. 1945) between 1997 and 2001 in North Carolina, Cleveland, and Connecticut. They feature Smith's writings within, and projected from, cylindrical forms known as 'spinning tops' [Fig. 35] and 'circulating capital.'⁶⁵



Figure 35: James Sanborn, *Wealth of Nations aka Adam Smith's Spinning Top #2* (1998)

Should it come as a surprise at all that the decision for Smith's figure to appear on the Bank of England £20 note was based entirely on the legacy of his political economy and not, as one might presume, given Smith's influence on anti-slavery discourse, to coincide with the 2007 Bicentenary of the Abolition of the Slave Trade?⁶⁶ The case can be made that Smith's legacy, like so many Glaswegian figures of the Georgian era, has been made complicated by subsequent scholarship, journalistic feuds, and political movements. In this case, it is ironic that Smith, being the first Scotsman to grace a Bank of England note, belonged to a particularly Glasgow Enlightenment yet is best remembered for his most famous text which has time and again taken him out of Glasgow in the public imagination. In discussion of cultural memory and the permanence of its earliest theorists, Wulf Kansteiner says that 'Halbwachs's emphasis on the function of everyday communication for the development of collective memories, and his interest in the imagery of social discourse, resonate very well with recent historiographical themes, especially regarding questions of historical

⁶⁴ Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill's literary feud exemplifies the legacy of the ideas initiated, in part, by Smith, Millar, and Reid. In the usage of the term 'dismal science' in particular, we can trace the manipulation of Enlightenment theory in nineteenth-century writing. For more, see David M. Levy's *How the Dismal Science Got Its Name: Classical Economics and the Ur-Text of Racial Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002).

⁶⁵ See: <http://elonka.com/kryptos/sanborn-new.html> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁶⁶ See Mervyn King's speech on Sunday 29 October 2006, 'Trusting in Money: From Kirkcaldy to the MPC': <http://www.bankofengland.co.uk/archive/Documents/historicpubs/speeches/2006/speech288.pdf> [accessed 08/12/15].

representation.’⁶⁷ With the passing of legal tender being one of the most common ‘everyday communications’ it is clear to see how Smith’s legacy is simultaneously shared and affected by his presence on a bank note. Even the imagery used is more in keeping with Victorian exhibitionism – that upholding of Britain’s glorified championing of industrialisation – with the bust-like outline of Smith and the depiction of labourers in a factory than, say, the unpretentious presence of Sir Walter Scott, a figure well-placed in the public imagination, whose cultural afterlife is extended on the Bank of Scotland £10 note.

So, if Smith’s chief intellectual cultural memory resides in Edinburgh in the context of the Scottish Enlightenment, and his name is persistently connected with capitalism and wealth in the public domain, it adds up that his place in Glasgow is untenable. The city’s links with socialism, I suggest, have monopolised the discussion of slavery toward a left-wing stance which, as we have established, is incompatible with Smith’s prevailing legacy. The Calton Weavers’ strike in 1787 and the 1820 Radical Rising are popular narratives in the city’s history while the Red Clydeside movement in the early twentieth century continued this tradition of working class uprisings against unjust social systems. Edward Gaitens’ *Dance of the Apprentices* (1948) comments on this. For Gaitens’ Eddy Macdonnel, the ‘Capitalists’ are ‘others,’ are ‘contented wage-slaves’ yet to ‘see the light.’⁶⁸ And although Burns’ poetry and impressions of eighteenth-century Glasgow are handled rather well, Gaitens later juxtaposes ‘a massive volume of Karl Marx’ with ‘a tiny volume’ by Joseph Conrad: ‘What’s the use o’ literature an’ poetry an’ art anyway? They’re all right for rich an’ middle-class people wi’ plenty o’ leezure but nut for us workin’ men!’⁶⁹ The speaker here, Donald, serves as an emblem for the active, masculine, working-class Glaswegian whose taste for ‘useful’ political literature eradicates the place of ballad poetry in Glasgow which, as portrayed earlier by Eddy, ‘seemed to come out of the heart of young Scotland, out of the childhood of his country’s life.’⁷⁰

Adam Smith may have belonged to Glasgow in more than one sense, but it seems that, before long, his cultural memory was simply incompatible with the city’s working-class cultural development. In short: Glasgow’s socialist appearance became so recognisable that the evident prosperity of the eighteenth-century men and women was cut-off, in a sense, from this more comfortable left-wing image. Smith became a representative of the elite, and his diverse contributions to Glasgow’s literary and philosophical history were elided. There

⁶⁷ Wulf Kansteiner, ‘Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies’ from *History and Theory* 41:2 (Middletown: Wiley-Blackwell for Wesleyan University, 2002), 179-197 (181).

⁶⁸ Edward Gaitens, *Dance of the Apprentices* (Edinburgh: Canongate Classics, 2001 [1948]), 41.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 202.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 23

is even historic precedence for Glasgow's self-reflexive commercial character which can be gleaned, for instance, in a pamphlet by the Rev William Thom, of Govan, entitled *The Defects of an University Education, and its Unsuitableness to a Commercial People* (1761). Sher claims that this attack was destructive to the image of the University at a time when Smith, Millar, Black, and Cullen – “a Groupe not equalled in their Departments... in any University in the world” – were all active.⁷¹ When John Anderson (1726-1796) died, his Institution was opened by command of his will, serving to compete with the University of Glasgow. Anderson's became the University of Strathclyde,⁷² whose motto ('The place of useful learning'), reveals this split in late Enlightenment discourse: the traditional vs. the practical.

To perceive Glasgow now as a city built on slavery-implicated trading such as tobacco, sugar and cotton, is to ignore the 'theoretical' condemnations of the trade itself. Devine reminds us that 'the Scottish intellectual attack on slavery seemed in the short run mainly insulated from the actual practice of countless Scots in the sugar plantations and the African trade.'⁷³ Conversely, James Ramsay's *Essay on the Treatment of African Slaves in the British Sugar Colonies* (1783) is lauded for its direct significance to the anti-slavery movement, perhaps more so than Smith's texts, for its structure and focus on the horrors of the overwork and physical abuse of slaves. However, while he was taught by Thomas Reid (the successor to Smith at Glasgow) at King's College in Aberdeen,⁷⁴ Iain Whyte claims that Ramsay's work, so important for its use of 'eyewitness evidence of the proportion of sick and emaciated slaves landed on the islands,' culminates with the idea that 'the slave trade was wasteful and unprofitable.'⁷⁵ The work of Smith, as well as Reid, should therefore be acknowledged for its intellectual influence.

Thus, having outlined the reasons for Smith's invisibility in Glasgow at least outside the academic environment, we can establish that, in the process of this cultural dislocation, the city essentially lost a tangible connection to slavery discourse. The fame of the 'tobacco lords' has outweighed the fame of Smith in the city's history while the fame of the Clyde's shipbuilding has outweighed the Clyde's implications with transatlantic slavery. What a certain place still needs in order to be associated with certain historic narratives, it seems, is

⁷¹ Richard B. Sher, 'Commerce, Religion and the Enlightenment in Eighteenth-Century Glasgow', *Glasgow: Volume 1: Beginnings to 1830*, ed. T. M. Devine & Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 312-359 (345).

⁷² Paul Wood, 'Anderson, John (1726-1796)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/481>.

⁷³ Devine, *Scotland's Empire 1600-1815* (2003), 247.

⁷⁴ J. Watt, 'Ramsay, James', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23086>.

⁷⁵ Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006), 110.

a recognisable and, more importantly, enduring figure. In this sense, Smith's connections with contemporary topics have been handed over to figures like Burns who, with a secure cultural memory, can provide this level of historical access. There is evidence of this in Eric Graham's *Burns & the Sugar Plantocracy of Ayrshire* (2009) which provides the context of Burns' imminent voyage to Jamaica, probably prevented by the success of his *Poems, Chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1786).⁷⁶ Graham deploys an extensive range of primary material, portraying Jamaican plantation life as Burns would have found it. Indeed, this level of research also elucidates details of Glasgow-based traders such as Alexander Houston & Company, 'who ran a fleet of armed West Indiamen from the Clyde.'⁷⁷ Gerard Carruthers (2009) similarly draws on Glasgow's transatlantic trade in framing Burns' connections with slavery. These connections, while limited, are given further prevalence in Burns' poetry such as 'The Slave's Lament' (1792) – 'Torn from the lovely shore, and must never see it more' – and 'The Ordination' (1786-7), which highlights the 'scriptural hubris' of the Auld Licht, effectively revealing their ignorance of 'real cultural displacement.'⁷⁸ What is more, these analyses can be said to have roots in Enlightenment philosophy. Murray Pittock (2009) has outlined the influence of Smith's writing on Burns, particularly *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. As Pittock puts it: the 'violent events and images (implicitly linked to Scotland's past)' in Smith's text 'were converted into the structures of sympathy, where mutual recognition was greatly aided by recognizable language, both of word and body.'⁷⁹ As the Livingstone and Lincoln statues, above, offer us explicit visual links with slavery, Burns 'translates' the subordinate role of Smith's *Moral Sentiments* into something recognisable and enduring. By looking now to James Boswell as a student of Adam Smith, we can establish further links between Glasgow-based philosophies as well as discussing more fully the literary engagements with slavery.

⁷⁶ Eric J. Graham, *Burns & the Sugar Plantocracy of Ayrshire* (Ayrshire: Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, 2009), 9.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁷⁸ Gerard Carruthers, 'Robert Burns and Slavery', *Fickle Man: Robert Burns in the 21st Century* (Dingwall: Sandstone Press, 2009), 164-175 (167-169).

⁷⁹ Murray Pittock, 'Nibbling at Adam Smith', *Fickle Man*, 118-131 (121).

Boswell's Poetic Blast

Brian Lavoie's inquiry into the Scottish presence in the public record (2013), introduced in the previous chapter, tells us that Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* is the most widely held Scottish Enlightenment work worldwide (30,580 holdings).⁸⁰ This should confirm that, as suggested in the foregoing section, Smith's legacy is somewhat overwhelmed by this one text and the capitalist weight that it carries. Next on Lavoie's list is James Boswell's *Life of Samuel Johnson*, first published in 1791 (20,125 holdings).⁸¹ Scholarship on Boswell is vast, and cementing his position in Scottish and British canons of literary works has thrown up monikers like 'The renowned biographer...Scotland's Prodigal Son...The Chameleon Scot.'⁸² Certainly, Boswell's significance in the study of English literature has been aided by his continuous connection to Samuel Johnson (1709-1784), while his own works portray him as a brilliant if contradictory author. Yet, if Lavoie's data confirms our suspicions about Smith's legacy, it must also confirm the general notion that Boswell is best-remembered as a biographer in the public imagination. One such testament to this is the Boswell Book Festival in Ayrshire ('The World's Only Book Festival of Biography & Memoir').⁸³ It is true, Samuel Johnson's passionate stance against slavery (at a dinner party in Oxford he once proposed a toast to 'the next insurrection of the Negroes')⁸⁴ will be helpful in framing Boswell's own opinions, but for the purposes of this chapter we will consider the context and influence of Boswell's earlier work as well as his poem *No Abolition of Slavery; or, The Universal Empire of Love* (1791). Glasgow and slavery, I propose, represent signposts in Boswell's career – with the impressions of Smith's moral theory at the beginning and Boswell's outburst against the abolitionists at the end. In this sense, everything in between can be applied directly to the matter at hand as either coming away from Glasgow or heading toward what James Basker suggests might be Boswell's 'settled political philosophy.'⁸⁵

Beginning with Glasgow, two things should be noted: firstly that Boswell went to the University against his will; and secondly that Adam Smith's influence should be considered as crucially formative despite Boswell's departure for London after less than a year of study. Thomas Crawford notes that Boswell's father Lord Auchinleck 'packed him

⁸⁰ Brian Lavoie, *Not Scotch, but Rum: The Scope and Diffusion of the Scottish Presence in the Published Record* (Dunlin & Ohio: Online Computer Library Center, 2013), 29.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² See Rounce (2013); Dankert (1961); and Simpson (1988).

⁸³ See: <http://www.boswellbookfestival.co.uk/> [accessed 08/12/15].

⁸⁴ Quoted in Ian Thomson, *The Dead Yard: A Story of Modern Jamaica* (New York: Nation Books, 2009), 64.

⁸⁵ James G. Basker, 'Johnson, Boswell, and the Abolition of Slavery', *The New Rambler: Journal of the Johnson Society of London* Serial no. E VI (London: Johnson Society of London, 2001-2002), 48 [Many thanks to Dr. Susan Rennie for sharing this article].

off to Glasgow,’ where Smith’s lectures ‘made the greatest impression.’⁸⁶ But why Glasgow? Was Lord Auchinleck’s decision to send his son to Glasgow based on the prestige of the College? For Robert Zaretsky, Boswell’s father chose Glasgow ‘precisely because it was not Edinburgh.’⁸⁷ Boswell’s Presbyterian parents were at their wits’ end with their son’s infatuation with the theatre in Edinburgh and, given Glasgow’s reputation for its staunch Presbyterian values (in 1752 Boswell’s friend West Digges saw his temporary theatre in Glasgow torn down - a sure sign of the citizens’ religious radicalism),⁸⁸ it seemed just the place. Interestingly, it was immediately after leaving Glasgow that Boswell became a Catholic convert in London.⁸⁹ Gordon Turnbull has stated that the young Boswell (eighteen years-old when he was sent to Glasgow) ‘rapidly tired of his academic confinement’ in this ‘more culturally constricted atmosphere’⁹⁰ while F. A. Pottle claimed that the whole idea of taking Boswell out of Edinburgh was an attempt to ‘reclaim him.’⁹¹ What this reading reveals is the one-dimensionality of historiographical representations of Glasgow as nothing but an *entrepôt* of global trade and Edinburgh as nothing but a stage of Enlightened discourse. If eighteenth-century Scotland was anything, it was contradictorily diverse.

Like Crawford’s, Zaretsky’s treatment of Boswell, above, considers Smith to be a major influence. Smith’s lecturing style is said to be animated: ‘an accomplished storyteller,’ he would often pluck anecdotes from everyday life in Glasgow to make his points ‘rather than offering dry commentary on ancient texts.’⁹² In Clyde Dankert’s ‘Adam Smith and James Boswell’ (1961), he states: ‘it is unfortunate that in the voluminous Boswell journals and diaries there are not at least a few pages devoted specifically to Adam Smith and the Glasgow period.’⁹³ Another focussed study on this relationship is ‘Boswell in Glasgow: Adam Smith, Moral Sentiments and the Sympathy of Biography’, a chapter by the aforementioned Gordon Turnbull in Andrew Hook and Richard Sher’s *The Glasgow Enlightenment* (1995). Notice how both of these works (Dankert’s association of Smith and Glasgow; and Turnbull’s title) seek to represent Glasgow as accessible through Smith.

⁸⁶ Thomas Crawford, ‘Boswell and the Tensions of Enlightenment’, *The ‘Science of Man’ in the Scottish Enlightenment: Hume, Reid and their Contemporaries* ed. Peter Jones (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1989), 182.

⁸⁷ Robert Zaretsky, ‘James Boswell: A Sentimental Education’ from *History Today* 61:4 (London: History Today Ltd., 2011), 49-55 (49).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 50.

⁸⁹ Murray Pittock, *James Boswell* (Aberdeen: AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies, 2007), 81.

⁹⁰ Gordon Turnbull, ‘Boswell in Glasgow: Adam Smith, Moral Sentiments and the Sympathy of Biography’, *The Glasgow Enlightenment* ed. Andrew Hook and Richard B. Sher (Phantassie: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 163-175 (163).

⁹¹ F. A. Pottle, ‘Introduction’ to *Boswell’s London Journal: 1762-1763* ed. F. A. Pottle (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991 [1950]), 5.

⁹² Zaretsky, ‘James Boswell: A Sentimental Education’ (2011), 51.

⁹³ Clyde E. Dankert ‘Adam Smith and James Boswell’ from *Queen’s Quarterly* Vol. LXVII:2 (Ontario: Queen’s University, 1961), 324.

‘During that abbreviated academic year,’ writes Turnbull, ‘Boswell found himself a privileged witness of one of the intellectual pinnacles of the Enlightenment in Glasgow, Adam Smith’s course of lectures in moral philosophy, out of which the *Theory of Moral Sentiments* and, much later, the *Wealth of Nations* would grow.’⁹⁴ In this we find a rare example of the Glasgow-centric perspective of Boswell which, through Smith, eradicates the commonplace notion that Glasgow was the distant, unenlightened cousin of Edinburgh. This is interesting to us for, as we have seen, Smith’s renown in Glasgow has not survived well despite the focus on him in Hook and Sher’s 1995 text. Therefore, in losing ground in Victorian Glasgow as a moral philosopher and never quite regaining it, Smith, and the Glasgow Enlightenment more generally, were almost entirely severed from Boswellian scholarship.

Dankert concurs with Turnbull, stating that Boswell, when attending Smith’s lectures between 1759 and 1760, happened to witness ‘the substance’ of Smith’s chief texts.⁹⁵ For J. T. T. Brown, Boswell’s *Account of a Tour of Corsica* (1768) also contained the ‘substance’ of Smith’s Moral Philosophy.⁹⁶ Before we consider the most overt representations of slavery, emancipation, and human rights as they relate to Boswell, let us first look at the Introduction of his account of Corsica:

He who is in chains cannot move either easily or gracefully; nothing elegant or noble can be expected from those, whose spirits are subdued by tyranny, and whose powers are cramped by restraint.

There are, indeed, who from the darkest prejudice, or most corrupt venality, would endeavour to reason mankind out of their original and genuine feelings, and persuade them to substitute artificial sentiment in place of that which is implanted by God and Nature. They would maintain, that slavery will from habit become easy, and, that mankind are truly better, when under confinement and subjection to the arbitrary will of a few.⁹⁷

The language here encapsulates what Pittock terms Boswell’s ‘Fratrism’, a notion pertaining to the ‘Scottish and Irish writers and public figures of the long eighteenth century [who] were given to adopting the national causes of other countries with a passion and vigour which might readily be interpreted as reflecting on the situation of their own.’⁹⁸ But what was Boswell’s own situation? Pittock points to Boswell’s ‘concern for the underdog and

⁹⁴ Turnbull, ‘Boswell in Glasgow’ (1995), 163.

⁹⁵ Dankert ‘Adam Smith and James Boswell’ (1961), 331.

⁹⁶ Ibid, 332.

⁹⁷ James Boswell, *An Account of Corsica* (London: Edward and Charles Dilly, 1769).

⁹⁸ Pittock, *James Boswell* (2007), 43.

oppressed person and nation,’ which, although ‘out of fashion in the age,’⁹⁹ does raise the question of national identity.

The comparison closest to home was, of course, the decline of Highland culture. Both Samuel Johnson (in his 1775 *Journal to the Western Islands of Scotland*) and Boswell (in his 1785 *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*) recounted their journeys north. Edward Cowan tells us that by the end of the eighteenth century, ‘in the aftermath of Culloden and the Ossianic phenomenon, writers were penning obituaries for a way of life that appeared to be on the verge of extinction.’¹⁰⁰ Johnson is said to have been in search of proof that Macpherson’s Ossian poems were genuinely ancient translations and not, as he saw them, a ‘modern concoction.’¹⁰¹ At the age of twenty-one, however, Boswell had ‘part-funded Macpherson’s Highland tour’ while attending Thomas Sheridan’s ‘elocution classes in Edinburgh.’¹⁰² In this, we can glean some of the opposing elements of Boswell’s life: the search for ancient Scotland vs. the refined Anglicisation necessary for progression. Indeed, these years seem all the more crucial when we consider Boswell’s act of commencing a Dictionary of Scots language: an aspect of his life recently rejuvenated by Susan Rennie.¹⁰³ For Boswell, this project was not a distant, detached lexicographical task, but an attempt to rescue the language he saw as endangered.¹⁰⁴ The English artist Thomas Rowlandson (1756–1827) caricatured Boswell’s national tongue in his ‘Scottifying the Palate at Leith’ (1786) [Fig. 36], in which Boswell force-feeds a reluctant Johnson a “spelding.”



Figure 36: Thomas Rowlandson, ‘Scottifying the Palate at Leith’ (1786)

⁹⁹ Ibid, 28.

¹⁰⁰ Edward J. Cowan, ‘Contacts and tensions in Highland and Lowland culture’, *Crossing the Highland Line* ed. Christopher MacLachlan (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2009), 1-19 (3).

¹⁰¹ Pat Rogers, ‘Johnson, Samuel (1709–1784)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14918>.

¹⁰² Pittock, *James Boswell* (2007), 14.

¹⁰³ See <http://boswellian.com/> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁰⁴ ‘The Scottish language,’ he lamented, ‘is being lost every day, and in a short time will become quite unintelligible. Some words perhaps will be retained in our statutes and in our popular songs.’ <http://boswellian.com/boswells-plan/> [accessed 08/12/15].

Boswell's explicit links to slavery reveal an unusual change from his role in the infamous Joseph Knight trial (during which both Johnson and Boswell 'prepared arguments'¹⁰⁵ for Knight's case that, under Scots law, slavery was not recognised); to his involvement in founding the same abolition movement of which Thomas Clarkson (1760-1846) was a part; to the culmination of his lasting contribution on the matter in the form of the 'strangest piece he ever wrote':¹⁰⁶ the twenty-plus page poem *No Abolition of Slavery; or, The Universal Empire of Love* (1791). One wonders: how does a poem so-titled appear from the same hand that fought the corner of an oppressed Corsica? Ultimately, 'Boswell's final position on the central issue is not clear,'¹⁰⁷ although this is more down to empirical evidence suggesting that Boswell was hitherto *against* slavery than the readability of the poem, for it is nothing if not direct in its attack on the West Indian slaves and, to a greater extent, those in pursuit of their freedom. Boswell even went as far as to plan the publication of the pamphlet 'to coincide with the Parliamentary debates on the Abolition Bill.'¹⁰⁸

So, if it were not for the cluttered trail of literary correspondence and Glaswegian Moral Sympathy; the impact of Boswell's diatribe would perhaps be better remembered and upheld as an opponent to liberty and perhaps even reduce his popularity in modern scholarship. As it is, the poem is certainly in keeping with Carson's opinion that figures of the Scottish Enlightenment at times exhibited 'a callous disregard for the material realities' of slavery. The amount of work done to focus on the poem is underwhelming, though this is not to say that it was a great secret. In this sense, the text itself can be seen as a symbolic microcosm of Glasgow's role in the slave trade: obscured underneath layers of opposing factors over time, but never purposefully hidden. Out with the contextualisation of the poem in the works on Boswell mentioned above, Ronald McFarland's article "'No Abolition of Slavery:' Boswell and the Slave Trade' (1972) remains alone in its unique and exclusive treatment of the text. He notes: 'Whether the poem had the slightest influence on a single member of parliament is unknown, but admirers of Boswell as a writer and a person describe the poem, when they don't avoid it altogether, as a disaster.'¹⁰⁹ But it is perhaps the case that many modern scholars who dismiss the poem are doing so on the basis that it makes Boswell's already untenable position on this, one of the most dominating socio-political debates of the time, much more complicated.

¹⁰⁵ Michael Morris, 'Joseph Knight: Scotland and the Black Atlantic,' *International Journal of Scottish Literature* 4 (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2008), 3.

¹⁰⁶ Frank Brady, *James Boswell: The Later Years, 1769-1795* (London: Heinemann, 1984), 421.

¹⁰⁷ James G. Basker, 'Johnson, Boswell, and the Abolition of Slavery' from *The New Rambler: Journal of the Johnson Society of London* Serial no. E VI (London: Johnson Society of London, 2001-2002), 44.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 47.

¹⁰⁹ Ronald E. McFarland, "'No Abolition of Slavery': Boswell and the Slave Trade' from *The New Rambler: Journal of the Johnson Society of London* (London: Johnson Society of London, 1972), 56.

In this sense, Boswell's cultural memory is thus affected by the selectiveness of those, as McFarland says, 'motivated more by the modern attitude toward the institution of slavery than by the ineptitude of the poetry.'¹¹⁰ In other words, the poem sits parallel with any other lieu of memory in that it represents something about a past way of life which in this instance projects uncomfortable truths. As we will see in the next chapter: the ways in which a city exhibits its links to imperialism is a complicated process of discourse with the public. *Memory, History, and Colonialism* (2009) realigns Nora's theoretical framework to contemporary spaces of interaction between past and present. Monica Juneja's chapter on architectural memory rightly points to the methods undertaken by historians – 'the inevitable process of selection and negotiation' – which amount to memory becoming 'a discourse of the second degree.'¹¹¹ The same idea can be applied to the way in which Boswell's text has been represented and re-routed in critical scholarship. For example, F. A. Pottle, being one of the foremost authorities on Boswell, described the poem as "an exceedingly incongruous combination of a love letter with a political pamphlet."¹¹² Here, Pottle seems to be almost apologetic for Boswell's blast, presenting it as an odd hybrid of forms rather than engaging with the incendiary content. It is therefore understandable that, as a result of the reiteration of this opinion by subsequent scholars, the poem has become almost invisible in representations of Boswell. Moreover, it is arguable that the text is also a symbol for what Basker describes as 'the beginning of a two hundred year period of inattention, forgetfulness, and confusion about [Boswell and Johnson's] views on slavery, from which we are just beginning to emerge.'¹¹³

As well as its unusual afterlife, Boswell's poem is also interesting as a record of the political figures he portrays. For instance, he attacks Wilberforce ('with narrow skull/ Go home, and preach away at Hull'), Windham, Burke, and, to varying degrees, Fox and Pitt.¹¹⁴ As well as making his feelings clear with the following stanza:

Noodles, who rave for abolition
Of th' African's improv'd condition,
At your own cost fine projects try;
Don't rob—from pure humanity.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹¹ Monica Juneja, 'Architectural Memory between Representation and Practice: Rethinking Pierre Nora's *Les lieux de mémoire, Memory History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts* ed. Indra Sengupta (London: German Historical Institute London, 2009), 18.

¹¹² Quoted in McFarland, "No Abolition of Slavery": Boswell and the Slave Trade' (1972), 56.

¹¹³ Basker, 'Johnson, Boswell, and the Abolition of Slavery' (2001-2002), 48.

¹¹⁴ Brady, *James Boswell: The Later Years* (1984), 422.

¹¹⁵ James Boswell, *No Abolition of Slavery; or, The Universal Empire of Love* (London: R. Faulder, 1791), 7.

There are also explanatory footnotes. For example, Boswell explains the stanza quoted above thus:

If the abettors of the Slave trade Bill should think they are too harshly treated in this Poem, let them consider how they should feel if their estates were threatened by an agrarian law...and let them make allowances for the irritations which themselves have occasioned.¹¹⁶

And, for 'improv'd condition':

That the Africans are in a state of savage wretchedness, appears from the most authentic accounts. Such being the fact, an abolition of the slave trade would in truth be precluding them from the first step towards progressive civilisation, and consequently of happiness which it is proved by the most respectable evidence they enjoy in a great degree in our West-India islands.¹¹⁷

While we can read these as qualifiers for Boswell's otherwise vicious poem, it is important to remember that Boswell, although one of the first, was not alone in portraying the 'happy Negro' myth: 'that Africans are better off in slavery than living in misery in Africa' is but one of the 'already hackneyed defences of slavery typically offered by its apologists.'¹¹⁸ Boswell is at his most vivid, for instance, in the following lines:

The cheerful *gang!*— the negroes see
Perform the talk of industry:
Ev'n at their labour hear them sing,
While time flies quick on downy wing;
Finish'd the bus'ness of the day,
No human beings are more gay:
Of food, clothes, cleanly lodgings sure,
Each has his property secure;
Their wives and children are protected,
In sickness they are not neglected¹¹⁹

Beside this attempt to remind us that plantation slavery is not widespread in its 'wretchedness', Boswell is also alluding to something we have already touched on: the loss of Highland culture in the wake of the Union. On this occasion the unusual parallel presents 'loss' as an improvement. In the relevant footnote he quotes John Hall-Stevenson (1718-1785), who had made use of slave-related imagery to portray the 'complaint' of Highlanders: 'Tis thus the Union they abuse/ For binding their backsides in chains/ and shackling their feet in shoes/ For giving them both food and fuel/ And comfortable clothes/ instead of cruel

¹¹⁶ Ibid

¹¹⁷ Ibid.

¹¹⁸ Basker, 'Johnson, Boswell, and the Abolition of Slavery' (2001-2002), 47.

¹¹⁹ Boswell, *No Abolition of Slavery* (1971), 21.

oatmeal gruel/ instead of rags and heritable blows.’¹²⁰ Pittock states that this connection was ‘extraordinary’, especially given what we know about Boswell’s views on oppressed nations *and* the effect of modernisation on Highland Scotland.¹²¹ It may be that Boswell was exploiting the imagery, making the most of the ‘clamour’ – as he calls it – which surrounds both Union and slave-trade debates. Without going as far to say that this clamour disappeared, it was certainly diminished in the Victorian period. One example might be the arrival of the great orator Frederick Douglass (1818-1895) in Britain in the 1840s, who noted his surprise in being treated as an equal, so far from his home in America.¹²² Douglass delivered lectures in Glasgow in the 1840s and 60s, surely aware of the city’s efforts to abolish slavery.

Boswell’s poem’s subtitle (*The Universal Empire of Love*) is an ambiguous array of words to say the least. The semantics of bondage in terms of labour and of love merge throughout, such as with: ‘You keep me long indeed, my dear/ Between the decks of hope and fear,’¹²³ in which the metaphorical image of the slave ship is relatable to the emotions experienced in courtship. To return to Smith; Dankert notes that, in *The Hypochondriack* (1782), ‘Boswell refers briefly to an idea from the *Theory [of Moral Sentiments]*: “that we do not sympathise with the overheated feelings of those who are in love.”’¹²⁴ Being one of the last mentions of Smith’s influence, this link to ‘the overheated feelings of those who are in love’ perhaps looks forward to his love-letter framework for his poetic diatribe. In other words: the overheated-ness of the poem should not be taken too literally in the context of Boswell being as one who is in love. But is it also the case that by addressing the poem to a female (whose identity has been suggested as being Miss Bagnall),¹²⁵ Boswell is adding to the overriding themes of subordination; of slaves under men and the dynamics of submission in the relationships between men and women? This, and his involvement in the Knight case, renders the poem something of an anomaly. One wonders how it all fits with his Johnson, who ‘thoroughly disapproved of slavery,’¹²⁶ and his warm regard for Johnson’s black ‘faithful servant’ Francis Barber, whom Boswell described as his ‘old acquaintance.’¹²⁷

¹²⁰ Ibid, 7.

¹²¹ Pittock, *James Boswell* (2007), 28.

¹²² Nikkie Brown, ‘Send back the money!’ Frederick Douglass’s Anti-Slavery Speeches in Scotland and the Emergence of African American Internationalism’ (Edinburgh: IASH, 2004), 1-10 (7): http://www.iash.ed.ac.uk/star/archive/Papers/Brown_Douglass.in.Scotland.pdf [accessed 08/12/15].

¹²³ Boswell, *No Abolition of Slavery* (1791), 23.

¹²⁴ Dankert ‘Adam Smith and James Boswell’ (1961), 331.

¹²⁵ Ronald E. McFarland, ‘“No Abolition of Slavery”: Boswell and the Slave Trade’ from *The New Rambler: Journal of the Johnson Society of London* (London: Johnson Society of London, 1972), 63.

¹²⁶ Pittock, *James Boswell* (2007), 29.

¹²⁷ James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D* (Oxford: Talboys & Wheeler, 1826), 52.

Not only does the poem sit uncomfortably with Boswell's other views, but it protrudes from the poetic tradition that we find at the end of the eighteenth century. In a word, the literary students of the Enlightenment across Britain were working with a chiefly abolitionist sentiment; the same as can be found in Burns' 'Slave's Lament' – above – which excludes Boswell from much of the discussion. One of the key poems of this nature was Thomas Day and John Bicknell's joint-effort *The Dying Negro* (1772) which, for Jenny Uglow, was one of the earliest markers of the Enlightenment taking effect: '[slavery] was no longer seen as part of the natural order, and few individuals defended it whatever their politics.'¹²⁸ For Uglow, Adam Smith was crucial in bringing about this shift and, indeed, initiating 'the cult of the noble savage... torn from the earth of Africa' that was to follow.¹²⁹ In Glasgow, poets were also working toward these sentimental portrayals of the slave's plight. Boswell's Glaswegian contemporary John Jamieson (1759-1838), for instance, had added his *The Sorrows of Slavery* (1789) to the growing body of abolitionist works. In Part Two, the defencelessness of the 'living cargo' is portrayed:

For so inventive is the cruelty
Of their harsh jailors; as if simple bonds,
To guiltless negroes were a boon too great;
Transversely they are bound, in studied forms
Most adverse to the suffering captive's ease.¹³⁰

There is also 'The Negroes Complaint' (sic) by William Campbell, a Glaswegian poet from the 1790s.¹³¹ While Jamieson's role as a minister gives his work a prayer-like tone at times, Campbell's is much more like Burns' 'Slave's Lament', particularly:

My Parents overwhelm'd with grief and age
I left lamenting on their native shore
Their woes I never never can assuage
For now alas I ne'er shall see them more¹³²

¹²⁸ Jenny Uglow, *The Lunar Men: The Friends Who Made the Future, 1730-1810* (London: Faber and Faber, 2002), 259.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 411.

¹³⁰ John Jamieson, *The Sorrows of Slavery, A Poem: containing a faithful statement of facts respecting the African slave trade* (London: J. Murray, 1789), 32.

¹³¹ Little is known about this particular Campbell, beside a collection of his poems held in the Mitchell Library; with much material on Glasgow, political reform, and the French Revolution.

¹³² Provided in manuscript form by Dr. Ralph McLean.

‘Native shore’ and ‘ne’er shall see them more’ are, indeed, almost identical to Burns’ lines.¹³³ Later, this motif was continued in ‘The Negro Girl’ by the famous admirer of Burns, Robert Tannahill (1774-1810): ‘Yon poor negro girl, an exotic plant/ Was torn from her dear native soil/ Reluctantly borne o’er the raging Atlant/ Then brought to Britannia’s isle.’¹³⁴ Campbell’s taking up of the slave’s voice (‘And let *me* from the cruel lash be spar’d’) follows the tradition of abolitionist poetry as initiated by Day and Bicknell. The Noble Savage theme is taken a step further by another little-discussed Glasgow poet, Dugald Moore (1805-1841), in his *The African: A Tale* (1829): ‘He was a warrior of the solitude... The wilderness his empire, and the brand/ The rod with which he ruled the thousands of his land.’¹³⁵ By this point in the Romantic era, the Noble Savage had been a commonplace motif of sentimental poetry and, in Moore’s treatment, had found its original poetical milieu: the return of the African to a time *before* his enslavement by Americans and Europeans, thus liberating his ancient nobility from the debates of slavery which were still ongoing.

Therefore, Boswell’s rejection of the ‘noble savage’ in favour of ‘the happy Negro’ alienates him from Glasgow’s poetic tradition. Indeed, it effectively places him firmly within the politics of Georgian London; a place which, through his friendship with Johnson, he has retained. One other work continuing this is his *Letter to the People of Scotland* (1783): a delineation of his opposition to the proposed taxation on the East-India Company. It bears the fruits of the logic behind his poetic blast, which, as we have seen, was a relentlessly personal attack. Do these texts and opinions override the moral philosophy learned in Glasgow? I suggest that this is the case, and that the relocation of the legacy of Smith and Boswell has been fundamental in Glasgow’s inability to take full account of its eighteenth-century historical ideologies, warts and all.

¹³³ As Murray Pittock has pointed out, there are earlier versions of this lament which seem to have inspired both Burns and Campbell, dealing more with the forced migration of Scots, as in ‘The Virginian Maid’s Lament’, printed in Peter Buchan’s *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland* (2 vols, 1828).

¹³⁴ David Semple, *The Poems and Songs of Robert Tannahill, Centenary Edition* (Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1874), 246; Tannahill’s imagery puts one in mind of Thomas Annan’s photographs of the derelict closes of Glasgow in the late nineteenth-century, in particular ‘The Back Wynd’ which features, among the ruined bricks and rubble, two local boys and a solitary black female.

¹³⁵ Dugald Moore, *The African, a tale; and other poems* (Glasgow: Robert & Atkinson, 1829), 4.

Glasgow's Societies and Public Participation

In C. Duncan Rice's *The Scots Abolitionists 1833-1861*, he states: 'Whatever enlightened views were expressed in the salons of Edinburgh and Glasgow, most normal Scots probably shared James Boswell's response to the evangelical campaign.'¹³⁶ This generalisation is attributed to the lack of activity from Scotland in the late eighteenth century. It is not until the next century that societies and petitions begin to make their mark on the public imagination. As we have seen, one way of representing the links between literary figures and a certain topic or place is by correlating their correspondences. But by discussing societies and their meetings, Glasgow and slavery can be perceived in a different light. The ideas of collective memory are perhaps at their strongest here, for, rather than considering the individual memories and opinions of certain people, societies for change offer new spatial dimensions. For example, where they met and how popular they were allow us to chart the opinions of the public on wider, national issues such as slavery.

Glasgow's contribution to the slave trade debate increased significantly in the 1820s and 30s. In the last decade of the eighteenth century it was the oldest society – the Edinburgh Committee for the Abolition of the Slave Trade – that was also the strongest in Scotland.¹³⁷ However in 1791, months before Boswell's poem was printed and Wilberforce's initial bill had been rejected in Parliament, the Glasgow Committee added its voice to the debate with a pamphlet entitled, *An Address to the Inhabitants of Glasgow, Paisley, and the Neighbourhood, Concerning the African Slave Trade*. The importance of this publication should not be understated as it represents one of the first explicit denunciations of slavery coming from within Glasgow in a non-academic context. Troy Bickham notes that while Smith's *Moral Sentiments* was among the cheapest work available (six shillings), many works of Scottish philosophy on the subject were beyond the grasp of the poorer literate public, such as Kames's *Sketches of the History of Man* (1774) which cost £2.2s.¹³⁸ Pamphlets like that from the Glasgow Committee brought the debate to a new audience. Within the pamphlet, the language is clear in its disapproval of the trade: 'It would be endless, to enumerate all the facts, by which the iniquity of that barbarous traffic, has been proved in the fullest manner...There is likewise much reason to believe, that those Europeans employed in the trade, not only give encouragement to those shocking measures,

¹³⁶ C. Duncan Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists, 1833-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 21.

¹³⁷ Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006), 87.

¹³⁸ Troy O. Bickham, *Savages within the Empire: Representations of American Indians in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), 201.

but sometimes take an active part in the execution of them.’¹³⁹ Several incidents of disasters in ‘the middle passage’; of disease spreading on board; and one incident of a slave being beheaded in front of the crew are recounted in the hope of changing public opinion about the ills of transatlantic slavery. This all suggests that, beforehand, there was little known in the public realm as regards the horrors of the trade.

In terms of when the city’s merchant elite began to reap the benefits of slavery, the following statement found in a letter from a contact in Barbados to the Glasgow entrepreneur Claud Alexander (1752-1809) offers some insight:

One trade by much the most beneficial of any carried on...to the British West Indies which the People of Glasgow seems to take no Notice of and that is the Trade to the coast of Africa for slaves by which the people of Liverpool and co have enrich’d themselves and I can see no advantage that they have superior to you.¹⁴⁰

The letter from 1746 is unique in its starkness; such a direct statement made about Glasgow’s patronage of slavery is rarely found elsewhere. What is known by now, of course, is that Glasgow’s merchant class did take notice of – at least – the benefits of plantation slavery. There is certainly a gap in information available on the city’s ‘notice’ of slavery as a profitable resource between the letter to Claud Alexander and the *Address* of 1791. Perhaps the city had been relatively quiet until then because the power held by the wealthy West India merchants was largely dependent on plantation slavery. Whyte points to the care ‘taken to distance the pamphleteers from any thought of imminent emancipation of West Indian slaves.’¹⁴¹ Given the power of the merchants, it is not surprising that the Glasgow Committee were careful with their wording: ‘We wish not to enter into the particulars concerning the treatment of the negroes in the West Indies; yet the truth cannot be altogether concealed.’¹⁴² In a sense, it is as though this address to Glasgow and its satellite towns was carefully planned so as to protect the prestige of the city from the otherwise abhorrent nature of the treatment of slaves in different parts of the empire. The title of Stephen Mullen’s book, *It Wisnae Us*, springs to mind. It is also interesting that running parallel to what might be termed, thus far, as a relationship of ‘cultural dormancy’ between Glasgow and slavery, there is evidence in eighteenth-century art in which people like Claud Alexander and, as we will

¹³⁹ A Society in Glasgow, *An Address to the Inhabitants of Glasgow, Paisley, and the Neighbourhood, Concerning the African Slave Trade, 1791*, from *The Slave Trade Debate: contemporary writings for and against* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), 314.

¹⁴⁰ Thanks to Dr. Anthony Lewis for pointing me to this letter, which was used in the 2014 *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837* exhibition, Kelvingrove Museum.

¹⁴¹ Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006), 90.

¹⁴² *An Address... Concerning the African Slave Trade, 1791* (2007), 321.

see later in this chapter, the Glasgow merchant John Glassford were keen to exhibit their elite status. For instance, the *Portrait of Claud Alexander and his Brother Boyd with an Indian Servant* (1784) by Johann Zoffany (1733-1810) offers this symbol of wealth.¹⁴³ While we can observe in this painting a very interesting visual link between India and Scotland (one of Burns's poems even comes into the context)¹⁴⁴ we are also met with the wistful gaze of the Indian servant.¹⁴⁵

Going back to the Glasgow pamphlet, above, it is critical to highlight the use of visual material: the reproduction of a now universally infamous image could be found 'between two pages of the text.'¹⁴⁶ This is the diagram of the Liverpool slave ship 'Brooks': an image which displays the painful conditions endured by captured slaves during their transportation [Fig. 37] to plantations (where they were made to labour) or to mansions (where they became servants).

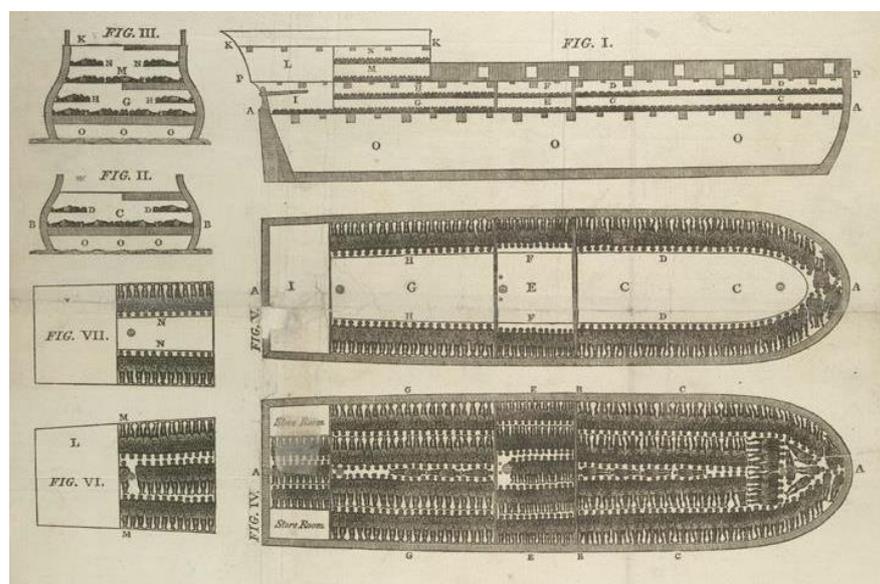


Figure 37: Cropped section from *Description of a Slave Ship* (1787)

At a glance, the proximity of the slaves makes them appear as one with the ship, such is the lack of space between them. It is only when one studies the image at length that the detail is revealed: most of the slaves have their arms at their sides or over their crotches while others, at the bow of the ship, take advantage of their extra space by outstretching an arm or bending

¹⁴³ At the time of writing, this painting resides in London, in the Richard Green Art Gallery, and is for sale.

¹⁴⁴ Robert Burns' 'The Bonnie Lass o' Ballochmyle' (1786) was written for Claud and Boyd's sister Wilhelmina on the year the Alexanders took up the estate in Ballochmyle which is referred to in the letter held by Claud in the Zoffany painting.

¹⁴⁵ For a comparative analysis on the role of servants and slaves in visual culture, see *Slave Portraiture in the Atlantic World*, Agnes Lugo-Ortiz and Angela Rosenthal eds. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹⁴⁶ Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006), 90.

a leg. The diagram was included in many anti-slavery publications following its creation in 1788 in Plymouth and must have had a monumental effect on the public. The power of this striking image, reproduced on the cover of various books,¹⁴⁷ displayed in museums, and found infinitely online,¹⁴⁸ is a direct link to the past. Indeed, images can communicate a truth which some texts cannot. For example, the autobiography of the writer, the intended audience, and the amount of revisions must be considered before taking their writing for granted. Even Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, for instance, requires an open mind. Pittock makes the vital point that several changes in historical understanding must be applied to Boswell's depictions of his great subject: 'If there is a risk in the capture of memory as a primary resource in research, how much greater is the risk when the biographer has already processed the past and presented it as his or her own performance?'¹⁴⁹ Indeed, this is in keeping with Halbwachs' idea that 'society from time to time obligates people not just to reproduce in thought previous events of their lives, but also to touch them up...[giving] them a prestige that reality did not possess.'¹⁵⁰ Images like *Brooks*, although politically motivated, contain a different kind of cultural memory as those found in literary works. Aleida Assmann points to art historian Aby Warburg's study into the 'immanent mnemonic power of images': 'Warburg did not take the existence of images for granted, but instead inquired into the conditions that underlay their origin and their survival.'¹⁵¹ The emotive response intended in the society's inclusion of the *Brooks* diagram is the same, for example, as is intended in its multi-media projection onto the contemporary public via model reproductions of the ship, stamps, and artworks. The image has even been used in the design of a T-shirt, alongside the words 'The African Holocaust Never Again,' which was being sold from a stall to the public and academics alike on the same day as a conference in Ghana.¹⁵² This popularisation displays not only the legacy of the image but also its translatability to the memorialisation of the plight of other ethnic groups.

To add to the picture of Glasgow as a site of public engagement with slavery, the more prominent societies should be accounted for. The increase in activity shows that the city hosted some of the strongest agents of both sides of the debate. Rice (1981) and Whyte (2006) have outlined the formation and influence of the Glasgow Anti-Slavery Society (later

¹⁴⁷ Such as on the Booker prize-sharing novel *Sacred Hunger* (1992) by Barry Unsworth.

¹⁴⁸ For example, see: <http://www.history.ac.uk/1807commemorated/exhibitions/museums/brookes.html> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁴⁹ Pittock, *James Boswell*, 4.

¹⁵⁰ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1941]), 51.

¹⁵¹ Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archive* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 214.

¹⁵² Marcus Wood, 'Significant Silence: Where was Slave Agency in the Popular Imagery of 2007?', *Imagining Transatlantic Slavery* ed. Cora Kaplan and John Oldfield (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 166-7.

the Glasgow Emancipation Society); the Glasgow Ladies' Auxiliary Society; the Glasgow West India Association; and the various presses associated. Rather than reiterate their formations, it would be beneficial instead to discuss the specific arguments that articulate the true concerns of these societies; whether fiscal, religious, or moral interests are their driving motivations. The passing of The Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 can be seen as the key date in these interrelations rather than the 1807 Slave Trade Act. In the build-up to and the aftermath of the Parliamentary debates which would eventually outlaw slavery completely, activity was at an all-time high in Glasgow. Anthony Cooke recently noted that 'after emancipation, the Glasgow West India Association made donations to the Anti-Slavery Society,' effectively taking the 'moral high-ground' in their preference 'for British West Indian sugar grown by free labour, as opposed to slave grown sugar from Cuba or Brazil.'¹⁵³ However, as is often the case in Glasgow's historiography, an effort was often made to portray these complicit merchants in a less glaring light: 'Nineteenth-century accounts of the merchant elite in Glasgow were generally reticent about the links between Caribbean wealth and slavery. They preferred to focus on their subjects' cultural, charitable or religious activities, or the academic, medical, legal, sporting or military distinction achieved by their descendants.'¹⁵⁴ Was it perhaps the case that Glasgow became such a hotbed for debate because the public were increasingly aware of the source of the merchant's wealth? As we have seen with the pamphlet of 1791, the committee for abolition was careful not to blight the name of its city entirely. Rice notes that the abolitionists were aware that there was nowhere in Scotland more dependent on, and therefore more eager to defend, West Indian produce.¹⁵⁵ *The Glasgow Courier*, which had become active in the debates on slavery since 1792,¹⁵⁶ was exclusively pro-slavery in the 1820s in the hands of the then editor James MacQueen. In 1833 MacQueen's reputation was such that he was described in a letter by Thomas Pringle (Secretary of the same Anti-Slavery Society founded by Wilberforce and Clarkson) to William Blackwood as 'The Glasgow King of Billingsgate.' His own book *The Colonial Controversy* (1824-5), containing many refutations of the wide, scathing generalisations attributed to the West Indian colonies, was distributed at the expense of the West India Association.¹⁵⁷ Some points taken from the *Courier* of November 1st 1832 are exemplary of their argument. The key abolitionist points are questioned and knocked down.

¹⁵³ Anthony Cooke, 'An Elite Revisited: Glasgow West India Merchants, 1783-1877' from *Journal of Historical Studies* 32:2 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 152.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵⁵ Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists* (1981), 23.

¹⁵⁶ Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006), 97.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 168.

For example, on the proposition that a ‘line should be drawn’ after which all children born in slavery should be made free, the *Courier* responds:

Those now in Slavery, and those to be born before that line is drawn, must have the same prospect before them, as they would if Slavery were never to terminate; and as sure as effects follow causes, would become dissatisfied and regardless of every action, and as time passed on, conflagrations, insurrections, and blood-shed, would inevitably ensue.¹⁵⁸

This kind of rhetoric carries the germ of Boswell’s logic, which was in all likelihood familiar to Glaswegians with West Indian interests. Whyte notes that, ‘A constant theme in the correspondence was the implied threat of emancipation. Fear arising from current reports of insurrection in the French colony of St. Domingue...led to the argument that this sort of disruption would, as a result of the abolitionists’ work, become a reality in the British Caribbean.’¹⁵⁹ As to the ‘immediate’ emancipation of slaves, the *Courier* suggested that slaves would eventually ‘raise provisions and support themselves in a rude state, bordering upon idleness.’¹⁶⁰ Around the same time were two petitions to Parliament from ‘the Planters, Merchants, and Others, in the City of Glasgow, connected with His Majesty’s West India Colonies,’ for the ‘purpose of ascertaining the actual Physical Condition of the Negroes, as well as the progress made in their Moral and Religious state.’¹⁶¹ The implication here is of course that the conditions as outlined in the various accounts of the slaves’ wellbeing had been overblown (ie. the coming of age of the use of the ‘happy Negro’ myth). This is redolent of the points made in MacQueen’s *Controversy*, especially his belief that his rivals’ discussion of the branding of slaves with hot iron rods ‘is general and sweeping against all the West Indies.’¹⁶²

On the other side, the city’s anti-slavery societies enjoyed much popularity. William Smeal (1792-1877) was a leader in the Emancipation Society while his daughter Jane was influential in the Ladies’ Auxiliary Society. The sites of the meetings and the delivery of the anti-slavery rhetoric were influenced greatly by the Church. For example, one Dr. Ralph Wardlaw of Glasgow ‘saw the overthrow of slavery as an act of atonement for national sins.’¹⁶³ Dr. Wardlaw’s chapel on the north of George Street¹⁶⁴ was the meeting place of a debate in 1836 involving George Thomson, one of the leading Scottish abolitionists whose

¹⁵⁸ Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Eph. p/13.

¹⁵⁹ Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006), 97.

¹⁶⁰ Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Eph. p/13.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid*, Eph. p/16.

¹⁶² James MacQueen, *The Colonial Controversy* (Glasgow: Khull, Blackie, & co., 1825), 45.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, 26.

¹⁶⁴ See: <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA01101> [accessed 08/12/15].

influence can be traced to the American William Lloyd Garrison.¹⁶⁵ Thomson also addressed the Glasgow Ladies' Emancipation Society in Wardlaw's chapel the same year,¹⁶⁶ having already spoken to them in the Rev. Anderson's Church in John Street in 1833.¹⁶⁷ What these societies' meetings offer us now is an idea of the intersection of religious institutions with political issues. As such, the method for addressing these social issues becomes clear. As Rice has stated, Glasgow was 'a stronghold for religious radicalism,' and the issue of slavery taken up in droves within churches and chapels is telling of the ritualistic ideas that were reiterated time again from the pulpit. Furthermore, these sites were well suited to parallel debates such as Catholic Emancipation and parliamentary reform, which 'competed...for the attention of local communities.'¹⁶⁸ As to Catholic Emancipation, one poster addressed to the Citizens of Glasgow 'against granting any further concessions to the Roman Catholics' contains language which offers a self-reflective image of the city at the time of the slavery debates:

Let it not be said, that the second city in the Empire, with a population of upwards of 200,000 was amongst the last, to step forward in defence of its religion [...] be not unmindful of protecting that path which your forefathers made and paved with their blood for you.¹⁶⁹

Not only does this publicly displayed document consider the extensive population of the city, but it calls upon images of its beauty (the Clyde) and of its heroic, Covenanting past ('paved with their blood'). Thus it appears as though the abolitionists in Glasgow were dependent on a set of ideas centred around religious practice and penance, while recalling their right to affect changes on other ethnic groups. In respect of these ideas the various factors of public interaction (the preaching and debating in churches and chapels; the advertisements of Glasgow as a proud Protestant city; and the concern about the Africans' religious state in the press) can be understood in a context otherwise lost when written accounts are considered alone. These ideas which are particular to collective memory are also applicable to surviving objects from the time. One of the few practical objects that we have from Glasgow's time in the slavery debates is a donation box used by the Glasgow Ladies' Emancipation Society [Fig. 38].

¹⁶⁵ Rice, *The Scots Abolitionists* (1981), 4.

¹⁶⁶ Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Broadside Collection, Bh14-x.5, 100.

¹⁶⁷ For a full account of this meeting see George Thompson, *Substance of An Address to the Ladies of Glasgow and its Vicinity upon the Present Aspect of the Great Question of Negro Emancipation* (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1833).

¹⁶⁸ Whyte, *Scotland and the Abolition of Black Slavery* (2006), 254.

¹⁶⁹ Glasgow University Library Special Collections, Broadside Collection, Bh14-x.5, 11.



Figure 38: Donation box used by the Glasgow Ladies' Emancipation Society (with detail).

The box, which was made for Margaret Salmon of Dalmarnock by her husband, has on the lid a scene depicting four slaves with their backs turned showing scars and a solitary slave on bent knee pleading with his master, who holds in one hand a monkey, and in the other a whip above his head about to be brought down. Underneath this scene is a line from the Book of Samuel: 'Cease not to cry unto the Lord our God for us.'¹⁷⁰ In this object is a rare example of the physical manifestation of the prominent religious slant of many abolitionist societies in their bid to gain supporters and justify their cause.

Theoretically speaking, objects like this are fundamental to museum displays which, as we will see next, attempt to recapture the effect of an object by harnessing its historical weight. The donation box, which was once in use, can now only be examined; it is the historical weight, or, rather, layers of cultural memory relating to slavery in general which directs the observer's response to the box. In this sense, it is a purely visual experience which, like the commonly-used *Brooks* diagram, offers an abolitionist narrative of the past. Other objects are used for certain purposes while their association with other cultural memories are elided. For example, in the People's Palace in Glasgow there is a punch bowl from the city's Delftfield Pottery company on display in the 'Bevvy' section. The city's industrial importance and famous drinking culture are brought together. A further elucidation on *The Glasgow Story* website explains that 'It would have been used to mix "Glasgow Punch", using rum, sugar and lemons.'¹⁷¹ In Jack House's book *The Heart of Glasgow* (1965) he says: 'There is a story that Dr. Johnson and Adam Smith had a night's drinking at the Saracen's Head and their discussion ended in a swearing match...the very bowl from which they drank their punch...was produced at a meeting of the Old Glasgow

¹⁷⁰ Object held by Glasgow Museums at Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, Item ID: PP.1987.246.1.

¹⁷¹ See: <http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image.php?inum=TGSA00602> [accessed 08/12/15].

Club in October 1904.’¹⁷² By using the term ‘there is a story’ when he cannot supply the evidence for tales such as these, House is adding to the oral traditions that have gone into the construction of Glasgow’s history. He admits he is unable to source the story, although Boswell once described Johnson’s general dislike for Smith when they were in London in later years: ‘Dr. Johnson had said to me yesterday that Adam Smith was a most disagreeable fellow after he had drank some wine, which, he said, “bubbled in his mouth.”’¹⁷³ So, while the Old Glasgow Club wanted to display the bowl as an object which was held by famous hands in the Enlightenment era in Glasgow; the curators at the People’s Palace used it to comment on Glasgow’s popularity. Michael Rowlands says: ‘Like personal memory, cultural memory is highly selective...it highlights and foregrounds whilst at the same time it silences and disavows.’¹⁷⁴ The public is therefore reliant on the selection of a balanced narrative through which they can ascertain a more rounded picture of a certain point in the past. The question for us is: which narratives, which angles, did British museums employ in their nation’s engagement with slavery?

2007: Exhibition Rhetoric and Contemporary Issues

So far, the discussion has been rooted in the dynamics of philosophy, literature, emancipation societies, and the web of cultural memories that bring them together. In order to correlate these points with contemporary engagements with slavery, the year 2007 becomes the focal point. The nationwide events marking the 200th anniversary of the 1807 Abolition Act have indeed left their mark on the legacy of transatlantic slavery in Britain.

The opening of Liverpool’s International Slavery Museum in 2007 was perhaps the most resounding civic attempt to affect change in the public imagination. As we have seen, Liverpool’s historic involvement in the trade has, like Bristol’s, dwarfed that of other British cities. In Jeremy Paxman’s *Empire* (2012), Glasgow’s presence in the British trade is noted, especially following the Union of 1707 which ‘allowed’ it to ‘boom.’ For Paxman, though, ‘you would have to be wilfully deaf and blind to remain ignorant of the profound change the slave trade was working in England during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,’ and Liverpool in particular ‘was *the* slave city.’¹⁷⁵ We will see that Scotland did its share of commemorating in 2007, but one can sense a definite focus on England in works such as Paxman’s. Furthermore, Madge Dresser has noted that the then Deputy Prime Minister John

¹⁷² Jack House, *The Heart of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Richard Drew Publishing, 1965), 194-196.

¹⁷³ Quoted in R. H. Campbell and A. S. Skinner, *Adam Smith* (Kent: Croom Helm, 1982), 156.

¹⁷⁴ Michael Rowlands, ‘Heritage and Cultural Property’, *The Material Culture Reader* ed. Victor Buchli (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 108.

¹⁷⁵ Jeremy Paxman, *Empire: What Ruling the World Did to the British* (London: Penguin, 2011).

Prescott ‘originally envisaged Hull, Liverpool, London and Bristol as the port cities that should spearhead commemorations’ and had ‘began meeting with Bristol people to this end in 2005.’¹⁷⁶ London, being the largest city and the centre of the British Empire, has an obvious obligation here, while Hull went on to re-open Wilberforce House: the museum in memory of Britain’s leading abolitionist. Yet, the politics of these commemorations, with all due credit to their thoroughness and use of local objects in reviving memories long unspoken for, are also conflicted by competition and, to a certain extent, guilty of distorting historical narratives to focus on themselves. The rhetoric connected to Liverpool and Bristol’s events – ‘We Are Setting the Truth Free’ and ‘Breaking the Chains’ respectively – often portray the city as the present-day-liberator; effectively subverting their role as historic-oppressor. This brings us back to Maier’s ‘perpetrator and victim’ dialogue, above, which has, in this case, been dissolved. If everyone shares in the history, then the attention can be solely on the ‘victim’.

The engagement with slavery, however, was not always confined to these exhibition spaces. Dresser draws our attention to the statue of Edward Colston (1636-1721), a Bristol-born merchant with interests dependent on slavery. Dresser describes how ‘the public remembrance of slavery in Bristol is uniquely informed by its “cult” of Colston’ and how ‘since the late 1990s, when Colston’s involvement in the slave trade became more widely known... his statue [became] a symbolic lightning rod for highly charged attitudes about race, history and public memory.’¹⁷⁷ What is so crucial about the Colston example for us is that it reveals Glasgow’s unusually underwhelming ability to channel these public opinions about British imperialism. Moreover, a popular shopping area in Bristol, Broadmead, was the centre of controversy in 2006 when the name ‘Merchants Quarter’ was chosen as its new name, but forced to change due to an uproar about Bristol merchants’ involvement with slavery.¹⁷⁸ In Glasgow, the Merchant City section of the city centre – which, for Michael Lynch reminds us more of the “Horrible Traffik” than everywhere else in Britain¹⁷⁹ – has been similarly attacked by writers James Kelman and Tom Leonard who believe that

¹⁷⁶ Madge Dresser, ‘Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol’, *Slavery & Abolition* 30:2 (London, Routledge, 2009), 223-246 (231).

¹⁷⁷ Madge Dresser, ‘Remembering Slavery and Abolition in Bristol’, *Slavery & Abolition* 30:2 (London, Routledge, 2009), 223-246 (225).

¹⁷⁸ See: http://www.bbc.co.uk/bristol/content/articles/2006/09/04/broadmead_feature.shtml [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁷⁹ Michael Lynch, ‘Foreword’ to Stephen Mullen, *It Wisnae Us: The Truth About Glasgow and Slavery* (Edinburgh: The Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, 2009), 4.

‘Worker’s City’¹⁸⁰ or ‘Slave-Merchant City’¹⁸¹ would be more appropriate. These points contribute to the wider conflicts of memory: the larger the disputed space, the more groups can have a say. Things are different, of course, in curated exhibition spaces where objects, images and words are designed to educate and commemorate while retaining an objective stance.

Douglas Hamilton’s chapter in *Imagining Transatlantic Slavery* (2010) details the various slavery exhibitions across Britain since 1906 (when Wilberforce House in Hull was first opened a museum).¹⁸² British displays have been criticised for their brevity and questionable impact.¹⁸³ In the context of cultural memory, the selectiveness of displays are often called into question. ‘Museum exhibitions on “the slave trade”, on labour history, on minorities in multicultural Britain,’ says Michael Rowlands, ‘have also started to undermine the racial stereotypes of a political history that sees the constitution of the nation separate from the empire.’¹⁸⁴ On the other hand, Hamilton’s criticisms are more considerate of the factors involved in the planning of an exhibition. He points to an on-going struggle between ‘competing voices and interests’: the problem of isolating ‘traditional’ audiences with stark representations of slavery and, equally, of isolating upcoming generations with outdated representations of empire which they cannot engage with.¹⁸⁵ We should also remember that while the physical exhibition space can be thought of as a space of public engagement, the rehearsed and planned area must first be separated from Nora’s sites of memory. While both the monument and the museum display are both impressed upon the public, their qualities differ greatly. The monument is permanent and part of everyday life while the museum display is (often) temporary and is ultimately tied into the cultural heritage industry, with which one must choose to engage. Gabriel Koureas reminds us that ceremonies for the unveiling of WWI memorials ‘were attended by entire communities, with shops closing and other activities suspended for the duration.’¹⁸⁶ As such, the power attributed to spaces and

¹⁸⁰ Mark Boyle and George Hughes, ‘The Politics of the Representation of ‘the Real’: Discourses from the Left on Glasgow’s Role as European City of Culture, 1990’ *Area* 23:3 (London: Wiley, 1991), 217-228 (227).

¹⁸¹ See entry dated ‘February 14th’:

http://www.tomleonard.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=3&Itemid=14 [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁸² Douglas Hamilton, ‘Representing Slavery in British Museums: The Challenges of 2007’, *Imagining Transatlantic Slavery* ed. Cora Kaplan and John Oldfield (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 127.

¹⁸³ For instance see: Beth Kowaleski Wallace, ‘Uncomfortable Commemorations’, *History Workshop Journal* 68 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 223-233 (223).

¹⁸⁴ Michael Rowlands, ‘Heritage and Cultural Property’, *The Material Culture Reader* ed. Victor Buchli (Oxford: Berg, 2002), 112.

¹⁸⁵ Douglas Hamilton, ‘Representing Slavery in British Museums: The Challenges of 2007’, *Imagining Transatlantic Slavery* ed. Cora Kaplan and John Oldfield (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 128.

¹⁸⁶ Gabriel Koureas, *Memory, Masculinity and National Identity in British Visual Culture, 1914-1930: A Study of ‘Unconquerable Manhood’* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2007), 19.

places by cultural theorists are usually metaphorical and therefore not directly applicable to museum spaces. Jay Winter states that ‘surveying traces of imperial history reinforces the sense that sites of memory are destabilizing... Messages written over messages are rarely easy to decipher.’¹⁸⁷

In Britain, it seems, the most permanent messages are those so often reproduced. According to Jane Webster, these are undoubtedly The Wedgwood ‘kneeling slave’ cameo (1787) and ‘Brooks’: the broadsheet *Description of a Slave Ship* (1789). We have already encountered the latter, which was included in the Glasgow pamphlet against slavery in 1791. Wedgwood’s ‘kneeling slave’ however, was used in all forms of abolitionist-related objects. When the design and the often-recycled ‘Am I not a man and a brother?’ motto were first implemented by Josiah Wedgwood (1730-1795) in 1787 it took the form of a ceramic medallion: ‘originally intended to be worn by abolitionists as a means of identifying them with the cause.’¹⁸⁸ Mary Guyatt’s examination of the importance of the medallion [Fig. 39], from its origin as a piece of jewellery worn by men and women to its current usage as a museum piece does much to delineate the effect it can have in various contexts. For example, she compares the Victoria and Albert Museum’s choice of displaying the medallion amongst similar Wedgwood miniatures with the British Museum, where it was ‘displayed in a thematic case housing a collection of eighteenth-century political ephemera...the sole attempt yet made to contextualize the medallion in terms of both its status as fashionable jewellery and influential political tool.’¹⁸⁹ As with the Brooks diagram, the medallion was adopted, altered, added to, and therefore impressed upon many different communities. James Walvin notes that these images in particular have left a ‘permanent mark on the collective British memory.’¹⁹⁰

¹⁸⁷ Jay M. Winter, ‘In Conclusion: Palimpsests’, *Memory History, and Colonialism: Engaging with Pierre Nora in Colonial and Postcolonial Contexts* ed. Indra Sengupta (London: German Historical Institute London, 2009), 167.

¹⁸⁸ Mary Guyatt, ‘The Wedgwood Slave Medallion: Values in Eighteenth-Century Design’ *Journal of Design History* 13:2 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 93.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 93-105 (94-95).

¹⁹⁰ Reyahn King et al, *Ignatius Sancho: An African Man of Letters* (London: National Portrait Gallery Publications, 1997), 109.



Figure 39: Josiah Wedgwood abolitionist medallion, 'Am I Not a Man and a Brother?'

Focussing now on Glasgow's engagement with slavery in 2007, we can discuss the permanence of objects and images that are more relative to the environment in which Smith, Boswell, and the abolitionists were active. A pamphlet from that year published by Glasgow Museums & City Council, *Towards Understanding Slavery – Past and Present*, outlines the city's official approaches. The lid of Miss Salmon's donation box, above, was reproduced on the cover of this pamphlet, telling us that this local object has been deemed useful for its universal accessibility while being applicable to the commemorative events across Glasgow. The Burrell Collection exhibited *Mind-Forg'd Manacles: William Blake and Slavery*, utilising art and writing by Blake as provided by the British Museum, thus placing Glasgow in a British context with slavery. I propose that, had Glasgow's memory of Smith, Boswell, or, indeed, Smollett not died out so soon, exhibitions like this would be more reflective of the city's direct connections with slavery. The Gallery of Modern Art (GoMA) took an expectedly contemporary approach. *Downpresser* by Graham Fagen featured photographs, screen prints of modernised versions of eighteenth-century posters for voyages across the Atlantic, and DVD projections (including 'an impromptu performance of Burns' 'Slave's Lament'...sung on a beach.')191 There were talks and workshops held in Kelvingrove Museum, Provand's Lordship, and the St. Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art; all with the aim of positioning Glasgow within the nationwide discussion of slavery. The National Trust for Scotland also held events in the West of Scotland, including a traveling display named *This is Our Story*, stopping at Culzean Castle, Brodick Castle and Greenbank House (in the Clarkston area of Glasgow) – all three of which were deemed suitable buildings in which to connect Scotland's links with slavery, with a further emphasis on

¹⁹¹ See: <http://www.list.co.uk/article/1779-graham-fagen-downpresser/> [accessed 08/12/15].

David Livingstone. A commemoration service was held at The David Livingstone Centre in Blantyre, while community workshops incorporating drama, music, song, film, and performance took place in Pollok House.¹⁹²

Online, Glasgow had a presence as one of seven displays by the Scottish Archive Network.¹⁹³ The first image presented is a reproduction from a book of two famous anti-slavery images of the time: a male slave on bent knee with the words ‘Am I not a man and a brother?’ and a female counterpart with ‘Am I not a woman and a sister?’ The images are said to come from John Whittier’s *Poems written during the progress of the Abolition Question in the United States between the years 1830 and 1838*, held by Glasgow City Libraries. In many ways the inclusion of these emblems, clearly influenced by Wedgwood’s original, is concomitant to the use of the Brooks diagram in the *Address* of 1791 and the scene on the Glasgow Ladies Society donation box. Incidentally, the Glasgow Ladies’ Society would have been familiar with the image found in Whittier’s book, albeit slightly altered. In 1838 a book of poems, *The Wrongs of Africa: A Tribute to the Anti-Slavery Cause* by Miss. B. Tuckey, of the Cork Auxiliary Society, was published in Glasgow for the Glasgow Ladies’ Society. The title page depicts a kneeling male slave, his wrists manacled, begging upwards. Above him is a line from the Book of Jeremiah: ‘Shall I not visit these things? Saith the Lord.’¹⁹⁴ It is possible that this publication was the inspiration for the Glasgow Ladies’ Society’s chosen scene on their donation box. Even the inclusion of a single line from the bible could have been adopted from Miss Tuckey’s book.

More than most, the Glasgow object with the most relevance to slavery, in terms of aesthetic and symbolism, is *The Glassford Family Portrait* (c.1767) by Archibald McLauchlan [Fig. 40], displayed in the People’s Palace in Glasgow’s East End. The exhibition responsible for bringing the painting into the public gaze was *The Glassford Family Portrait: A Hidden Legacy*, which ran from August 2007 to March 2008. The portrait was advertised as ‘the starting point’ of the examination ‘of Glasgow’s involvement in the tobacco and slave trades.’ To complement the portrait, Glasgow Museums displayed other objects including two emancipation medals from 1807 and the aforementioned donation box. By enveloping these objects into the ‘hidden’ narrative, the curation of this exhibition is arguably more Glasgow-centric than most of the other West of Scotland events.

¹⁹² See: www.scotlandandslavery.org.uk/Resources/This_isOurStory_leaflet.pdf [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁹³ See: http://www.scan.org.uk/exhibitions/blackhistory/blackhistory_1.htm [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁹⁴ Title page, M. B. Tuckey, *The Wrongs of Africa: A Tribute to the Anti-Slavery Cause* (Glasgow: George Gallie, 1838).



Figure 40: Archibald McLauchlan, *John Glassford and his Family* (c. 1767), with highlighted detail.

The main focus of the painting has been the faded outline of a young black servant. The boy was once a more prominent feature of the painting, perhaps, as Stephen Mullen has suggested, as a ‘symbol of wealth.’¹⁹⁵ It is interesting to note that Iain Whyte’s statement – ‘it is believed that many attempts were made to remove [the servant] from the picture when it became not only socially unacceptable but illegal to own slaves in Scotland’ – is an echo of Mary Edward’s words in her book *Who Belongs to Glasgow?* (1993).¹⁹⁶ This was the most commonly accepted version of the painting’s history, as a letter from Elspeth King of

¹⁹⁵ Stephen Mullen, *It Wisnae Us: The Truth About Glasgow and Slavery* (Edinburgh: The Royal Incorporation of Architects in Scotland, 2009), 56.

¹⁹⁶ Mary Edward, *Who Belongs to Glasgow? 200 Years of Migration* (Glasgow: Glasgow City Libraries, 1993), 17.

the People's Palace to a descendent of John Glassford from Chesire in 1979 attests.¹⁹⁷ It was not until restoration work was carried out in 2007 on the portrait that it was discovered the figure 'had faded only as a result of discolouration of the pigment.'¹⁹⁸ This discovery goes against the notion that any attempt was made to cover it up. What is more, the Glassford portrait has become the focal point of a recent debate on Glasgow's obligation to make its ties to slavery more clear. The *Sunday Herald* of March 17th 2013 published an article in which Tom Devine's take on the matter can be found: 'Professor Devine said slavery permeated every part of Glasgow life and suggested there was a "general ignorance" about this aspect of the city's past today. Asked whether there should be a permanent slavery museum or exhibition, he said: "Absolutely."'"¹⁹⁹

This returns us to the initial discussions of visibility and cultural memory. As has been the argument for much of this chapter, there is little to suggest that Glasgow has had much in the way of tangible links, of physical access points through which slavery can be accessed. When appropriate, we can localise slavery in Glasgow by pointing to the buildings built with slave-generated revenue that still stand. The Gallery of Modern Art was originally built for William Cunninghame of Lainshaw, above, who, like Glassford, profited from slavery. But this meaning has been overlaid with progressive cultural memories. Before becoming the GoMA, it was used by the Royal Bank of Scotland and Glasgow District Libraries. One must also take note of the local tradition at play; in that the grandeur of the GoMA has been jokingly reduced by the almost-ceremonial placing of a traffic cone on the head of the Statue of the Duke of Wellington which stands outside.²⁰⁰ In Glasgow, at the few locations where Georgian buildings remain standing, the diversity of surrounding cultural memories seems to obscure any single reading. And while there might not have existed black communities as there are said to have been in Liverpool or Bristol as a result of their large-scale slaving voyages, Glasgow seems at once respondent, throughout history, to the religious and cultural images that it believes it is becoming known for. Slavery is but one of the many factors discoloured by time in Glasgow; not by any scandalous cover-up, but rather by the major influences of its historiography and the gradual inheritance of aggressively dominant narratives.

¹⁹⁷ Letter retrieved from object file, Glasgow Museums Resource Centre. Many thanks to Fiona Hayes for allowing access.

¹⁹⁸ Mullen, *It Wisnae Us* (2009), 56.

¹⁹⁹ Ben Riley-Smith, 'Call for memorial to Glasgow slave trade' from *Sunday Herald* 17 March 2013 <<http://www.heraldsotland.com/news/home-news/call-for-memorial-to-glasgow-slave-trade.20523508>>

²⁰⁰ In fact, the tradition has diversified in recent years. When the Duke's traffic-cone hat is missing, he is often donning a floral scarf.

But what other stories does the Glassford painting tell? The discussions on Glasgow's complicity with the slave trade via the depiction of a servant have somewhat detracted in recent times from the Shawfield Mansion itself being a representation of the city's earlier links with slavery. G. L. M. Goodfellow's article (1964) on the history of the mansion elucidates that it was built in 1712 for Daniel Campbell of Shawfield, 'a very successful Glasgow banker and slave trader.'²⁰¹ By the time John Glassford occupied the mansion other town houses of a similar style and stature had been built, including those of Allan Dreghorn and William Cunninghame.²⁰² The view offered of the Glassford family is therefore interesting for the detail of the mansion it preserves. Goodfellow points out that, behind the family, 'a window opens on to the back garden and a mirror reflects the Tron Gait.'²⁰³ The dynamics of the scene thus refer the viewer to the world outside the painting; which is perhaps another status symbol declaring the importance of the family being able to have a home of this size in the heart of the city. Given that Glassford is known to have subscribed to the Foulis Academy and that the painter of this family scene was a talented student of said academy,²⁰⁴ it is clear that slavery was at this time an underlying issue to the middle-class and educated elite rather than the heated talking-point it went on to become in the nineteenth century. Indeed, another McLauchlan painting from 1766, depicting Thomas Broun of Braid and Johnstounburn (d.1818)²⁰⁵ features a black servant gazing contentedly up at the Scottish nobleman. From the one Glasgow artist, then, we have two portrayals of marginalised servants and their aristocratic owners. However 'noble' the original composition was designed to be, these paintings offer us an essential visual representation of slavery at home.

The legacy of the Glassford painting has also been extended into the public domain via other cultural reference-points. The first of these is *Joseph Knight* (2003) by James Robertson, a historical novel which charts the story of the infamous case referred to above, in which Joseph Knight, a slave, gained his freedom from his master Sir John Wedderburn of Ballendean (1729-1803). Before we look at the novel, it should be noted that the case has links with Glasgow's abolitionist efforts. Writing in 1854, Robert Reid, or 'Senex' (1773-1865), informs us that concerned Glaswegians raised £500 in support of Joseph Knight's

²⁰¹ G. L. M. Goodfellow, 'Colin Campbell's Shawfield Mansion', *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 23:3 (California: University of California Press, 1964), 123.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 124.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 128.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁰⁵ Initial confusion as to whether this was Thomas 'Burnfoot' Brown (1750-1825), an English Loyalist during the American Revolution or Thomas Broun of Braid and Johnstounburn (d. 1818) has been partially dispelled, as experts now say it is a likeness of the latter. See: <http://allthingsliberty.com/2013/04/portraits-of-southern-partisans-likenesses-of-thomas-brown-and-elijah-clarke/> [accessed 08/1/15].

case. ‘I believe few of your readers,’ he begins, ‘are aware that negro slavery existed in Glasgow in my day in its full vigour, and that by solemn judgment of our Justices of the Peace it was declared to be the law of the land. Fortunately the question was taken up by some of our *spirited citizens*, whose names have not come down to us, but to whose memory a public memory is justly due; for, owing to their exertions and support... no *human being* can place his or her foot on the soil of Scotland without being a “free person.”’²⁰⁶ Had the names of these ‘spirited citizens’ survived, Glasgow may have been able to boast a genuine intellectual and moral presence in slave-related discourse, with figures like Smith and Boswell stepping out from the constraints of Enlightenment historiography and realising their potentially significant cultural memories. Nonetheless, these links show us that before Glasgow’s emancipation movement gained momentum, the city was actively involved in anti-slavery ideas. What is more, Reid himself uses the term ‘human being’, an interesting acknowledgement of the principal role of women in abolitionist accomplishments.

In the opening chapters of Robertson’s novel we are presented with an aged Wedderburn, evidently embittered by his hopeless pursuit of Knight. Our attention is constantly shifted toward a family painting, about which Wedderburn’s spy, Jamieson, is told: ‘You didn’t look closely enough... Joseph Knight is there too. Or he was once. [Wedderburn] had him painted out after the court case.’²⁰⁷ For Carla Sassi (2005), there is a connection between the Glassford portrait as ‘an eloquent symbol for the invisibility of “second class” citizens in Britain and *Joseph Knight*, which offers ‘the theme of invisibility... constructed around the mysterious story of a concealed figure in a Scottish 18th-century painting.’²⁰⁸ Michael Morris (2008) has since agreed, suggesting that the McLauchlan painting was possibly the inspiration for the one in Robertson’s novel.²⁰⁹ Thus, the potency of the Glassford portrait implies that, before 2007, there was a lack of focus, effectively precluding Glasgow from British perceptions of slavery. The display of the Glassford portrait at the entrance of the 2014 Glasgow Life exhibition, *How Glasgow Flourished*, confirms this potency and suggests its significant cultural memory as one which will be useful for future generations. As we will see in the conclusion of this thesis, the issue of slavery as connected with the painting provided one of the most recurrent discussions. At present, we may argue that the Glassford portrait is not only Glasgow’s, but Scotland’s perpetual symbol of slavery in the Georgian era: lurking in the shadow of Victorian-era

²⁰⁶ Senex & James Pagan, *Glasgow Past and Present, embracing loose memoranda on Glasgow subjects by Senex and desultory sketches by J. B.* v.II (Glasgow: David Robertson &c., 1884), 162.

²⁰⁷ Robertson, *Joseph Knight* (2003), 17.

²⁰⁸ Carla Sassi, *Why Scottish Literature Matters* (Edinburgh: The Saltire Society, 2005), 140.

²⁰⁹ Michael Morris, ‘Joseph Knight: Scotland and the Black Atlantic,’ *International Journal of Scottish Literature* 4 (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2008), 7.

imperialist narratives rather than, as was once thought, a shamefully disguised secret. And, where the Glassford story proves too negative, too much of a blight for the heritage industry, the Joseph Knight case can be adopted. Following this, we can look to the close of the Georgian era in and around the works of John Galt (1779-1839), whose transatlantic sojourns bring us even closer to the image of Glasgow as it was before the Victorians steamrolled their way into Glasgow's cultural memory.

Chapter IV

*'Then went forth our Scots':
Imperialism, Identity and Literature in the Age of John Galt*

See what a change trade's golden wand can do!
As if by magic make a village spring
To all the glories of a capital.
Her towers rise high in heaven, while far around
The hum of nations, gather'd like stray'd bees
By blooming commerce, to one busy spot,
Rolls like low thunder o'er the settled scene.
- Dugald Moore, *The Bard of the North* (1833)¹

In 1929, the English travel writer H. V. Morton (1892-1979) said: 'There is a Transatlantic alertness about Glasgow which no city in England possesses.' This statement calls to mind the imperial and commercial manoeuvres, from slavery to sugar and cotton trading, which elevated Glasgow to its recognisable height. Sailing from the river to the Firth of Clyde, there was easy access to the North Atlantic Ocean which gave Glasgow an obvious advantage over rising Scottish towns – and, arguably, port cities like Liverpool and Bristol – in connecting with the New World. Going on, Morton pits Glasgow against Edinburgh, adding to the erroneous and popular notion that the two cities are opposites in the extreme. Among the usual personifications explored in previous chapters – Glasgow's bustling noise and Edinburgh's studious silence – is an interesting nod towards Scottish identity. 'The real difference between these two cities,' Morton says, 'is that Edinburgh is Scottish and Glasgow is cosmopolitan.'² For Morton this is no fault on Glasgow's part. Without Glasgow, he says, 'Scotland would be a backward country lost in poetic memories and at enmity with an age in which she was playing no part.'³ This chapter seeks to examine the presumption that, following the Union of 1707, Glasgow became a solely commercial and later an industrial city with no 'poetic memories' of its own. It will be shown that while Glasgow operated as an *entrepôt* of Scotland, Britain, and Empire, it was also the source and the focal point of an abundance of literature; a series of reactions to the city's growing imperial connections. Edwin Muir (1887-1959) echoed Morton when he described Glasgow, all-too-sweepingly, as 'merely one of the expressions of Industrialism [...which] operates by laws

¹ Dugald Moore, *The Bard of the North; a series of poetical tales, illustrative of highland scenery and character* (Glasgow: David Robertson, 1833), 164-5.

² H. V. Morton, *In Search of Scotland* (London: Methuen, 2000 [1929]), 293.

³ *Ibid*, 293-293.

which do not recognize nationality.⁴ Both Morton's and Muir's removal of Glasgow from Scotland as a nation, I propose, add to the common image of the city which we have traced and challenged throughout the previous chapters. Without accounting for Glasgow's central role in the development of print culture, moral philosophy, and enlightened improvement, depictions of Glasgow's identity would be limited to the unquestioned Britishness of the Victorian era, with heavy industry at the forefront.

In order to understand Georgian Glasgow's imperialism more thoroughly, we must consider the literature which portrays and critiques Glasgow's links to the British Empire in this time. John Galt (1779-1839) and his contemporaries did both. The lives of these writers often run parallel with the worlds they fictionalise, making for an interesting comparative study between the patriotic and imperial characters they invent and their own national identities. Following the French Revolution, writers like Galt, Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832), and James Hogg (1770-1835) worked in an unusual situation which questioned the status of the British Empire therefore calling forth their sentimental patriotism for Scotland's past. In reworking the long eighteenth century they reflected on foregoing centuries; post-Union Scotland; Jacobitism; and the beginnings of Muir's lamented Industrialism. Furthermore, the literature of Galt's age often reverted the scope of Scottish Literature to the religious issues rooted in the Reformation that pervaded the eighteenth century. These generational narratives were, for Galt, not fictional novels but 'Theoretical Histories.'⁵ Many of these 'theoretical histories' concerned Glasgow, therefore allowing the reader to consider the often forgotten Georgian era in the city's history within the framework of a Scottish literary tradition. One of the most effective ways of using these authors and their own cultural perceptions to interrogate the ideas belonging to Morton and Muir is to consider their own cultural memories. For, if the author fades from the public imagination the likely scenario is that their works suffer the same fate.

The legacy of memory studies in cultural scholarship has been outlined in previous chapters, from Maurice Halbwachs' concept of 'collective memory' to an expanding interdisciplinary field. The increasingly specialised and place-specific uses of memory studies terminology has encouraged discourse globally, often resulting in competing definitions coexisting across the field. For this reason it should be stated again here that my use of 'cultural memory' seeks to encompass the surviving memories of both the authors and events of the long eighteenth century; as well as the once-'collective' memories that were more common during that time. Wulf Kansteiner has described how 'cultural memory

⁴ Edwin Muir, *Scottish Journey* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1979 [1935]), 102.

⁵ John Galt, *The Autobiography of John Galt* v. 2 (London: Cochrane and McCrone, 1833), 219.

consists of objectified culture, that is, the texts, rites, images, buildings, and monuments which are designed to recall fateful events in the history of the collective.’⁶ We can expand this explanation to examine how John Galt and his contemporaries have been similarly ‘objectified’ over time. Because of the ‘lived, generational’⁷ nature of ‘communicative memory,’ we often depend on ‘cultural memories’ as they are captured in works of literature working with historical eras. John Galt’s presence is considerable here as he often worked in the nineteenth century tradition of ‘found’ narratives, as in Hogg’s *Private Memoirs and Confessions of a Justified Sinner* (1824). Like Hogg, Galt frequently presented his narrators as unreliable, often satirical. In spite of this we can mine the common ideas particular to the generation to which these narrators and characters belong. To us these are ‘cultural memories’. They become as relevant to our understanding of a topic as museum objects or documentary films. To use Aleida Assmann’s metaphor, they are ‘like tools and utensils that have lost their original function and links with daily life and have been collected as relics.’⁸ So, texts like Galt’s most famous work, *Annals of the Parish* (1821), which initially spoke to readers in the Georgian era now speaks to us as a ‘relic’ of provincial life in Scotland. *Annals*, in fact, was ‘so accurate’ in its ‘account of social change that historians... recommended [it] as authentic social history.’⁹ For Maurice Lindsay, Galt’s talent was his ability to contrast ‘the ways of the provincial world... with the wider world of business and politics in London.’ His concern for the ‘manners and modes of speech of small-town life’ in Scotland ‘which resisted the invasion of Anglifying influences’¹⁰ would portray him as a defender of Scottish culture, which, in many ways, he was. For Bruce Lenman, Galt was ‘the best example of linkages between literary and pictorial artists in the common endeavor to preserve lively images of a way of life clearly threatened with extinction.’ In particular, his links with the renowned painter Sir David Wilkie (1785-1841) were crucial to the representation of the vanishing world of Scottish peasantry,¹¹ as can be seen in Wilkie’s

⁶ Wulf Kansteiner, ‘Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies’ from *History and Theory* 41:2 (Middletown: Wiley-Blackwell for Wesleyan University, 2002), 179-197 (182).

⁷ Christina West, ‘Memory—Recollection—Culture—Identity—Space: Social Context, Identity Formation, and Self-construction of the Calé (Gitanos) in Spain’, *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (London: Springer, 2011), 101-119 (104).

⁸ Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 323.

⁹ Paul Henderson Scott, ‘Galt, John (1779–1839)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10316>.

¹⁰ Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*, (London: Robert Hale, 1977), 320.

¹¹ Bruce P. Lenman, *Integration and Enlightenment: Scotland 1746-1832* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1981), 134.

famous painting *The Penny Wedding* (1818) [Fig. 41],¹² which some say depicts an account by Galt.



Figure 41: David Wilkie, *The Penny Wedding* (1818)

Indeed, the painting does seem a close match with Galt's account of the penny-wedding in *Annals*, which he began writing in parts in 1813:¹³ 'a great multitude, gentle and simple, of all denominations... after supper, when they had got a glass of the punch, their heels showed their mettle, and grannies danced with their oyes, holding out their hands as if they had been spinning with two rocks.'¹⁴ Although we cannot be sure, the painting and text may have been informed by a real-life experience. But they are both cultural memories in their own right and their value as cultural memories, when combined, is increased by the likelihood of authenticity and the intersection of more than one point of view. Such connections between different media suggest the materiality or 'objectified' nature of cultural memory with which we must engage.

However, it is not only Galt's writing which makes him an interesting study of national identity and the effect upon it by the British Empire. Indeed, his own colonial activities in Canada represent his perceived British identity which, in keeping with his written works, is often contradictory. Because of this, we can trace Galt's own cultural

¹² Anand C. Chitnis, 'The Scottish Enlightenment in the Age of Galt', *John Galt (1779-1979)* ed. Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1979), 31-50 (32-33).

¹³ Lenman, *Integration and Enlightenment*, 134.

¹⁴ John Galt, *Annals of the Parish; or, the chronicle of Dalmailing during the Ministry of the Rev. Micah Balwhidder, written by himself* (London & Edinburgh: T. N. Foulis, 1911 [1821]), 269-270.

memory in the same way as Adam Smith and Tobias Smollett in the foregoing chapters. From here, questioning the cultural memory of Galt and his works is to draw from the survivability of the ideas that he recorded in writing as well as the survivability of Galt as a symbol in Scotland, Britain, and Canada. As we will see, the patriotism of all three depends on Galt's depiction of Glasgow as being central to the progress of Empire and, therefore, as being the chief agent of change in western lowlands of Scotland.

In *The Literary Life* (1834) Galt says: 'Although Irvine was my birthplace, and Greenock the town of my adoption, yet I have ever regarded my obligations to Glasgow as paramount to those due to every other place.'¹⁵ That he features Glasgow so prominently throughout his works, I propose, informs our understanding of the city as it was at various stages in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. In this sense Galt is not at all unlike Smollett – whose own descriptions of Glasgow blur the line between fictional and historical. Therefore, this chapter aims to analyse the instances in which Glasgow has been portrayed as a crucial intersection between colonial, identity-building activities in post-Union Scotland. Before this, however, it is crucial to examine the nature of colonial ventures from Scotland to the New World in pre-Union days and in Galt's own time. Not only can we delineate the factors that have created a surfeit of cultural identities inside and outside Scotland, but we can read them alongside Galt's elongated 'Theoretical Histories'. The cultural memories therein highlight the understudied elements of Glasgow's literary and cultural history.

'From the Auld world to the New'

The final decades of the seventeenth century are of the utmost importance to our understanding of opposing markers of identity that inform cultural memories of Georgian Glasgow. Studying Scotland's colonial efforts in this time reveals the state of cultural and religious order before Scotland and England were merged in 1707. After the Union, collective memories of Empire became British in an official sense, forcing recent discourse into divergent terms, wherein Scotland's own Empire is presented as persistently unique and different from an English or British one. Tom Devine's seminal *Scotland's Empire* (2003), therefore, represents the nation's role in global imperial activities. However, it is important to note the purpose of such texts, for, as Murray Pittock says: 'studies [like Devine's] focus largely on involvement and participation in empire rather than its role in beliefs and attitudes.'¹⁶ And it is specifically these beliefs and attitudes that offer further insight into the

¹⁵ John Galt, *The Literary Life and Miscellanies of John Galt* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1834), 114.

¹⁶ Murray Pittock, *Scottish and Irish Romanticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 236.

legacy of key figures, texts, and events of a particular time. In Devine and Rossner's 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800' (2011), we can see that 1707 was in many ways the net result of Scotland's century-long struggle for independent imperial security since the Union of the Crowns in 1603.¹⁷ The most significant event, often credited as one of the main reasons for the Acts of Union in 1707, was the Darien scheme: the disastrous attempt made by the Parliament of Scotland to colonise Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama, at the end of the seventeenth century. Before going into the particulars of Darien, however, we should consider other colonial ventures which reveal pre-Union tensions between Scotland and England.

George Pratt Insh's *Scottish Colonial Schemes* (1922) covers over sixty years of Scottish settlement in the New World in the seventeenth century, including Nova Scotia and Carolina. Glasgow's role is noted as being able to 'anticipate the days of the tobacco lords,'¹⁸ as can be seen in the construction of four sugar refining factories in Glasgow between 1667 and 1700.¹⁹ We know from the 'Memorial concerning the Scottish plantation to be erected in some place in America' (1681) that Scots wanted to colonise a new settlement in either Cape Florida or Carolina, where English plantations already existed.²⁰ In the same year as this proposal, Glasgow appointed a Professor of Navigation and by 1695 a navigation school had opened in the city.²¹ In 1684 there were two separate attempts by Scots to colonise parts of America. True to the 'Memorial' of 1681, they were both on the fringes of English colonies: the first was in East New Jersey, as directed by 'the celebrated Quaker apologist'²² Robert Barclay of Ury (1648-1690); and the second was Stuarts Town near the English settlement of Charles Town in Southern Carolina.²³

What connects these colonial schemes is religious persecution at home: a theme later revived by Galt and his contemporaries. Robert Barclay made some noise with his *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1676) at a time when Aberdeen's Episcopalian authorities often imprisoned religious dissenters. However, Insh notes that by the time Barclay left for Carolina in 1684, Quakers were not as stringently persecuted as they had been before, and that while his idea for a colonial venture was perhaps influenced by this intolerant

¹⁷ T. M. Devine & Philipp R. Rossner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800', *Scotland and the British Empire*, eds. John M. MacKenzie & T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 30-55 (30).

¹⁸ George Pratt Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & co, 1922), 142.

¹⁹ Devine & Rossner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy', 37.

²⁰ *Register of the Privy Council of Scotland 1681-1682*, 3:7 (Edinburgh: Morrison & Gibb, 1915), 664-665.

²¹ Gordon Jackson, 'Glasgow in transition, c.1660 to c.1740', *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* eds. T. M. Devine. M. & Gordon Jackson. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 63-105 (72).

²² Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, 142.

²³ *Ibid.*

atmosphere, his was a national rather than a sectarian scheme.²⁴ As a result, it became a Scottish rather than a Quaker colony: ‘Indeed the general tenor of one of the acts passed by the East Jersey Assembly in 1686, by which time Scottish settlers were established in considerable numbers in the colony, implies that the newcomers had carried across the Atlantic certain well-marked tendencies characteristic of Scottish life in the unquiet days of the seventeenth century.’²⁵ Glasgow and Aberdeen (which was Scotland’s sole hub of Quakerism) were among the port towns from which the journey was made, therefore transporting distinctive provincial identities and creating a microcosm of Scotland’s religious make-up in the New World. In the case of Stuarts Town, we can gain further insight into Glasgow’s place in pre-Union imperialism. More so than the Quaker influence on East New Jersey, the journey to Carolina from Glasgow was based on ideas of religious freedom. From ‘as early as 1672,’ says Insh, ‘a proposal of carrying over a plantation to Carolina had been put before the Covenanters.’²⁶ Chief among the Presbyterian exiles who established the short-lived colony of Stuarts Town were William Dunlop (1653/4-1700) and Lord Cardross (Henry Erskine, 1650-1693). Like Barclay of Ury, Dunlop ‘had grown to manhood in an atmosphere of religious persecution and civil strife.’²⁷ Galt went on to portray the Covenanters in *Ringan Gilhaize* (1823), a work which, like Sir Walter Scott’s *Old Mortality* (1816), sought to analyse and re-inscribe the Covenanting story of Scottish religious history.

It was a Glasgow merchant and ship-owner, Walter Gibson (c.1645- c.1717), who transported the exiles on the *Carolina Merchant*. In 1682, the plan for what would become The Carolina Company began to take form when Gibson met with the prospective colonists.²⁸ That his ship was already named after Dunlop’s and Cardross’ destination informs us that Gibson had made this journey before and that, as David Dobson notes, he ‘had substantial experience of sailing to the West Indies and North America.’²⁹ Besides offering to take persecuted Scots from Glasgow and Edinburgh to Carolina for a set fee, Gibson was also ‘commissioned by the privy council to transport banished criminals and Covenanters to America.’³⁰ Stuarts Town promised much but the ‘political relationship’ between the Scots and the English was ‘too ambiguous’ and the site was eventually

²⁴ Scott Sowerby’s *Making Toleration* (2013) does much to elucidate the plight of Scottish Quakers and their treatment at the hands of the newly crowned James II & VII (1633-1701).

²⁵ *Ibid*, 152.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 188.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 202.

²⁸ Linda G. Fryer, ‘Documents Relating to the Formation of the Carolina Company in Scotland, 1682’, *The South Carolina Historical Magazine* 99:2 (Charleston: South Carolina Historical Society, 1998), 110-134 (120).

²⁹ David Dobson, *Scottish Emigration to Colonial America, 1607-1785* (Athens, GA: The University of Georgian Press, 1994), 64.

³⁰ A. J. Mann, ‘Gibson, Walter (b. c.1645, d. in or after 1717)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67516>).

destroyed when the Spanish, who had occupied the area previously, attacked the colony: plundering houses, killing livestock, and burning the settlements down.³¹ This took place in September 1686, and those who survived ended up in neighbouring colonies including Charles Town (now Charleston).³² An article in the Charleston newspaper *The News and Courier* from June 1960 tells us that the seal of the House of Cardross [Fig. 42], belonging to Lord Cardross, is the only artifact that remains of the Scottish colony.³³



Figure 42: Seal of the House of Cardross

Despite being such a valuable piece of cultural memory connecting Scotland's religious history with Carolina's, the seal (now in the hands of the Charleston Library Society) is 'rarely asked about, or on display... [spending] most of its life in an archival box in one of [their] vaults.'³⁴ It is therefore understandable that the colony, and Glasgow's part in its establishment, has been so underrepresented. In the same way that a forgotten writer can no

³¹ Lawrence S. Rowland et al, 'English, Scots, and Yemassee at Port Royal', *The History of Beaufort County, South Carolina: Volume 1, 1514-1861* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1996), 58-79 (72-74).

³² Dobson, *Scottish Emigration*, 65.

³³ *The News and Courier*, Charleston, South Carolina, 158:172, Monday June 20th 1960, 5.

³⁴ Author's correspondence with Rob Salvo of the Charleston Library Society, Monday 25th February 2013.

longer play a part in the public's perception of their topic; an object can no longer contribute to the public's understanding of its provenance if it is not accessible. While the abrupt end to Stuarts Town might account for its lack of representation, there remain tangible, even successful, links. Cardross, Dunlop, and Gibson were not among those to lose their lives in the raids: Gibson went on to become the Glasgow city provost in 1688³⁵ while Dunlop was voted into office as Principal of Glasgow University in 1690.³⁶ Their parts in the history of the Covenanters as holders of high office following the Revolution of 1688 are essential in that they involve an unsuccessful colonial scheme in America which, to use Insh's words, set the stage 'for the great drama of Darien.'³⁷ For Michael Fry also, the initially antagonistic role of the English in Charles Town represented the wider dichotomy of English imposition on Scotland's independent imperial efforts, which helped lay the Anglophobic sentiment that would become most evident in the fallout of the Darien scheme.³⁸

John Prebble has said that the term Darien lingers like 'a scar on the memory of the Scots.'³⁹ David Daiches describes the Scots similarly, as being 'humiliated, outraged, and impoverished by the total failure of the Darien scheme... and attributing that failure to the hostility and deliberate obstruction of English trading interests.'⁴⁰ But it is important to take note of the way in which this colonisation was 'sold' to the Scottish public.⁴¹ Michael Lynch points to the 'astonishing advertising campaign, which appealed to nationalist sentiment and religious xenophobia' set up after England had withdrawn interest.⁴² That the English were to blame for the monumental disasters that were to ensue was more to do with the already vitalised Anglophobia initiated in the campaign for subscription. By considering the literature from around this time, we can understand the political and, indeed, religious divides more fully.

The chief instigator of the scheme, William Paterson (1658-1719), was born in Skipmyre, Dumfriesshire, but was raised for much of his youth in England.⁴³ And while we still consider Darien as Scotland's final, futile independent frontier, it should be remembered that Paterson did not always envisage the Darien Company (or, The Company of Scotland

³⁵ A. J. Mann, 'Gibson, Walter (b. c.1645, d. in or after 1717)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/67516>.

³⁶ W. G. Blaikie, 'Dunlop, William (1653/4-1700)', rev. Stuart Handley, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8278>.

³⁷ Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, 211.

³⁸ Michael Fry, *Scottish Empire* (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 2001), 25-26.

³⁹ John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1968), 315.

⁴⁰ David Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth-Century Experience* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 3.

⁴¹ A certain Burns song ('Sic a Parcel of Rogues') is brought to mind.

⁴² Michael Lynch, *Scotland: a New History* (London: Pimlico, 1991), 308.

⁴³ David Armitage, 'Paterson, William (1658-1719)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004); online edn, Sept 2010: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21538>.

Trading to Africa and the Indies) as such. Indeed, it was only after ‘opposition from the English East India Company’ that Paterson had to ‘withdraw the original plan and propose a solely Scottish venture.’⁴⁴ Among others, T. C. Smout has summarised ‘how the Company, ill-led and undercapitalized, rashly staked everything on a settlement at Darien in Central America, how they were driven out by disease and the Spaniards whose territory they had annexed, and how the English government of William III, determined at all costs to avoid antagonizing Spain, refused to allow the settlers the least assistance even in their last extremity.’⁴⁵ Karin Bowie has elucidated the presence of printed tracts from this time, including *Scotland’s Grievances Relating to Darien* (1700), in which the author George Ridpath (d. 1726) ‘attributed the failure of the Scottish colony to the influence of English interests on the Scottish monarch and his Scottish courtiers in London.’⁴⁶ In the same year an anonymous pamphlet was printed in Glasgow, titled *Certain Propositions Relating to the Scots Plantation of Caledonia*. Several defensive points are made, such as that the Scots’ ‘Right’ to colonise Darien ‘is confirmed by Invitation from, and League with the original free Natives of that Country,’ and that France’s ‘Persecution’ of ‘the poor Remnant of Protestants’ throughout Europe would only increase ‘if the Scots be forced to abandon their Plantation.’⁴⁷ In this we can see that religious identity is often symptomatic of the struggle of power between neighbouring countries such as Scotland and England. These were the sentiments that Scottish authors of the early nineteenth century sought to revive and represent as being intrinsic to Scottish identity while cities like Glasgow and Edinburgh grew in population and wealth as part of a more secure Britain.

In 1700 another pamphlet was printed in London: an anonymous attack on the Scots and their Protestant religion, titled *Caledonia; or, the Pedlar turn’d Merchant: A Tragi-comedy, as it was acted by His Majesty’s Subjects of Scotland, in the King of Spain’s Province of Darien*. It begins:

A sorry Poor Nation, which lies as *full North*,
 As a great many Lands which are *wiser*,
 Was resolv’d to set up for a People of Worth,
 That the *Loons* who laugh’d at Her might
 Prize her.⁴⁸

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ T. C. Smout, ‘The Anglo-Scottish Union of 1707. I. The Economic Background’, *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 16:3 (Glasgow: Economic History Society, 1964), 455-467 (459).

⁴⁶ Karin Bowie, ‘Public Opinion, Popular Politics and the Union of 1707’, *The Scottish Historical Review*, 82: 214, part 2 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), 226-260 (231).

⁴⁷ Anon., *Certain Propositions Relating to the Scots Plantation of Caledonia, and the National Address for Supporting thereof, briefly offered to Publick View, for removing of Mistakes and Prejudices* (Glasgow: 1700).

⁴⁸ Anon., *Caledonia; or, the Pedlar turn’d Merchant. A Tragi-comedy, as it was acted by His Majesty’s Subjects of Scotland, in the King of Spain’s Province of Darien* (London: Printed and sold by the Booksellers of London and Westminster, 1700), 1.

The Scots are mocked for believing in the ‘fly’ men of the Kirk who promised them ‘a large piece of ground, where gold was as plenty as sand.’⁴⁹ The final stanzas, concerning the total failure of the scheme, are as crude as they are remorseless:

Two thirds being *dead*, and another made *Slaves*
By the Spaniard for fear of his Oar,
They left *felling Trees* and ceas’d *digging Graves*,
And *crawl’d* to their Ships from the Shore.

The first Time a Scot ever wished himself *home*,
For want of *good Air* or of *Bread*,
And the last (if he’s wise) that he from it will *come*
On such a *Fool’s Errand* as Trade.⁵⁰

These scathing remarks help us identify the heightened tensions that were central to the pamphleteering that would bring about the Union of 1707. Religious identity was central to the formation of patriotism, or what we might call national identity, and was therefore a crucial factor in this historic Union. In *The Entail* (1823), Galt’s central Glasgow novel, the main character Claud Walkinshaw is introduced as ‘the sole surviving male heir of the Walkinshaws of Kittlestonheugh,’ and his grandfather is said to have been ‘deluded by the golden visions that allured so many of the Scottish gentry to embark their fortunes in the Darien Expedition.’⁵¹ As such, Galt’s novel revives the rhetoric and, indeed, the cultural memories of the Darien disaster, repackaging them alongside an array of Jacobite and Hanoverian allusions. It is interesting to note the ways in which the Darien scheme, introduced in the first few sentences of the book, permeates throughout. For Alyson Bardsley, Darien has a ‘tremendous impact on the locality’ of *The Entail* while remaining ‘invisible and almost abstract.’⁵² As such we can make connections between the enduring presence of Darien and the local setting in Glasgow through Galt.

We can also track the tangible links between Glasgow and Darien more closely. Firstly, T. C. Smout has said that ‘about 120 Glasgow merchants subscribed to the Darien Company’; and John Prebble tells us that William Paterson was at one point studying ‘the shores of the Clyde as far as Dumbarton, to find a good run of deep water where the ships of the company might anchor and load’⁵³ while William Dunlop (University Principal, above) had ‘asked the Company’ to take graduate students who were ‘desirous to go to

⁴⁹ Ibid, 5.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 30.

⁵¹ John Galt, *The Entail; or, The Lairds of Grippy*, ed. Ian A. Gordon (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984 [1823]), 3.

⁵² Alyson Bardsley, ‘Novel and Nation Come to Grief: The Dead’s Part in John Galt’s “The Entail” from *Modern Philology* 99:4 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 540-563 (556).

⁵³ Prebble, *Darien Disaster*, 61.

Caledonia.⁵⁴ And ‘although not specifically a Glasgow affair,’ Gordon Jackson has said that ‘the failure of [the Darien Company] dealt a grave blow to a city expecting to be its trading headquarters and prime beneficiary.’⁵⁵ This important point as to the potential success of Darien encourages us to imagine Glasgow’s role in an independent eighteenth-century Scotland. Regardless of the Union, Glasgow’s ‘Transatlantic alertness’ on the west coast of the British Isles would surely have established the city as a national hub of commerce and trade. With this scenario in mind, we might ask if Glasgow would still be seen as a metropolitan oddity in an otherwise Scottish-looking country had the Union never happened.

Scholarship has since extended the legacy of the Darien disaster in the context of Scotland’s importance to British pursuits *after* the Union of 1707. Instead of blaming the English outright, Scotland began to take credit for its ability to prosper under the watchful eye of the Westminster government. Kenneth McNeil states: ‘With the failed 1690s Darien expedition still part of the Scottish collective memory, collaboration, not competition, with England seemed the only path toward imperial success.’⁵⁶ The term ‘collective memory,’ when applied to the nation, seems to serve the purpose of epitomising the scale and effect of the loss of life, capital, and political support in the founding of ‘Caledonia’. As we have said, the term ‘collective memory’ denotes the lived, active memory of a generation. In terms of ‘cultural memory’, then, we look to surviving points of access. As far as Darien is concerned there are no remembrance days, no monuments, and therefore no ‘cultural memories’ of the Darien disaster outside the academy, history books, original documents, and creative interpretations such as the National Theatre play *Caledonia* (2010).⁵⁷ Furthermore, Scotland’s live ‘collective memory’ of the Darien scheme existed in a time before ‘global simultaneity’, which, according to Barbara Misztal, can be dated to the *Titanic* disaster in 1912, ‘of which... people in various countries could read in the morning news.’⁵⁸ In 1699 a second ship had already left port in Scotland before news reached home about the fate of the first, resulting in further loss. Add to the physical losses suffered the notion that response to the totality of the disaster was not an instantaneous, collective experience. Different parts of the country would hear of the news at different rates and at different times. Those with concentrated investment in the scheme were still unable to respond to the disaster’s scale

⁵⁴ Ibid, 227.

⁵⁵ Gordon Jackson, ‘Glasgow in transition, c.1660 to c.1740’, *Glasgow, Volume I: Beginnings to 1830* eds. T. M. Devine. M. & Gordon Jackson. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 63-105 (73).

⁵⁶ Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 10.

⁵⁷ See: http://www.nationaltheatrescotland.com/content/default.asp?page=home_Caledonia [accessed 08/12/15]. The idea that the play is ‘an ancient story for modern times’ alludes to the way in which Darien was in this instance performed with the recession and the banking crisis of the time in mind.

⁵⁸ Barbara A. Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering* (Maidenhead: Open University Press, 2003), 115.

until all was lost. This is why the theories of memory have to be considered within the context of the available communication networks of the time. Therefore, John Prebble may be correct to say that Darien was ‘a scar on the memory of the Scots’ – *eventually*, but the temptation of collating the consecutive failures and tragedies of the scheme into one event which are said to bring the nation together in a state of bewilderment is not representative of the many factors involved, and this to say nothing of the Highland regions; the inhabitants of which played no part whatsoever in the Company of Scotland’s affair.⁵⁹

Indeed, ‘the nation’ might be ‘the main mnemonic community,’⁶⁰ but perhaps only in times when information and political opinions are accessible, if unequally distributed, to the entire nation. If the September 11th tragedy in 2001 represents the dawning of globalised instantaneous video news, therefore effecting an incalculable series of ‘collective memories,’ then the Darien expedition at the opposite end of the spectrum is better perceived through the literature of its time – and better still through the literature of subsequent epochs, during which the sectarian tensions that pervaded immediate responses were substantially weakened. Therefore we can read the 1700 tirade from London *Caledonia; or, the Pedlar turn’d Merchant against Darien; or, The merchant prince: a historical romance* (1852) by the Irish writer Eliot Warburton (1810-1852). Working in a distinctive literary mode, the narrative, as perceived by neither a Scot nor an Englishman, results in an interesting elision of the defensive/attacking binary we have outlined thus far. Even more interesting is the invented patriotic voice:

Then went forth our Scots,—pioneers of a new power, that, though quelled for the time, will yet rule those glorious countries wi’ righteous justice and gospel law [...] I can imagine my auld kinsman Paterson, standing upon a peak of Darien, e’en as we stand now upon Ben Laighal [...] And a’ thae braes, and glens, and steepy hills, wad be the backbone itsel’ o’ the isthmus, trampled doon into roads fit for leddie’s powny, by the million feet o’ prosperous wayfayers, to and fro travellin’, circulatin’ the gifts o’ heaven from the Auld warld to the New.⁶¹

The speaker is Highland soldier McGregor, who we are told keeps an old musket and claymore (‘with which his grandfather had hewn his way through Sassenachs from the battle of Culloden’) over the fireplace. As was the case in Walter Scott’s works, such Jacobite dressings are draped over a specifically Scottish-looking yet British imperial character. In Warburton’s text this is made clear: ‘The [sword] tells its ain story; tho’ dinna doot but it

⁵⁹ Although referring to the Scots as a whole, John Prebble admits that the Darien was a ‘peculiarly Lowland affair’, p.57.

⁶⁰ Misztal, *Theories of Social Remembering*, 17.

⁶¹ Eliot Warburton, *Darien; or, The Merchant Prince. A Historical Romance*, v. 1 (London: Colburn and co., 1852), 31-33.

wad strike for our bonny Queen this day, as truly and stoutly as ever it focth again' her great grandfather a hundred years gane by.'⁶² McGregor also has a 'kist' of papers relating to the Darien scheme, and the rest of the novel is a romantic history of the venture based loosely on William Paterson's experiences. Warburton's is therefore a diverse cultural interpretation of an historical event. His blending of generational memories and sentiments is not at all unlike Galt's or Scott's in their execution. His intention, however, to fill a void in the timeline of Scott's historical sketches⁶³ is somewhat unromantic if not unoriginal. It is therefore necessary to return to the work of the Scottish authors who were writing in an established Georgian tradition. When we narrow it down to Glasgow, we witness a layering up of historical references, architectural landmarks, and even social traditions and prejudices - all of which offer a fuller understanding of the cultural memories particular to the city. As regards Galt, we might ask to what extent did his British expeditions represent his identity, or fulfil his own idyllic interpretation of the New World?

In *The Literary Life*, Galt says: 'I considered the discovery of America as equivalent to the creation of another continent, purposely to relieve the oppressed of the old, and to afford an asylum to those who were inclined to the moderation of that way of life, which derives its comforts from other employments than the glories of our hemisphere.'⁶⁴ Here, we can already see parallels with the language we might expect from the foregoing centuries which, by the time we look to Galt's era, has processed the ideas and beliefs around the time of the Union.

Galt's colonial travels commenced in the 1820s, by which point America had declared its independence from the British Empire and the focus of colonial activity had changed. Yet in Glasgow religion was still at the centre of overseas expeditions, concomitant with the expectation of further colonisation. The Glasgow Colonial Society (or, The Society for Promoting the Religious Interests of Scottish Settlers in British North America), in operation from 1825-1841, sought to fulfil the need for religious correspondence between the growing number of emigrants and the doctrine of their homeland.⁶⁵ In terms of collective identity, these missionaries can be seen as influential to the Presbyterian essence of North America today. It is interesting to note the issues of national identity in this context. Benedict

⁶² Ibid, 34.

⁶³ Ibid, 1; the wording here reveals the author's attempt to write on whatever Scott had not yet dealt with: 'whatever period of [Scotland's] fertile history I looked, I found that its best interests had already been illustrated by the unapproachable beauty and fidelity of Scott's narrations.'

⁶⁴ John Galt, *The Literary Life, and Miscellanies, of John Galt* v. 2 (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1834), 39.

⁶⁵ Hilary M. Carey, *God's Empire: Religion and Colonialism in the British World, c. 1801-1908* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 216.

Anderson reminds us of the complicated network of ‘intra-European nationalist movements’ throughout the nineteenth century. In the case of the House of Hanover – presiding in Galt’s time ‘over Bengalis... Québécois... Scots... Irish... English... Welsh’ – there existed a legacy which caused ‘increasing cultural confusion.’⁶⁶ To account for the direct effects of the transportation of not only religious and political, but cultural tensions would require more attentive research. But just by glancing at a map of the British Empire as it was in the final year of the Georgian era [Fig. 43] we can see the vast scattering of colonial enterprise that would be the foundation of expansion during Queen Victoria’s reign (1837-1901).



Figure 43: John Bartholomew, *The British Empire in 1837*

In Galt’s time, the Glasgow Colonial Society extended its influence to Canada and New South Wales.⁶⁷ Most of all, petitioners to the society seemed to value ‘the capacity of ministers from home to recreate the ritual and intellectual conditions that were the distinctive mark of Presbyterian religious practice in Scotland.’⁶⁸ In terms of memory, these ideas can be linked to Halbwachs’ idea of a collective memory. More specifically, a ‘religious collective memory’:

Every religion...reproduces in more or less symbolic forms the history of migrations and fusions of races and tribes, of great events, wars, establishments, discoveries, and reforms that we can find at the origin of the societies that practice them.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991 [1983]), 83.

⁶⁷ *Report of Committee of General Assembly, on Colonial Churches, 28th May 1838, and deliverance of the assembly. With Appendix, containing correspondence with the Colonial Office, and Report of the North American Colonial Society of Glasgow for 1838* (Glasgow: G. Richardson, 1838), 4-5.

⁶⁸ Carey, *God’s Empire*, 219.

⁶⁹ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* ed. Lewis A. Coser (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992 [1941]), 84.

So, alongside the wealth that was amassed through trade in the time between the early settlers in Carolina and the Glasgow Colonial Society's missionary service, acts of religious repetition, conversion and church-building had grown to create what might now seem like an attempt, on all fronts, to create an idyllic version of home on foreign soil. Although fiscal motives were in mind during the colonisation of Ohio by wealthy Glasgow merchants, under the direction of the Glasgow Ohio Company in 1824; one reminiscence of the unsuccessful scheme reads:

This journey has been long and very expensive to me, yet I do not regret coming here. I trust I was directed by a higher power, for it is a good country... and a country that will reward industry.⁷⁰

This statement, made by one of the managers, George Richardson, reveals the ever-present notion of Providence found in the literature of Galt and his contemporaries. Despite its initial failure, the company's legacy is evident today: Ohio is peppered with streets named after Glasgow: in Madison, Glasgow Street runs parallel to Dundee Street, Douglas Drive, Kelso Street, and is surrounded by Inverness Drive, Campbell Drive, and Orkney Road. These streets can be understood in the context of Michael Billig's *Banal Nationalism* (1995). In particular, his 'unwaved flag' theory, which he uses to elucidate the forgotten 'national present,' explains the 'double neglect of banal nationalism' wherein symbols of nationhood are routinely ignored because they are so familiar.⁷¹ The link to collective memory is important here, for, as Billig states, 'there is a complex dialectic of remembering and forgetting' in everyday life: 'Thousands upon thousands of... flags each day hang limply in public places. These reminders of nationhood hardly register in the flow of daily attention, as citizens rush past on their daily business.'⁷² And while flags belonging to a certain nation may already be engrained into the collective memory of rushing citizens, the names of streets may not. This renders street names as 'unremembered' as the 'unwaved flags'. Indeed, this reading helps the case made that street names are hardly fitting memorials to Glasgow's connections with slavery.⁷³ Further issues arise when academics across different fields use these same forgotten (although 'dormant' might be a better word) markers to elucidate connections while relying on memory terminology. As the introduction to this thesis makes clear, memory studies is a growing but 'centreless' field, often in need of further, specified development. In Bueltmann, Hinson, and Morton's *The Scottish Diaspora* (2013), it is

⁷⁰ Quoted in Andrew Gibb, 'A Scottish Venture in the United States: The Glasgow Ohio Company 1824,' *The Scottish Historical Review* 63:175 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1984), 50-58 (58).

⁷¹ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 2013 [1995]), 49-50.

⁷² *Ibid*, 37-38.

⁷³ See p. 128 of this thesis.

rightly stated that ‘we cannot remember what we are not alive to experience, yet these “memories” can somehow be acquired and then articulated as diasporic legacies.’ The space between acquisition and articulation of these diasporic memories is often indefinable, such is the scale of time and people which act upon them, which in turn makes the proliferation of them (‘transmitted through our own lives and more widely through the lives of others across land and ocean’)⁷⁴ all the more uncertain. For this reason, the application of memory, patriotism, and emigration discussed above to one particular author helps diminish this uncertainty. By fixing these fields in space (Glasgow) and time (the Georgian era), a neglected image can be accessed.

Galt’s Glasgow: The Empire at Home

Galt’s impressions of Georgian Glasgow continue the civic self-awareness initiated in the poetry and novels of the eighteenth century, such as Smollett’s *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (1771), in which Glasgow is referred to nostalgically as ‘the pride of Scotland.’⁷⁵ However, working as he was in a new literary tradition, Galt accounted for a longer range of history and religious identity, and through his references we witness the growth of the city and the encroachments of Empire upon it and neighbouring towns. These references, which are scattered throughout several texts, should first be contextualised within the Scottish Enlightenment. As we have seen, Smollett was a protagonist of Glasgow’s Enlightenment, linking the city to the rest of Scotland and London.

Galt, working in the nineteenth century, can be seen to continue in this tradition. In discussing Galt’s ‘Theoretical Histories’, Keith Costain points to the role of eighteenth-century Scottish philosophers who were the first to use the term and, more specifically, the influence of Francis Hutcheson and Adam Smith of the Glasgow Enlightenment, on the nature of Providence as it features in much of Galt’s writing.⁷⁶ In recording the ‘age’ of the Enlightenment, however, Galt retrospectively contributed to its locality and, in turn, its Scottishness. Anand Chitnis has said that the Scottish Enlightenment ‘was a particular part of the whole’: providing the ‘high culture’ achievements in ‘philosophy, science and medicine.’ Authors like Galt are therefore important for elucidating on the rest of ‘the whole’: ‘the social background, from which [the Scottish Enlightenment] derived so much

⁷⁴ Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson & Graeme Morton, *The Scottish Diaspora* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013), 37.

⁷⁵ Tobias Smollett, *The Expedition of Humphry Clinker* (London: Penguin, 1985 [1771]), 274.

⁷⁶ Keith M. Costain, ‘Theoretical History and the Novel: The Scottish Fiction of John Galt’, *English Literary History* 43:3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), 342-365 (344).

and to which it gave so much.’⁷⁷ Chitnis has also noted that before Galt left Greenock in 1804, he would have had access to the Greenock Library’s collection of Enlightenment works, which included Smith, Hume, and Ferguson.⁷⁸ ‘The concern they passed on to Galt for local application,’ he says, ‘was for progress and improvement, the implications of the transition of a society from rudeness to refinement.’⁷⁹ Thus, the ‘local application’ of an inherited philosophical outlook, refracted through the tradition of a fictional or ‘Theoretical History’, is Galt’s manifestation of cultural memories particular to the Georgian era. Ian Duncan has even gone so far as to say that Galt’s literature ‘challenged’ Sir Walter Scott’s ‘Humean dialectic’, developing ‘empirical social history’ while refusing ‘antiquarian romance.’⁸⁰

This specific analysis of Galt’s interpretation of the Scottish Enlightenment for his age helps us locate Glasgow. As Glasgow’s chief representative in the Scottish Enlightenment – based on the intersection of commercial and literary society which few other cities experienced – Adam Smith’s influence on authors like Galt can further distinguish their Enlightened portrayals of Glasgow from, without going as far as to polarise them with, Edinburgh. Gilbert Stelter, for instance, has said that Galt ‘generally accepted Adam Smith’s view that “it is thus through the greater part of Europe that commerce and manufactures of cities, instead of being the effect, have been the cause and occasion of the improvement and cultivation of the country.”’⁸¹ We must accept such statements with caution, however, as it will be shown that Galt’s personal opinions are often separate from the societies he portrays and, while his own colonial expeditions that we will see in the next section do themselves seem vested in his interpretation of ‘progress’ and ‘improvement,’ Galt is simultaneously critiquing these facets of the Enlightenment. In *The Entail*, for instance, Claud Walkinshaw’s character reveals ‘how economic progress could corrupt the human heart.’⁸² It is this kind of breach of new values and beliefs into a hitherto unchanged way of life in Scotland that Galt turns to time and again.

Liam McIlvanney has said that Galt’s *Annals of the Parish* (1821) can be read as a ‘Glasgow Novel.’ The novel, set in the fictional parish of Dalmailing between 1760 and

⁷⁷ Chitnis, ‘The Scottish Enlightenment in the Age of Galt’, 31.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 33-34.

⁸⁰ Ian Duncan, ‘Scott and the Historical Novel: A Scottish Rise of the Novel’, *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature* eds. Gerard Carruthers & Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 103-116 (113).

⁸¹ Gilbert A. Stelter, ‘John Galt: The writer as Town Booster and Builder’, *John Galt: Reappraisals* ed. Elizabeth Waterston (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1985), 17-43 (18).

⁸² Chitnis, ‘The Scottish Enlightenment in the Age of Galt’, 34.

1810, is narrated by The Reverend Micah Balwhidder. Nearby Glasgow is ever-present, effecting much change throughout the fifty-year period:

It is the Clyde's Virginia trade that brings the first luxuries... It is the burgeoning city that creates a market for the second Mrs Balwhidder's lucrative commerce in butter and cheese, and Glasgow is where Balwhidder's son becomes a flourishing merchant... The new toll road to Glasgow... opens up the parish to new fashions, new ideas and the newspapers brought by the Glasgow carrier. It is Glasgow money (presumably the profits of the sugar and tobacco trade) that establishes a cotton-mill, with its politicised weavers, a bookshop and a sprawling new settlement.⁸³

Indeed, the novelties of material goods in Dalmailing, often introduced as 'such as no one in our parish had ever seen,' are realistic evocations of a landscape and society changed by the broadening of Empire. Beside the wealth that Empire allows (such as that represented through Girzie Gilchrist's brother: 'a nabob from India'),⁸⁴ Galt portrays the ills of slavery through Mr. Cayenne's relentlessly harsh treatment of his 'blackamoor servant.'⁸⁵ Galt is further critical of Glasgow's burgeoning imperialism in the way that he reveals the social issues behind large-scale change. As McIlvanney puts it: 'It is the very inability of Balwhidder's parish chronicle to contain and make sense of its 'global' material that lends the novel its power and point.'⁸⁶

As for the 'spectre of Industrialism' – to return to Edwin Muir's positioning of Glasgow in 'modern Scotland'⁸⁷ – we can see its presence in Dalmailing. In 1765, the establishment of a whisky distillery and three new 'coal-heughs' in the parish is said to be a 'God-send.'⁸⁸ By 1788, 'in the midst of all this commercing and manufacturing,' Balwhidder notices 'signs of decay in the wonted simplicity of our country ways.'⁸⁹ In 1808 a cotton-mill is built alongside 'the new town of Cayenneville,' and Balwhidder admits that 'we had intromitted so much with concerns of trade, that we were become a part of the great web of commercial reciprocities, and felt in our corner and extremity, every touch or stir that was made on any part of the texture.'⁹⁰ The destructive quality of Empire is clear in this development, aided in part by Galt's clever semantic field of weaving. A similar image is used to describe Glasgow's westward spread in *The Ayrshire Legatees* (1821), when

⁸³ Liam McIlvanney, 'The Glasgow Novel', *The Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature* eds. Gerard Carruthers & Liam McIlvanney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 217-232 (221).

⁸⁴ Galt, *Annals of the Parish*, 25.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, 161.

⁸⁶ McIlvanney, 'The Glasgow Novel', 221.

⁸⁷ Muir, *Scottish Journey*, 102-103.

⁸⁸ Galt, *Annals of the Parish*, 44.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 179.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 272.

Zachariah Pringle writes about the changes he observes: ‘at Greenock I saw nothing but shipping and building; at Glasgow, streets spreading as if they were one of the branches of cotton spinning.’⁹¹ Such an effective image calls to mind the Victorian attitude of Improvement or ‘Creative Destruction’. The Glasgow City Improvements Act was passed in 1866 (four years before the original University was levelled), effectively ‘erasing’ the ‘old secondary street pattern’, making way for ‘new, ventilated thorough-fares.’⁹² In Peter Mandler’s 2012 paper “‘Faust comes to town’: “Creative Destruction” in the Victorian City”,⁹³ the influence of Georges-Eugène Haussmann (1809-91) on British cities including Glasgow is elucidated, and his point that the development of the railway system was the most destructive on the medieval and early modern townscapes certainly speaks to the points raised in chapter two about James Watt and issues of memory in Glasgow’s Enlightenment.

It is therefore helpful that Galt’s contemporaries offer us before-and-after portraits of Glasgow in the Empire. In Thomas Hamilton’s *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton* (1827) – in which Hamilton’s friendship with Galt is alluded to⁹⁴ – Glasgow is at one point described as ‘the chosen seat of science and the muses.’⁹⁵ Yet by comparing the following passages we see that, although the city centre is among the main settings in his novel, Hamilton, like Galt, acknowledged the encroachments of commercial and imperial activity into the countryside. When leaving Glasgow, Cyril says:

With reverted eyes I gazed upon the lofty towers of the Cathedral, till, by the increasing distance, they could no longer be distinctly traced in the dense canopy of smoke which overhung the city.⁹⁶

Upon his return ten years later, he recalls the familiar sights of the ‘high black towers and spires of the Cathedral, overtopping the dense volumes of vapour that lay spread like a canopy above the city,’ before mentioning that:

The dirty and miserable suburbs by which it is surrounded, now extended a mile or two further into the country, and the smoke of innumerable coal-works and factories, which had sprung up on all hands, infused a new and uncalled for pollution in the atmosphere.⁹⁷

⁹¹ John Galt, *The Ayrshire Legatees; or, The Pringle Family* (New York: W. B. Gilley, 1823), 14.

⁹² Miles Glendinning, Ranald MacInnes & Aonghus MacKechnie, *A History of Scottish Architecture: From the Renaissance to the Present Day* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1996 [2002]) 256-7.

⁹³ Delivered 26 June 2012 at the University of Southampton and 10 May 2014 at the University of Aberdeen. Audio available online:

http://www.southampton.ac.uk/history/news/2012/06/26_faust_comes_to_town_creative_destruction_in_the_victorian_city.page [accessed 08/12/15].

⁹⁴ Thomas Hamilton, *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton* ed. Maurice Lindsay (Aberdeen: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1990 [1827]), 73.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 88-89.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 403.

Indeed, this aspect of Glasgow's growth in the Georgian era seems to confirm the idea put forth by Edwin Muir and H. V. Morton that Glasgow became something 'other' than Scotland. There is a telling passage in *Cyril Thornton* when, in England, a farmer confuses Cyril's education in Glasgow for one in Manchester, saying that 'I am apt to make a sad jumble when talking of those—as Mr. Pitt called them, "great emporiums of commerce."'98 As with Galt's considered and often contradictory arguments, Hamilton continues to connect Glasgow with the romantic and romanticised elements of Scotland, thus providing 'poetic memories' alongside realistic depictions of industrialisation. 'I had never seen before, and I have never seen since,' says Cyril, 'any river which for natural beauty can stand in competition with the Clyde.'99 He then speaks of his joy in seeing Sir William Wallace's sword, and 'the river Leven, a beautiful and rapid stream, immortalized in tuneful song,'100 as we know, by Smollett.

On the river Clyde itself, Galt wrote of his plans to increase its effectiveness to Glasgow in his *Autobiography*. He expresses his dismay at not taking his plans to make the Clyde more navigable further than discussions with friends. He says: 'I wish my friends in Glasgow would think seriously of this project; it is no idle dream, nor formed without serious cogitation.'101 Besides Galt and Hamilton, the Clyde's importance to Glasgow as an 'emporium of commerce' has been examined in the poetry of James Arbuckle (*d.* 1742) and John Wilson (1720-1789). Thomas Campbell (1777-1844), another contemporary of Galt, is Glasgow's best-remembered poet. His 'Lines on Revisiting a Scottish River' (1826) begins:

And call they this improvement?—to have changed,
My native Clyde, thy once romantic shore,
Where nature's face is banished and estranged,
And heaven reflected in thy wave no more

And ends:

...And therefore I complain
That thou no more through pastoral scenes shouldst glide,
My Wallace's own stream, and once romantic Clyde!102

One might use this as another example of Glasgow's unique 'poetic memory': the combination of national pride (in the evocation of nature and history) with a lament for its

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 96.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 62.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 63.

¹⁰¹ John Galt, *The Autobiography of John Galt* v. 2 (London: Cochrane and McCrone, 1833), 257.

¹⁰² J. Logie Robertson, *The Complete Poetical Works of Thomas Campbell* (London: John Frowde, 1907), 280-281.

physical decay through the spread of cosmopolitanism. In other words, Morton's assessment, above, that Scotland's 'poetic memories' do not connect with modern-day Britain is ignorant of Glasgow's Georgian literature which seeks to make this very connection. In Robert Crawford's *On Glasgow and Edinburgh* (2013), it is noted that 'Glasgow is one of the first cities in the world to beget a poetry of industrial pollution. There is even an 1842 poem by John Mitchell written in Standard Habbie and spoken in the voice of the city's newest northern chimney, or lum.'¹⁰³ While Mitchell's poem falls outside the purview of our inquiry, it certainly captures the spirit of the industrial city as we know to have been so popular in describing Glasgow. This is why Galt's work is immeasurably useful in identifying Glasgow's eighteenth century, pre-industrial character. In particular, his rendering of deep-set religious and political identities seem to be an analysis of Scotland's unusual make-up in the Georgian era.

In *The Entail* Galt leaves behind the 'single-volume fictional memoir for the full-length novel, which he makes the vehicle for a critical argument with the genre of national historical romance practiced by Scott.'¹⁰⁴ The story, set mostly in Glasgow in the eighteenth century, revolves around the Walkinshaw family, of which Claud Walkinshaw (orphaned, as we have noted, as a result of the Darien disaster) grows up in poverty. The three-volume generational family history that ensues is a fascinating insight into the Georgian era in Glasgow, beginning with Claud's return to the city as a successful merchant. We are told that Claud 'settled himself as a cloth-merchant, in a shop under the piazza of a house which occupied part of the ground where the Exchange now stands,'¹⁰⁵ placing him near Glasgow Cross, the intersection of Glasgow's four principal streets which Daniel Defoe (1660-1731) had described as part of his campaign to bring about the Union¹⁰⁶ as 'the finest built that I have ever seen in one city together.'¹⁰⁷ After purchasing a farm Claud 'entails it, ruthlessly manipulating his family in his mad need to pass on his property intact.'¹⁰⁸ As such, we should remember the context of the tale in the milieu of the Scottish Enlightenment. It can be said that, morally, *The Entail* exemplifies the corruptive power of fiscal improvement: a slant perhaps on Glasgow's proud self-image at the time. Indeed, Glasgow's increasing

¹⁰³ Robert Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 73.

¹⁰⁴ Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 235.

¹⁰⁵ Galt, *The Entail*, 11.

¹⁰⁶ Anne M. McKimm, 'War of Words: Daniel Defoe and the 1707 Union', *Journal of Irish and Scottish Studies* 1:2 (Aberdeen: AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies at the University of Aberdeen, 2008), 29-44 (29).

¹⁰⁷ See: <http://www.historicglasgow.com/index.php?page=built-heritage> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁰⁸ Ian Gordon, 'John Galt', *John Galt 1779-1979* ed. Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1979), 19-30 (26-27).

secularisation is common in Galt's works. In *Bogle Corbet* (1831), for example, Mr. Macindoe declares 'Let Glasgow flourish by the weaving of cotton,'¹⁰⁹ which, I propose, anticipates the sentiments of Henry Grey Graham:

These were the days when the motto of the city was "May Glasgow flourish by the preaching of the Word"—leaving it for commercial bailies in another and more secular century to dock it of the sentiment *the preaching of the Word!*—considering that a means of "flourishing" far inferior to cotton, shipping, soft goods, and hardware.¹¹⁰

The estate, 'The Grippy', soon becomes Claud's "territorial" title: a symbol of his obsession with restoring the honour of the Walkinshaws. It is through the 'linking' of "manners" and "preservation" – in this case Glasgow's increasingly commercial atmosphere – that Galt represented a 'national character.'¹¹¹ On this, David Craig has mentioned that Galt 'set the image of Scotland for the Victorian public' in his works, and that his evocation of 'a contemporary ethos' separates him from other writers of his time.

The most recent discussion on *The Entail* argues that the result of Galt's vast sweep of history implies how 'national interests are eclipsed by direct ties between local interests and the fortunes of the British Empire,' and that 'King George, the empire, Presbyterianism, and Glasgow' outweigh 'Scotland, the Stewarts, Edinburgh, and Enlightenment humanism.'¹¹² We should refrain, however, from persistently polarising Glasgow and Edinburgh. As has been shown in other chapters, their shared values have been forgotten while their contrasts, as above, have been repeated time and again. So, when Galt pokes fun at Edinburgh, it was not to say that Glasgow is Edinburgh's 'other', but to suggest that Edinburgh is not necessarily the high cultural symbol for Scotland. For instance, when the Leddy Grippy says 'let the Embroshers cerimoneez wi' their Pharaoh's lean kine and Grants and Frazers,' Ian Gordon has noted that Galt was mocking the capital's 'addiction to tartan' in the Royal visit of George IV of 1822,¹¹³ alluding, perhaps, to the commercialisation of the dress which was once banned following the Jacobite rebellions. It was the same David Wilkie, above, who flattered the King in an 1829 portrait to commemorate his tartan-clad visit. There is a reference in *The Entail* to Prince Charles Edward Stuart (1720-1788), when

¹⁰⁹ John Galt, *Bogle Corbet; or, The Emigrants* v. 1 (London: Henry Colburn & Richard Bentley, 1831), 32

¹¹⁰ Henry Grey Graham, 'Tobias Smollett', *Scottish Men of Letters in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1908), 299.

¹¹¹ David Craig, *Scottish literature and the Scottish people, 1680-1830* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1961), 157.

¹¹² Martha Bohrer, 'John Galt's *Annals of the Parish* and the Narrative Strategies of Tales of Locale', *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society* ed. Regina Hewitt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 95-118 (101).

¹¹³ Gordon, *The Entail*, 414.

the aptly named Christiana Heritage, ‘then in her ninety-second year, was adding to her will, for the purpose of devising, as heir-looms, the bedstead and blankets in which the Jacobite Prince slept, when he passed the night in her house, after having levied that contribution on the loyal and godly city of Glasgow.’¹¹⁴ These kind of comments on nineteenth-century cultural consumption are critical of their time while reminding readers of the events which actually occurred throughout Scotland in the foregoing century.

Katie Trumpener’s *Bardic Nationalism* (1997) does much to gather the ideas of collective identity, and in discussion of Galt and this historical novel, says: ‘The middle-class nostalgia of the 1770s for the heroic events of the ’45, the cult being built up around the Heritages of Scotland, is historically synchronic yet emotionally nonsynchronous with [Charlie] Walkinshaw’s sharp voice.’¹¹⁵ In addition, Alyson Bardsley develops Galt’s use of character names to symbolise historically profound Scottish characteristics. Claud’s son Charles, and Charles’s son Jamie are so-named to be resonant of the Stuart dynasty, and Jamie’s love for the daughter of a Highlander adds to this symbolism: ‘This bond...heightens the reader’s sense of Charles’s alignment with the Stuart past, since the Highlands are conventionally coded as traditional and Jacobite.’¹¹⁶ Furthermore, Bardsley suggests how *The Entail* shows, through its generational narrative in volume form, the progression of the Walkinshaw family as becoming more ‘Anglified’ in their language and manners; a critique of the story of Glasgow’s cultural identity following the Union. To place this concept in the framework of cultural memory, Jan Assmann’s theories allow us to re-assess the effect of Galt’s choice of narrative form. In reference to Friedrich Nietzsche’s *Use and Abuse of History for Life* (1874) Assmann states that humans face a problem in maintaining their identity, culturally speaking, and that their equivalent to the genetics of animals which guarantee their survival through a preordained purpose, is to ‘obtain’ codes of identity ‘through generations in repeated societal practice and initiation.’¹¹⁷ Galt, in his works of social dynasty, achieves this concept of preservation through repetition. In *The Entail* there are hints towards his subsequent work, *Ringan Gilhaize*, in passages relating to the Covenanters. Not only is the titular character foreshadowed (he is said to be Leddy Grippy’s

¹¹⁴ Galt, *The Entail*, 30.

¹¹⁵ Katie Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism: The Romantic Novel and the British Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 154.

¹¹⁶ Alyson Bardsley, ‘Novel and Nation Come to Grief: The Dead’s Part in John Galt’s “The Entail” from *Modern Philology* 99:4 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 540-563 (554); R. H. Carnie offers a full breakdown of the provenance and intention of Galt’s character names in *The Provost* – see ‘Names in John Galt’s “The Provost”’ from *Scott and his Influence: the Papers of the Aberdeen Scott Centre, 1982* ed. J. H. Alexander and David Hewitt (Aberdeen: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1983), 298-311.

¹¹⁷ Jan Assmann, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural Identity’, *New German Critique* 56 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995), 125-133 (126).

cousin),¹¹⁸ but a telling scene is described when Claud overhears ‘a distant strain of wild and holy music, rising from a hundred voices... a number of Cameronians from Glasgow, and the neighbouring villages, assembled to commemorate in worship the persecutions which their forefathers had suffered there for righteousness sake.’¹¹⁹

In *Ringan Gilhaize* Galt compounded yet another multi-generational tale (from the 1550s to 1690), therefore localising the ideas of Scottish identity through religious history. Patricia Wilson has said that Galt preferred his readers to believe more in his imagination than his skills at turning history into fiction, but that a level of research was undertaken to aid his own knowledge of the subjects in question: in this case, the Covenanters and religious identity in Scotland.¹²⁰ Furthermore, ‘that there can be no doubt that memory played a large part’ in his reconstruction of this aspect of the Reformation calls to mind the theory of Hans Robert Jauss, in which we are reminded that ‘a literary work, even when it appears to be new, does not present itself as something absolutely new in an informational vacuum, but predisposes its audience to a very specific kind of reception by announcements, overt and covert signals, familiar characteristics, or implicit allusions.’¹²¹ And while ‘it is very possible that the germ of [Scott’s *Old Mortality*] had lain some time in Galt’s mind,’¹²² it is essential to note that *Ringan Gilhaize* was an ‘overt’ attempt to reconstruct that period ‘from the Covenanting viewpoint.’¹²³ It is in this reconstruction that Galt also saw fit to connect ‘the Covenanting struggle for religious freedom with the earlier struggle for national independence,’¹²⁴ as is evident in Galt’s attachment of the *Declaration of Arbroath* (1320) as a postscript. Having already mocked the ‘pomp and hollow pageantry’¹²⁵ of the 1822 Royal visit in Edinburgh in *The Entail*, and again in *The Gathering of the West* (1823) – ‘I won’er what ye’ll a’ see—the King’s but a man, and the cat may take a look at the king ony day’¹²⁶ – Galt seems to be challenging the uses of Scottish cultural identity in his own time, choosing to reinforce the longevity of religious identity as being the ‘true’ Scottish marker. By making reference to certain events and locations, Galt refrains from abstraction, therefore

¹¹⁸ Galt, *The Entail*, 164.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 151-2.

¹²⁰ Patricia J. Wilson, ‘*Ringan Gilhaize*: the product of an informing vision’, *Scottish Literary Journal* 8:1 (Glasgow: The Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 1981), 52-68 (52-3).

¹²¹ Hans Robert Jauss, ‘Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory’, *New Literary History* 2:1 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970), 7-37 (12).

¹²² Wilson, ‘*Ringan Gilhaize*: the product of an informing vision’, 61.

¹²³ Maurice Lindsay, *History of Scottish Literature*, (London: Robert Hale, 1977), 319.

¹²⁴ Patricia J. Wilson, ‘*Ringan Gilhaize*: A neglected masterpiece?’, *John Galt (1779-1979)* ed. Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1979), 120-150 (132).

¹²⁵ Jennie W. Aberdeen, *John Galt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936), 108.

¹²⁶ John Galt, ‘The Gathering of the West; or, We’re Come to See the King’, *Blackwood’s Magazine* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1822), 308.

localising this inscription of identity. At the start of *Ringan Gilhaize* the reader is told how Grandfather Gilhaize interacts with an area of particular interest:

Sir David [Hamilton] pointed out the window where Cardinal Beaton sat in the pomp of his scarlet and fine linen to witness the heretic Wishart, as the knight called that holy man, burnt for his sins and abominations... My grandfather, on hearing this, drew his bridle in, and falling behind Sir David, raised his cap in reverence and in sorrow at the thought of passing over the ground that had been so hallowed by martyrdom.¹²⁷

The narrator places importance on the spatial dimensions of the burning of the old priest in St. Andrews ('the window where Cardinal Beaton sat...the ground that had been hallowed by martyrdom') in order to materialise the religious collective memories which Patricia Wilson sees as instrumental to Galt's ability to 'tip the scale of feeling against the Roman Catholic Church' at the start of the novel. Later, 'at the bridge of Glasgow the students of the College and the other brave youths of that town' are said to look upon 'The Highland Host' with 'true Scottish hearts.'¹²⁸ We can therefore map Galt's connection of religious identity to national identity. In the St. Andrew's passage, above, Wilson has suggested that Galt may have borrowed from John Knox. Knox's account of the burning is more detailed; and it is even stated that the people of St. Andrews were so outraged by the act that they sought to memorialise the man by gathering together 'a great heap of stones in the place where he was burnt' and that the 'priests and papists' removed the stones until, realising that the people would not give up in their attempt to memorialise the site, used the stones 'to build their walls.'¹²⁹ This reuse of Knox, in which memorialisation is key, contributes to Galt's ability to establish a novel on top of layers of history and, in doing so, draw emphasis to the points in history which memory theorists are discussing to this day. For example, Pierre Nora's initial discussion of 'sites' or 'lieux' of memory often focus on the spatial dimensions in which memory is received. In lamenting the loss of memory (or meaningful interaction with the past) in France, Nora states: 'Museums, archives, cemeteries, festivals, anniversaries, treaties, depositions, monuments, sanctuaries, fraternal orders - these are the boundary stones of another age, illusions of eternity.'¹³⁰ In his revival of the 'Killing Time', then, Galt shows Scotland's pre-Union shattered identity; pitting Highlands/Lowlands and Presbyterian/Episcopalian against the post-Union binary of Scottish/British. From here, Galt began to sketch the ideas of Empire as they moved from home overseas.

¹²⁷ John Galt, *Ringan Gilhaize; or, The Covenanters* v. 1 (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1823), 26-7.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, v. 3, 69.

¹²⁹ John Knox, *The History of the Reformation in Scotland* (Glasgow: Blackie, Fullarton & co., 1831), 109.

¹³⁰ Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (California: University of California Press, 1989), 7-24 (12).

As we have seen, Galt has equated Glasgow with home more often than not, and in *The Steam Boat* (1822), Duffie has the following to say on a voyage out:

I began to feel an onset to a new emotion working within me... and in the end came to a head, in my going forth a second time from the obscurity of the Salt-market, and the manufacturing smokes and smells of Glasgow, to enjoy the hilarity of the sparkling waters of the summer sea, and the blitheness of the hills and of all living things.¹³¹

This romanticised vision of the city is balanced with *The Gathering of the West* in which there are examples of a more socially constructed perspective. In the ‘Paisley Bodies’ section, a group of weavers discuss the coming visit of the king to Edinburgh and joke about his not coming to Paisley, which, unless they “behave in a loyal and dutiful manner, in order to win and wile his Majesty to gie us a ca’”, will never come to fruition.¹³² For McNeil, this particular section is an attempt on Galt’s part to ‘recuperate the Radical reputation of the Glasgow working class by bringing them into the fold of the loyal populace.’¹³³ Indeed, the concentration of class dichotomy and of intensive dialogue in both these works are emblematic of the way in which Galt perceived Glasgow in his own time, while *Annals of the Parish*, *The Entail* and *Ringan Gilhaize* sought to capture a past already fading. It is interesting to see, next, how Galt retained these cultural markers in his North American ventures and works. By looking at Galt’s time as a colonist in North America, we witness the unusual bifurcation of his own cultural memory.

Galt’s North America: The Empire Abroad

To this day, Galt’s reputation as a Scottish novelist is at odds with his reputation as an agent of Empire in Canada. Before the renewed scholarly interest in Galt’s life and works had reached its peak in the 1970s, Charles Shain (1956) lamented that ‘none of Galt’s biographers and none of the recent investigators of British-American cultural relations in the nineteenth century have noticed that Galt was the first well-known British novelist to write an American novel.’¹³⁴ He is speaking of *Lawrie Todd* (1830), a tale of the founding of Rochester, New York, which looks forward to Galt’s *Bogle Corbet* a year later. Shain attributes Galt’s choice of New York as follows: firstly that he knew the geography well, as

¹³¹ John Galt, *The Steam Boat* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1822), 103.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 311-312.

¹³³ Kenneth McNeil, *Scotland, Britain, Empire: Writing the Highlands, 1760-1860* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 2007), 191.

¹³⁴ Charles E. Shain, ‘John Galt’s America’, *American Quarterly* 8:3 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1956), 254-263 (254).

we can tell from his initial trip to North America; secondly that he did not want to involve the Canada Company; and lastly his discovery of a manuscript autobiography of Grant Thorburn, the American whose life became the basis for Galt's Lawrie Todd.¹³⁵ In 1833, *Fraser's Magazine* portrayed Grant Thorburn in their 'Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters' – a series of portraits and biographies of one 'character' per publication – as 'The Original Lawrie Todd.' Three years earlier a sketch of Galt was published in the same 'Gallery' which, when viewed collectively, offers an interesting biographical overview of writers like Galt and Thomas Campbell who have been commemorated differently. The sketch portrays Galt standing side on, with his hands in his pockets, in front of his desk where a pile of books are stacked – with a book bearing his name on the top of the pile – next to an open book on top of which is a sleeping dog. To complete the scene is a map behind Galt of Upper Canada, bearing two names, 'Ontario' and 'Simcoe', the latter of which becomes significant later in this chapter. The accompanying biography seems to place him well in the popular literary canon of his day, and even comes with the following dedication:

Hope long, in wine, or toddy, or in malt,
To toast the shrewd Scots humour of John Galt.¹³⁶

Despite the literary jibes we find in *The Entail*, Galt was regarded highly in Edinburgh as one of the major writers of *Blackwood's Magazine*. Carruthers says that it is 'remarkable today to note' that Galt towered high above others in 'the "Blackwood" volume [1897]' of the 'Famous Scots' series.¹³⁷ By comparing the references to Galt's nationality in *Fraser's Magazine* (Scottish) with Shain's article (British), above, we get a sense of the reconstruction of Galt's cultural memory that occurred in the long nineteenth century. Indeed, *Fraser's*, an English journal, was categorising its 'literary characters' as 'offshoots of our own' while retaining the distinction of Yankee, Irish, and Scotch.¹³⁸ Galt's absence from the nationalistic Famous Scots Series (1896-1905) therefore highlights his wavering presence in the Scottish canon. Yet, as with the vast and varied local settings in Galt's 'Scotch fiction' – as Shain calls it¹³⁹ – his first American work clearly links Scotland to America through Glasgow:

I was perfectly amazed when I came to walk around Glasgow, with one of my fellow travellers... who pointed out to me the land-marks of the

¹³⁵ Ibid, 257.

¹³⁶ 'The Gallery of Illustrious Literary Characters, no. 7', *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country* 2.11 (London: Longmans, Green, and co, 1830), 554-555.

¹³⁷ Gerard Carruthers, 'Remembering John Galt', *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society* ed. Regina Hewitt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 33-52 (39).

¹³⁸ *Fraser's Magazine for Town and Country*, (London: Longmans, Green, and co, June 1832): 584-586 (584).

¹³⁹ Shain, 'John Galt's America', 255.

improvements which had taken place within his remembrance. Upon my word, Leddy New York, you must mount upon patterns before ye stand as high as Lucky Glasgow, either for improvements or increase of population within the same space of time.¹⁴⁰

As with *The Entail* and Hamilton's *Cyril Thornton*, the departure from and return to 'Lucky Glasgow' is key. Ian Duncan discusses the two writers, saying that their literary relationship and homages to one another (Galt's character Bogle Corbet at one point refers to his 'friend Cyril Thornton', and 'his very admirable autobiography')¹⁴¹ creates 'a Glasgow school of fiction in competition with Scott's [in Edinburgh].'¹⁴² Another comparison might be the epistolary poetry that was initiated in the early eighteenth century by William Hamilton of Gilbertfield (c.1665-1751) and Allan Ramsay (1684-1758). The new school, when extended to include Michael Scott (1789-1835), whose *Tom Cringle's Log* (1829-1834) detailed his time as a planter in Jamaica, offers a very strong insight into Glasgow's imperial connections; namely the various expeditions and colonial pursuits that stemmed from the city. Galt's own allusions to slavery and colonial exploitation through his depictions of servants, exotic fruits, and pompous nabobs is complemented by Scott in *Tom Cringle's Log*, which can be read as a literary contribution to the slave debate in Glasgow of the 1820s and 30s. In Scott's work there are more than a few instances invoking the 'happy Negro' myth; for instance when Aaron Bang says to Tom Cringle: 'Strange... I had expected to see little else amongst the slave-population here than misery and starvation; whereas, so far as I can observe, they are all deucedly well cared for, and fat and contented.'¹⁴³ It is ironic that Scott's enlightened anecdotes should anticipate the publication of Thomas Carlyle's 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question'¹⁴⁴ (1849), which was published in the same *Fraser's* that printed various Galt extracts. In it, Carlyle says that the West-Indian 'blacks' were so 'rich in pumpkin' that they were unable to 'rise to work,' in stark contrast with the British 'whites...[hanging] on the verge of continual famine.'¹⁴⁵ In the Jamaican scenes of *Bogle Corbet*, Galt's own 'animosity towards the slave trade' can be found,¹⁴⁶ such as the passage in which Corbet narrates: 'I moralised on Negro slavery, wondering how, among the

¹⁴⁰ John Galt, *Lawrie Todd; or, The Settlers in the Woods* v. 3 (London: Colburn and Bentley, 1830), 9.

¹⁴¹ Galt, *Bogle Corbet*, 195.

¹⁴² Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 39.

¹⁴³ Michael Scott, *Tom Cringle's Log* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and sons, 1895 [1829-1834]), 290.

¹⁴⁴ It should be noted that this essay was republished with a renewed title in 1853: 'Occasional Discourse on the Nigger Question'.

¹⁴⁵ Thomas Carlyle 'Occasional Discourse on the Negro Question' from *Fraser's Magazine* (London, Vol. XL., 1849), 528: <http://www.efm.bris.ac.uk/het/carlyle/occasion.htm#text> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁴⁶ Ruth I. Aldrich, *John Galt* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 129.

bumpkins and philanthropists of England, it should have been so much forgotten that charity begins at home.’¹⁴⁷

In fact, *Bogle Corbet* is of significant importance to our placement of Galt’s plural identities at home and abroad. The novel is rarely cited among Galt’s best works, but, as Katie Trumpener has noted, few others connect ‘British North America’ with ‘other parts of the empire’ quite as firmly as *Bogle Corbet* does.¹⁴⁸ His tale begins with his recollections of childhood in a Jamaica plantation, followed by his time in Glasgow during the late eighteenth century. In a letter to D. M. Moir, Galt described the novel as ‘a Glasgow story’ and, in comparison to his earlier work, said: ‘The object of the work is a view of society generally, as the “Provost” was of burgh incidents simply.’¹⁴⁹ Galt’s reliance on the success of his west-of-Scotland-based work is evident here as well as the preface to the novel, where it is stated: ‘Information given as incidents of personal experience is more instructive than opinion.’¹⁵⁰ This indicates a continuation of Galt’s emphasis on the familiarity which permeates throughout his works, thus creating a symbol in *Corbet* of Galt’s own literary emigration from Glasgow to Canada. In terms of literary style, it can be argued that Galt’s major achievement in *Bogle Corbet* is in fact a failure of sorts. Unlike his Scottish novels, in which the growth of towns consistently revealed the manners, unity, and shortcomings of characters, *Bogle Corbet* offered ‘a random sequence of scenes,’ which, for Elizabeth Waterston, was Galt’s comment on the ‘wilderness’ of Canada and the initially ‘disunified unharmonious small-town life of Canadian communities.’¹⁵¹ Waterston saw this as the precursor for the Canadian novel. But in establishing Galt-as-pioneer of a North American literary tradition, with the obvious parallel of Galt-as-colonist, she effectively altered the legacy of *Bogle Corbet* altogether.

In 1977 the text was given ‘its first modern and first Canadian printing, in the canon-forming New Canadian Library of McClelland and Stewart, “the Canadian Publishers.”’¹⁵² In the same year, the same publishers printed *The Galts: A Canadian Odyssey, John Galt 1779-1839* by H. B. Timothy. In Kenneth McNeil’s study of *Bogle Corbet*, he recalls how he was ‘surprised to discover that [Elizabeth Waterston’s] edition contains not quite half of the original 1831 three-volume version,’ thus creating a new impression on readers: that

¹⁴⁷ Galt, *Bogle Corbet* v. 2, 34-35.

¹⁴⁸ Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 279.

¹⁴⁹ John Galt, ‘Memoir of Galt’ from *The Annals of the Parish and The Ayrshire Legatees* (Edinburgh: Blackwood and sons, 1850), pp. lxxxix-xc.

¹⁵⁰ Galt, *Bogle Corbet*, iii.

¹⁵¹ Elizabeth Waterston, ‘*Bogle Corbet* and the Annals of New World Parishes’, *John Galt: Reappraisals* ed. Elizabeth Waterston (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1985), 57-62 (61).

¹⁵² Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 278.

Galt's narrative actually starts *after* Corbet's emigration experience.¹⁵³ This, says McNeil, is done to keep the work parallel to the 'national impetus,' that which Trumpener explained as being 'a period of intense anti-American sentiment and equally intense literary nationalism in Canada.'¹⁵⁴ There are already parallels between the cultural context of this specific text and that of Scotland in the same decade. As Pittock elaborates, the 1970s saw the rise of Scottish publishing houses which rejuvenated interest in Scottish literatures, modern and classic,¹⁵⁵ predating the flurry of Scottish texts that came about after the Hollywood favourites *Rob Roy* (1994) and *Braveheart* (1995).¹⁵⁶ Wulf Kansteiner, in his historiographical essay on memory studies (2002), updated some of the terminology often used: first of all 'memory makers' were outlined as those who 'selectively adopt and manipulate' the 'cultural traditions that frame all our representations of the past'; and secondly the 'memory consumers' who 'use, ignore, or transform' objects of the past, such as texts and images, 'according to their own interests.'¹⁵⁷ While New Canadian Library might be seen to have 'made' memories in the sense that they were affecting the interpretation of the historic object (Galt's original text), the publisher's actions pertain more to the 'memory consumers' category for their selectivity based on their own interests. Therefore, *Bogle Corbet* is symbolic of Galt's dual identity as a town-builder in Canada (and in North American academia as a literary pioneer) and a relatively minor Scottish novelist in the age of Sir Walter Scott. And so this inquiry of Georgian Glasgow in literature must ask: what is lost in Waterston's erasure of Corbet's earlier life?

As we know from *The Entail*, Galt carefully rendered Glasgow's scenery and speech patterns. In *Bogle Corbet*, Galt offers several accounts of Glasgow's city centre in 1789, which accompanies his various portrayals of the Trongate found in *Annals of the Parish* and *The Steam Boat* (where Duffle is 'convened to the Cross' like cattle 'upon entering the multitude').¹⁵⁸ We can compare these scenes to those provided by the various artists who depicted Glasgow Cross at its busiest, such as *Old Glasgow Cross or The Trongate* (1826) [Fig. 44] by John Knox (1778-1845). This painting was placed at the beginning of the 2014 Glasgow Life Exhibition – *How Glasgow Flourished* – beside the

¹⁵³ Kenneth McNeil, 'Time, Emigration, and the Circum-Atlantic World: John Galt's *Bogle Corbet*', *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society* ed. Regina Hewitt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 299-322 (300).

¹⁵⁴ Trumpener, *Bardic Nationalism*, 178.

¹⁵⁵ Murray Pittock, *The Road to Independence? Scotland since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 119.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 120.

¹⁵⁷ Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory', 180.

¹⁵⁸ Galt, *The Steam Boat*, 174.

Glassford family portrait examined in the last chapter. My involvement with this exhibition will be elucidated next, in the conclusion.



Figure 44: John Knox, *Old Glasgow Cross or the Trongate* (1826).

Crucially, because Galt's narrator was not raised in the city, his observations retain the 'awe' that we find in eighteenth-century civic poetry, as in the early drafts of John Mayne's poem 'Glasgow' (1783).¹⁵⁹ In addition, there is more attention drawn to the confluence of accents, revealing the influence of Empire on everyday life in Glasgow: the 'almost English tongue of Mr. Macindoe' from his years in the West Indies; the English-American 'decisive and energetic vernacular' of Dr. Leach; and the 'genuine Trongate' of Mr. Aird.¹⁶⁰ As Bogle comes to work in Mr. Aird's weaving workshop, there are signs of radicalisation among the weavers who, in the spirit of the French Revolution, transform the shop into a Jacobine club. Furthermore, the Revolution's interference with Glasgow's trade is said to 'thin' the 'canopy of smoke that overhung its spires and chimney-tops.'¹⁶¹ In this particularly topographical chapter Corbet describes the Cathedral and the Molendinar burn before commenting on the characteristics that distinguish the young men who attend 'the College' from those who visit 'the Exchange,' and the spoils of Empire that he finds in the Tontine coffee-room:

¹⁵⁹ See Richard Sher's analysis of the 1783 and 1803 version in 'Images of Glasgow in Late Eighteenth-Century Popular Poetry', *The Glasgow Enlightenment* eds. Andrew Hook & Richard B. Sher (East Lothian: Tuckwell Press, 1995), 190-213 [196-197].

¹⁶⁰ Galt, *Bogle Corbet* v. 1, 28.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, 69 [it is possible that Galt, having acknowledged Hamilton's *Cyril Thornton*, borrowed his 'canopy of smoke' line].

Where I read the newspapers till the hour when the Sample-room was opened, to which I regularly adjourned, and heard the West India merchants, then the gorgeous and grand of the town, talking of sugars, the London market, and the merits of coffee-beans.¹⁶²

The abundance of detail here tells us that Bogle Corbet had Glasgow's metropolitan social structure in mind when he moved to Canada. Gilbert Stelter has outlined Galt's fascination with Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London and how they 'formed' his 'conception of cities' and, eventually, led to his interest in foundation of towns like Ardrrossan in 1805.¹⁶³ Therefore, Galt's line of thought between his impressions of Glasgow and his founding of Guelph in 1827 seems clear. Moreover, the founding of Guelph was fictionalised in *Bogle Corbet*, when the narrator describes the felling of the first tree, and the subsequent naming of the town:

I left the name to be given by the settlers themselves, and in the course of the day heard that they had fixed on one; both appropriate, as it referred to themselves, and agreeable to me, as applied to a new place. In Glasgow there is an old well-known street called "The Stockwell," and... Several of the Glasgow men being artisans and crafts' men, Stockwell was intended chiefly for them, and those who might come after of the same kind.¹⁶⁴

This event, being fundamental to Waterston's shortened text, seems isolated from any sense of the city that would be gained in a full reading. It must be said that dislocating the Glasgow section from the Canada section is to restrict what Kenneth McNeil has called a 'debilitating persistence of memory' calling forth 'the debasing horrors of transatlantic slavery, of economic collapse... financial ruin... constant dislocation and uprootedness.'¹⁶⁵ Such emphases on the negative aspects of emigration are not entirely unjustified, as we have seen with the religious exiles and naval disasters in the late seventeenth century.¹⁶⁶ After all, as Jennie Aberdein has noted, the aim of the novel was 'to warn and inform the would-be emigrant.'¹⁶⁷ This follows on from *Statistical Sketches of Upper Canada* (1832) by Galt's friend William Dunlop (1792-1848), intended 'for the use of immigrants.'

Above all, Galt's work for the Canada Company encapsulates the role of transatlantic imperialism and the formation of national identity. Although his *Autobiography* contains information about the breakdown of trust between the company and himself, it would be

¹⁶² Galt, *Bogle Corbet* v. 1, 71.

¹⁶³ Stelter, 'John Galt: The writer as town booster', 21-22.

¹⁶⁴ Galt, *Bogle Corbet* v. 3, 38.

¹⁶⁵ Kenneth McNeil, 'Time, Emigration, and the Circum-Atlantic World: John Galt's *Bogle Corbet*', *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society* ed. Regina Hewitt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 299-322 (302).

¹⁶⁶ Gilkison's influence is highlighted in Aberdein's *John Galt*, 39; and Timothy's *The Galts*, 7.

¹⁶⁷ Aberdein, *John Galt*, 172.

inconsequential to collate merely these; instead the achievements themselves should be illuminated. Working on behalf of the company, Galt opened the Huron Tract with permission to build on and turn profit from an area of one million acres.¹⁶⁸ In this vicinity Canada received a great influx of British idealism. As soon as 1896, almost fifty years after the company was closed, a book entitled *In The Days of the Canada Company* brought to light the seeds of the British that were laid and left to grow. The geographical importance of Upper Canada is not the sole focus, for it is stated that ‘into the depths of the Huron Tract... Galt, Dunlop, Strickland, Don...carried their tastes, their habits, and their enthusiasms.’¹⁶⁹ There is suggestion, then, of an intellectual colonisation. Katie Trumpener describes Galt as the Canadian Christopher Columbus, and notes *Bogle Corbet* as being ‘overtly concerned with imperialism’s historical meaning and psychic consequences.’ Going further, she ties the naming of the town of Guelph in 1827 as an origin myth creation.¹⁷⁰ As we know, Galt recalled Glasgow’s artisan community in the naming of the fictional “Stockwell.” But across the Huron Tract, the legacy of town names recall many British noblemen and leaders, which, in a sense, connects only the official state memories of Britain with Canada, rather than the close-knit communities who would go on to expand the area. The original name of Guelph, as it appeared on its first map [Fig. 45], was ‘Guelf’ – a tribute to the House of Hanover, descendants of the House of Guelf. What is more, the chosen date for the foundation and naming ceremony was St. George’s Day, another clear homage to the Anglified Britishness that permeated through imperial activities of this kind. However, we should clarify the opposing opinions surrounding Guelph’s name. Gilbert Stelter has suggested that Galt sought ‘publicity and prestige’ in his choice of name, ‘for he had no great respect for the Hanoverians as a dynasty (“no usurpation was ever achieved with greater treachery...than the Hanoverian acquisition of the British throne.”)’¹⁷¹ Jeffrey Cass, however, has said that ‘the moral ambiguities attending colonialism’ – that is that ‘European involvement in the cultures of others may result in unthinking destruction’ – simply ‘don’t bother [Galt].’¹⁷² And indeed, when we recall Galt’s dismay at the King’s visit to Edinburgh in 1822, his apparently loyal officiating in Canada is highly ironic. After all, Guelph’s links to the Hanoverian dynasty led to its nickname, ‘The Royal City.’ In *Bogle Corbet*, Glasgow is

¹⁶⁸ Paul Henderson Scott, ‘Galt, John (1779–1839)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10316>.

¹⁶⁹ Robina Macfarlane & Robina Lizars, *In the Days of the Canada Company: The Story of the Settlement of the Huron Tract and a View of the Social Life of the Period, 1825-1850* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1896), 21.

¹⁷⁰ Katie Trumpener, ‘Annals of Ice: Formations of Empire, Place and History in John Galt and Alice Munro’, *Scottish Literature and Postcolonial Literature: Comparative Texts and Critical Perspectives* ed. Michael Gardiner and Graeme Macdonald (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 43-56 (45).

¹⁷¹ Stelter, ‘John Galt: The writer as town booster’, 27.

¹⁷² Jeffrey Cass, ‘John Galt, Happy Colonialist: *The Case of the Apostate; or, Atlantis Destroyed*’, *Wordsworth Circle* 41:3 (New York: Temple University), 167-170 (170).

frequently referred to as ‘the Royal City,’ which would seemingly connect these towns in their loyalty to the monarchy. However, Ian Gordon has noted that Galt’s use of the phrase in *The Entail* was a simply a nod to the city becoming a royal burgh by charter in 1636.¹⁷³ It is therefore difficult to establish that Galt wanted to portray a shared sense of loyalty between Glasgow and Guelph. What we can be sure of is his connection between the two in *Bogle Corbet*, and the necessity of imperial ‘alertness’ – to return to Morton’s phrase – that defined Glasgow’s growth, loyal to the Hanoverians or not.

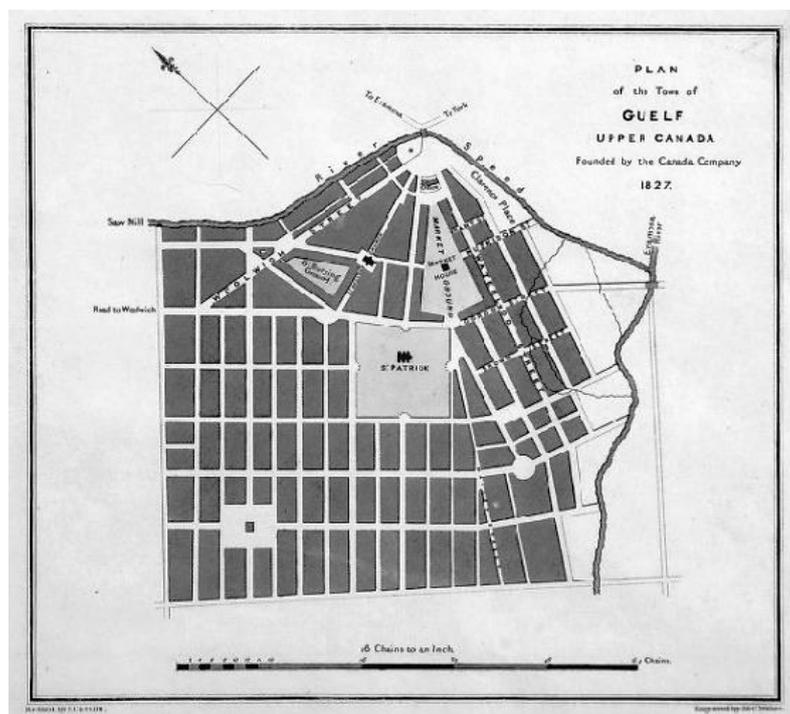


Figure 45: J. & C. Walker, *Plan of the Town of Guelph, Upper Canada* (1831)

In terms of tracing identity, the problem arises in the separatist idea of Scottishness that permeates through colonial historiography; from the pre-Union attempts at colonisation to the post-Union diasporic development in the form of Caledonian Societies in almost every British colony.¹⁷⁴ All of these seek to conglomerate Scotland as a nation whose cultural motivations, literary heroes, and collective identities are all on the same side, struggling together. This was symbolised in Robert Gibb’s *Thin Red Line* (1881) painting; which offered the iconic image of the Sutherland Highlanders red-coated 93rd Regiment seeing off Russian cavalry in the Battle of Balaclava (1854). Joan Hichberger has noted how the image was used to popularise the role of Scots in the British Army despite their ‘numerical

¹⁷³ Gordon, *The Entail*, 390.

¹⁷⁴ John M. Mackenzie, ‘Essay and Reflection: On Scotland and the Empire’, *The International History Review* 15:4 (London: Routledge, 1993), 714-739 (737).

minority' in the late Victorian era.¹⁷⁵ The dominance of Victorian imagery has, I suggest, overshadowed the reality of the religious tensions in the seventeenth century and the Jacobite uprisings in the eighteenth century, therefore undermining the cultural identities that defined the Georgian era.

Before Galt's time the largest 'flow of emigration' to the 'underdeveloped and isolated provinces in British North America' was 'dominated by Highland Scots... led by the natural leaders of their local society.'¹⁷⁶ As of Galt's arrival, a great diversification of emigration ensued, wherein the 'Gaelic speaking Highland Scots [became] a much smaller percentage of the Scottish total,' thus complicating the cultural make-up of Upper Canada in general.¹⁷⁷ In the case of Bishop Alexander Macdonell (1762-1840), who we will come to shortly, we can trace the diversification of religious societies in Guelph. These examples should remind us of the divisions of identity within Scotland which become deeper in the exploration and expansion of Britishness, and of the improbability of transporting a national collective identity across the Atlantic. Scottishness, it appears, was at one point harnessed and adopted, thus affecting the parochial novels of Galt within the context of cultural memory. As a result, certain myths become popularised, such as the story told by tour guides in Nova Scotia: that the wild heather in Point Pleasant Park 'found its way to Nova Scotia in the blankets of Highland troops... as they disembarked from their transports, the soldiers shook their bedding and the seeds that fell out found a new home across the Atlantic.'¹⁷⁸ Murray Grigor's television film *Scotch Myths* (1981) illuminates the ways in which certain parts of Scotland's culture such as whisky drinking, Macpherson's *Ossian* fragments, and 'bringing in the bells' have come to represent the whole. In *The Invention of Scotland* (1991), Pittock put forth the idea that, far from a national identity falsely arising from Highland dress or, specifically, the rehearsed presentation of said dress during the visit of George IV to Edinburgh in 1822,¹⁷⁹ 'Scottish identity was, rather, the product of the continual reinterpretation of Scotland's relationship to the Stuart monarchy and to the Union throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.'¹⁸⁰ So, while we may be inclined to agree that, in theory, Tartan Day is a wholly American (or Canadian, if you consider its roots in

¹⁷⁵ J. W. M. Hichberger, *Images of the Army: The Military in British Art, 1815-1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1988), 106.

¹⁷⁶ J. M. Bumsted, 'Scottish and Britishness in Canada, 1790-1914', *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990* eds. Marjory Harper & Michael E. Vance (Halifax: Fernwood, 1999), 89-105 (98).

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 99.

¹⁷⁸ Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance, 'Introduction', *Myth, Migration and the Making of Memory: Scotia and Nova Scotia c.1700-1990* ed. Marjory Harper and Michael E. Vance (Halifax: Fernwood, 1999), 14.

¹⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁰ Matthew P. Dziennik, 'Whig Tartan: Material Culture and its use in the Scottish Highlands, 1746-1815', *Past and Present* 217 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 117-147 (117).

‘Scottish Day’, Nova Scotia)¹⁸¹ invention, we should note that ‘Highlandism was a Highland construction.’ To consider only the Victorian interpretation of Highland bravery (such as in Gibb’s painting, above) it to significantly restrict the role of Highland culture in Scotland. And, as Matthew Dziennik says, ‘denying elite Highlanders the ability to construct their own imagery... only add[s] to the malignant and deplorable pathos of victimhood which typifies Highland historiography.’¹⁸²

These discussions highlight the complex historiography on the topic of collective identity, or memory when the mnemonic acts of repetition are concerned. From attempts to place (or displace) Highland culture as a holistic Scottish brand, to the transportation of that culture as accepted in North America, these ideas are far from clear in the academy in both Scotland and America and are therefore unstable in the public imagination. The sketches of John Galt thus far have served the purpose of giving a context to his portrayals of Glasgow and early Canadian town-life in literature. This connection, when we consider *Bogle Corbet* as a whole, can be read alongside other literary works, such as *Gertrude of Wyoming; or, The Pennsylvanian Cottage* (1809) by the aforementioned Thomas Campbell. Laura Mandell’s discussion of nineteenth-century Scottish poetry includes references to this work and the pro-British tones in particular. For example, Campbell’s British ‘transatlantic plot’ is distinguished by Gertrude’s Scottish immigrant father and English immigrant mother, and in the symbolism apparent in such lines as ‘The rose of England bloom’d on Gertrude’s cheek.’¹⁸³ In this reading, Campbell’s poem has the attraction of representing the ultimate British image: the Union of Scotland and England in the New World. Campbell’s cultural memory is rich: not only does he stand with Burns and Scott in statue form in George Square, but he rests at Poet’s Corner in Westminster Abbey. There is also a bronze plaque to mark the place where his house once stood in Glasgow’s High Street - such was the extent of the civic effort of memorialisation. His presence in Westminster in particular suggests that his reputation as a cultural Unionist has remained intact. But how have Galt and his ‘theoretical histories’ survived in terms of cultural memory? By looking now at the reception of Galt on both sides of the Atlantic, we can position the legacy of the works, above, which have sought to combine Scotland and Glasgow’s imperial character with the growth of North America.

¹⁸¹ Edward J. Cowan, ‘Tartan Day in America’, *Transatlantic Scots* ed. Celeste Ray (Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 2005), 318-338 (321).

¹⁸² Dziennik, ‘Whig Tartan’, 147.

¹⁸³ Laura Mandell, ‘Nineteenth-Century Poetry’, *The Edinburgh History of Scottish Literature Volume Two: Enlightenment, Britain and Empire (1707-1918)* ed. Susan Manning (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 301-307 [304-305].

Remembering John Galt(s)

It is telling that two books about Galt, on either side of the Atlantic, begin with the same impasse. In 1936 Jennie Aberdein said: ‘In this country John Galt, when he is known at all (and he is almost as little known in Scotland as he is in England), is known as a one-book writer, the author of a classic called *Annals of the Parish*.’¹⁸⁴ She goes on to state that in America he is known for *Lawrie Todd* and in Canada as a pioneer and ‘nation-builder.’ In 1977 the aforementioned H. B. Timothy said: ‘John Galt is known, if he is known at all in Canada, as the founder of the Canada Company.’¹⁸⁵ The obvious concern for both is that he is not remembered well.

Galt retired to and died in Greenock in 1839, which he described in *Lawrie Todd*: ‘as the most enlightened community in the West of Scotland, scarcely excepting even that of Port Glasgow; so justly, for its taste in the fine arts, denominated the Florence of the West.’¹⁸⁶ In 1861 the Greenock Philosophical Society was formed,¹⁸⁷ and Gerard Carruthers has highlighted how the Society ‘held up’ Galt’s legacy in their series of lectures in his name that spanned across the mid twentieth century. His legacy is also held up in the form of a paving stone in ‘Makar’s Court’ by the Writer’s Museum in Edinburgh; an estate named ‘John Galt House’ and a memorial fountain in Greenock; and ‘John Galt Primary School’ in Irvine.¹⁸⁸ Yet, in spite of these local memorials and some renewed scholarly attention on Galt, the dominant points to be made about his literary legacy in Scotland can be found in Christopher Whatley’s statement from 1979:

It is true that Scott and Burns did dominate the period in which [Galt] wrote and that Galt’s subject matter, ostensibly the smaller concerns of the parochial Scot, later became the feeding ground for the Kailyard “tradition,” the worst excesses of which it may be thought can be traced back to Galt.¹⁸⁹

Carruthers’ re-examination of Galt as featured in the attack of George Douglas Brown’s (1869-1902) *The House with the Green Shutters* (1901) does much to illuminate some of the many reasons why Galt remains as he does in ‘Scott’s Shadow’ – to use the title of Ian

¹⁸⁴ Aberdein, *John Galt*, xv.

¹⁸⁵ Timothy, *The Galts*, 8.

¹⁸⁶ Galt, *Lawrie Todd* v. 2, 251.

¹⁸⁷ ‘Philosophical Society Celebrating 150th Anniversary’, *Inverclyde Now*:

<http://www.inverclydenow.com/today/5726-philosophical-society-celebrating-150th-anniversary> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁸⁸ Gerard Carruthers, ‘Remembering John Galt’, *John Galt: Observations and Conjectures on Literature, History, and Society* ed. Regina Hewitt (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2012), 33-52 (33-37).

¹⁸⁹ Christopher A. Whatley, ‘Introduction’, *John Galt 1779-1979* ed. Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: The Ramsay Head Press, 1979), 14.

Duncan’s 2007 book. Carruthers says: ‘The true imaginative energies of the nineteenth-century Scot had been applied to commercial enterprise and empire... Given even an outline of Galt’s biography one can see how he was an easy target for [George Douglas] Brown.’¹⁹⁰ To support Carruthers’ view, it is important to note that Galt’s ‘Kailyard’ label is troublesome as regards his legacy. Because of his first-hand experiences of metropolitan and country life in South-West Scotland, as well as his ability to mine first-hand sources when his own proved inadequate, his works have often fallen into the ‘Kailyard’ category: a net result which unfortunately neglects his critique and analysis of empire.

As a pioneer in Canada, he has left a sustainable legacy. As well as the various plaques around Ontario dedicated to Galt there are those in memoriam of William Dunlop and John A. Macdonald (1815-1891, Canada’s first Prime Minister who was born in Glasgow’s Ramshorn Parish). Galt is further remembered in Guelph on John Galt Day – an annual celebration of its founder, complete with flag-raising ceremony, local actors playing the parts of John Galt and William Dunlop in period costume, with locals encouraged to join in and buy souvenirs – and a bust of Galt by John Miecznikowski (1979) [Fig. 46].¹⁹¹



Figure 46:

(Top: left, John Galt Day flag; right, local actor Vincent Wall dressed as John Galt. Bottom: left, table with souvenir accessories; right, bust of Galt outside the town hall)

¹⁹⁰ Carruthers, ‘Remembering John Galt’, 40.

¹⁹¹ ‘Guelph celebrates John Galt’, *Guelph Mercury*:

<http://www.guelphmercury.com/news/local/article/774592--guelph-celebrates-john-galt> [accessed 08/12/15]; and for locals: <http://www.downtownguelph.com/events.php?e=89> [accessed 08/12/15].

The significance of this event in relation to a wider celebration of British heritage becomes clear when the date is examined. These events are held on the first Monday of August as a civic holiday. However, the naming process began in 1968 when ‘Toronto City Council officially named it “Simcoe Day” to honour Major-General John Graves Simcoe (1752-1806) who was appointed the first Lieutenant Governor when the province of Upper Canada was created on September 12th, 1791.’¹⁹² In Guelph, though, as of 2006, the city council passed a by-law effecting in the name of the holiday being changed to honour their Scottish founder instead of the English Major-General Simcoe. Further to the promotion of Scottish heritage is that, as of 2007, Guelph Historical Society was asked to extend the civic holiday to a weekend, wherein a ‘Kirking of the Tartan’ ceremony was and is enacted. This is tied into a religious celebration, the ‘John Galt Sunday Celebration.’ A poster from 2011 reads: ‘For the first time, there will be a “Kirking of the Tartan”. So get out your kilts and sashes and have your tartan blessed.’ Regardless of whether or not this occurred, there is an explanation that ‘Kirking’ was ‘practised in John Galt’s Irvine, Scotland at the time of Guelph’s founding in 1827.’¹⁹³ This reference to Irvine, the ‘origin’ for this particular ritualistic celebration, reminds us of Halbwachs’ aforementioned definition of ‘collective religious memory.’ On this, we should recall Galt’s previous account of the Covenanters in *Ringan Gilhaize*, and of the then-hotly debated issue of Catholic emancipation. In the same way that national identity has always been impulsively represented as ‘collective’ in Scotland, we must not forget Galt’s keen awareness of religious identity in Scotland and how it changed in the centuries before his own time.

Gilbert Stelter has outlined the allocations made by Galt on behalf of the Canada Company for the different Christian sects in Guelph. From Figure 5, above, we can see that St. Patrick’s was designated in the centre of town with the largest space. This Catholic Church was rebuilt and renamed in 1883 as the Church of Our Lady Immaculate. Galt’s original plan also catered for an Anglican church (St. George’s) and, eventually, a Presbyterian church.¹⁹⁴ The abundance and variety of churches in Guelph today is a testament to this original outline, and their sharing of the ‘Kirking’ celebrations emphasise the religious tolerance that Galt clearly hoped to install in the town. As Stelter points out, Galt had a fruitful friendship with Bishop Alexander Macdonell. Before coming to Canada,

¹⁹² Information summarised by official website:

http://www.toronto.ca/proclamations/2005/proclamation_simcoeday.htm [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁹³ Poster available to download on the Guelph Historical Society website:

<http://www.guelphhistoricalsociety.ca/events-past.php> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁹⁴ See *The Annals of the Town of Guelph, 1827-1877: compiled under the direction of C. Acton Burrows* (Guelph: Herald Steam Printing House: 1877), 34; It is explained that Protestant services were held in a school building until a church was built.

Macdonell ‘served as a highland missionary priest among the Gaelic-speaking Roman Catholics of Badenoch,’ Scotland, and ‘helped large numbers of Roman Catholic highlanders to settle in Glasgow as mill workers.’¹⁹⁵ It is said that Macdonell helped Galt form the Canada Company¹⁹⁶ and, as we can see from the size of the space given to the Catholic community in Guelph, and from Macdonell Street there, his efforts have not been forgotten. In America, ‘kirking’ has its roots in Washington, when in 1941 the Reverend Peter Marshall (1902-1949) saw the event as an opportunity ‘of bringing together the British and American service personnel stationed in [the] capital during the Second World War.’¹⁹⁷ The celebrations, flags, and dress, are exemplary of the ritualistic repetitions affiliated with acts of collective memory and the localisation of cultural memory; a shared cultural identity in the space of a town on a prescribed date with selected objects and themes. The changes and rebranding of the ceremonies are significant in our time for the way in which they interfere with history.

Ann Rigney reminds us that memories are not ‘flies in amber’, that ‘new images will be acquired and past images revised or abandoned in the light of subsequent events.’¹⁹⁸ The work of memory studies scholars can be applied to various eras, authors, and nations, and are therefore at their most useful when supported by the scholarly work of historians, literary critics, and other social scientists. To use the words of Alon Confino: ‘Memory does not offer any true additional explanatory power. Only when linked to historical questions and problems, via methods and theories, can memory be illuminating.’¹⁹⁹ Ann Rigney’s use of cultural memory frameworks in her exploration of Walter Scott in 2012 is a recent example of such interdisciplinary research. Rigney delineates Scott’s lasting fame and importance in Unionist celebratory commemorative practices that were common throughout the British Empire until after World War II, by which time the celebratory nature of commemoration ‘lost much of its credibility.’²⁰⁰ Glasgow’s first International Exhibitions in 1888 and 1901 did this to great effect, celebrating Empire and showcasing the city’s Victorian eminence.

¹⁹⁵ Royce MacGillivray, ‘Macdonell, Alexander (1762–1840)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (Oxford University Press, 2004) <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17452>.

¹⁹⁶ Gilbert A. Stelter, ‘There’d be no Guelph without them’, *Guelph Mercury* August 11th 2012 <http://www.guelphmercury.com/news-story/2733388-there-d-be-no-guelph-without-them/> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁹⁷ The Abington (Connecticut) Church’s website explains this and offers photos from a Kirking ceremony: <http://www.abingtonchurch.org/kirking.htm> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹⁹⁸ Ann Rigney, ‘Portable Monuments: Literature, Cultural Memory, and the Case of Jeanie Deans’ from *Poetics Today* 25:2 (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 361-396 (367-368).

¹⁹⁹ Alon Confino, ‘Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method’ from *The American Historical Review* 102:5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 1386-1403 (1388).

²⁰⁰ Ann Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott: Memory on the Move* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 223.

Previously, Guelph celebrated its fiftieth birthday with a poem by A. E. L. Treleaven, in which Galt's masculine, fatherly stature was evoked:

Just fifty years ago to-day,
Noble Galt and Dunlop stood—
With brandy flask and powder horn—
Within a pathless wood...

Galt struck the monarch of the wilds,
With strong manhood's earnest might;
Dunlop, Prior and the woodmen fell'd
It, on that thrice-honored night.²⁰¹

It was also Shakespeare's birthday, and 'the prince of poets'²⁰² was praised accordingly alongside St. George, the Queen, and the Scots founders. The celebration of this unlikely cast of characters may once have been a suitable symbol of British-American identity, but not for too long. Indeed, Galt himself did not last as an emblem of the Union as Scott did, and although their treatment of the Covenanters (Scott in 1816 and Galt in 1823) differs greatly, it must be said that both authors 'provide readers not only with prosthetic images of a deeply materialised past, but also with imaginative resources for thinking about cultural memory and why it is important to identity.'²⁰³ And while we should take note of the diminishing effect such texts now have on identity compared to the late nineteenth century, when, as Rigney states, 'Literature was the primary resource for identity-construction,'²⁰⁴ we should also note the longevity of such constructions. For, in the end, when we encounter the Covenanter as he is in Galt and Scott, we are first of all dealing with modern-day assumptions about 'identity.' Galt's 'theoretical histories' were, in a way, inquiries into the fault-lines of national identity that were commonly and overzealously addressed under the British flag. Galt had to look back into Scotland's past to unveil these fractures but was, ironically, writing in an era when the essences of nations were being combined, abstracted, multiplied, and carried across the globe.

As with Tobias Smollett, Galt's relentless ambition has brought about a surfeit of identifiers or markers with which we may associate the author. His pseudonyms, as well as his anonymity, included 'Bandana' and 'Rev. T. Clark.' Beneath the *Fraser's Magazine* sketch of Galt, the subtitle reads 'The author of *The Life of Byron*'. Have these multiple

²⁰¹ A. E. L. Treleaven, *Guelph's 50th Anniversary: A Poem* (Guelph: Herald Steam Printing Establishment, 1877), 1.

²⁰² Ibid.

²⁰³ Rigney, *The Afterlives of Walter Scott*, 220.

²⁰⁴ Ibid, 222.

personalities complicated Galt? After all, there is no accepted moniker by which he is referred. As Carruthers says: ‘He is no “heaven-taught ploughman,” no “wizard of the north,” no “Ettrick shepherd.”’²⁰⁵ These tags, which we repeatedly attach to Burns, Scott, and Hogg remind us of the commodification of well-remembered literary figures. The frontispiece to *Illustrations of the Author of Waverly* (1825) – the image of a framed figure, whose face is obscured by a playfully drawn curtain – is brought to mind, as well as the Latin line beneath which reads ‘That which is unseen shines the brightest.’²⁰⁶ For Galt it seems to be a case of the-too-many than the-unseen, and of the selectivity of certain individuals and societies that have left the public little clarity. It is not that Galt is alone in this predicament, but that his vast body of work, which draws Glasgow into a net of ‘Theoretical Histories,’ have not been given their due credit, thus affecting the role of Glasgow in the Empire before the ever-looming Victorian period.

The advantage we have today is the significant reduction in space and time between our line of interest and desired information. For example, if a postman or postwoman delivering mail to the John Galt House estate in Greenock stops and asks ‘Who is John Galt?’ – he/she would not have to wait long for an answer. After their shift they might type this exact question into a search engine. As is evident for any internet user, most of the questions we want to ask have already been answered. But to type ‘Who is John Galt?’ into a search engine throws up an interesting set of results. Unlike Adam Smith, James Boswell, and Tobias Smollett, John Galt’s name has been usurped.

Wikipedia, often the answer to such day-to-day queries, says:

John Galt is a character in Ayn Rand’s novel *Atlas Shrugged* (1957). Although he is not identified by name until the last third of the novel, he is the object of its often-repeated question ‘Who is John Galt?’ and of the quest to discover the answer.²⁰⁷

More research tells us that Rand’s hero, or anti-hero, of her vast dystopian novel is a demigod and an icon. Searching in the ‘image’ section throws up various ‘Internet memes’²⁰⁸ of the question ‘Who is John Galt?’ and the reply ‘I am John Galt,’ without so much as a clue to who John Galt is. Occasionally, a portrait of our Scottish author/ Canadian town-founder crops up in the search.²⁰⁹ Yet, there has been very little recognition of this situation: a half-

²⁰⁵ Carruthers, ‘Remembering John Galt’, 36.

²⁰⁶ Paul Westover, *Necromanticism: Travelling to Meet the Dead, 1750-1860* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 150.

²⁰⁷ See Wikipedia’s default John Galt page: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Galt [accessed 08/12/15].

²⁰⁸ An ‘Internet meme’ is an internet phenomenon used to summarise jokes, puns, ideas, and concepts through the combination of a single image and phrase.

²⁰⁹ Using Google Image search, only 7 of the first 250 results display John Galt the author.

forgotten figure from Scottish and Canadian history whose name is used by a Russian-American novelist. The only apparent exception can be found in another of the internet's unique offerings: downloadable books free from copyright restrictions. On several versions of Galt's *Annals of the Parish*, a brief note at the beginning explains: 'This [novel] marks the first use of the word 'Utilitarian' in history and is why Ayn Rand chose the name 'John Galt' for a Utilitarian hero in the novel *Atlas Shrugged*.' Interesting as it is, there seems to be no proof supporting this claim, although a footnote in an 1895 version of *Annals* explains that John Stuart Mill credited Galt for his 'passing reference' of the word in his essay 'Utilitarianism.'²¹⁰

What this leads us to realise is that John Galt's legacy has been further pervaded by not only Ayn Rand's novel, but also the twenty-first century appetite for repetition through social media, blogs, and other outlets of easy-to-access media. After all, Rand may have simply chosen the name of her lead character for aesthetic purposes alone.²¹¹ Uniquely, the afterlife of her novel continues to affect the afterlife of Galt's entire works in the public imagination insofar as it relies, much of the time, on digital media. Andreas Huyssen's seminal *Twilight Memories* (1995) reassesses memory as an obsession borne of the fear that the past will fall into oblivion. He implies that we are so busy with reinterpretation that we fail in the actual remembering. More recently, Andrew Hoskins has stated that contemporary memory (ie. our interaction with and storage of information and ideas in a digital age) 'is embedded in and distributed through our sociotechnic practices...[contributing] to a new memory—an emergent digital network memory—in that communications in themselves dynamically add to, alter, and erase, a kind of living archival memory.'²¹² This unprecedented and unpredictable growth of our constant interactions online has created an overflow of meanings and markers which, in some cases, can further obscure the ideas that *might* have been gained through more traditional interactions as museum displays. In all, the key word must be *potential*. We cannot yet fathom the damaging nor the improving effects that digital media will have on our understanding of the past.

Following the retrieval of Galt from contemporary frameworks across seas and online, we might begin to perceive him as a uniquely useful figure in the remembering of Georgian Glasgow. Because of his extensive references to the city, and the various time-

²¹⁰ The footnote in question can be found in the *Works of John Galt* v. 1 edition, containing *Annals of the Parish* and *The Ayrshire Legatees* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1895), 208.

²¹¹ For some more insight into the ideas surrounding the provenance of Ayn Rand's character, see, for example, Shoshana Milgram, 'Who Was John Galt? The Creation of Ayn Rand's Ultimate Ideal Man', *Essays on Ayn Rand's Atlas Shrugged* ed. Robert Mayhew (Plymouth: Lexington, 2009), 53-78 (76n13).

²¹² Andrew Hoskins, 'Digital Network Memory', *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* eds. Astrid Erll & Ann Rigney (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2009) 91-106 (92).

frames in which these references are set, we can use Galt's work to understand how certain places, people, and events were being remembered at the close of the Georgian period. Combining these impressions with poems, paintings, etchings, and statistical accounts from Galt's time amounts to a vast body of cultural memories that can (and should) be acknowledged. Locating these memories in more than one city or more than one country should only increase the variety and wholeness of analysis.

Yet, for all the complications and confusions over who he is and what he achieved, there is an emerging scholarly renewal in Galt which will undoubtedly improve our understanding of him. In the inaugural World Congress of Scottish Literatures held in the University of Glasgow in July 2014²¹³ Galt was represented in four different panels. In December of the same year The John Galt Society was initiated, again at Glasgow. With these focussed group of researchers, many 'what if' scenarios that may have altered his legacy may be examined. If his contract with the Canada Company had lasted longer, would there be more plaques, more John Galt memorial days across Canada? If he had persuaded Lord Dalhousie to take his plans on board for a new colony by the name Hibernia in the North Eastern Region of Lower Canada²¹⁴ would there be Irish societies also celebrating in his name? If his business relationship with the Glasgow merchant Kirkman Finlay (1773-1842) had extended beyond the end of the Napoleonic wars, would his presence in Glasgow be greater? It is interesting that Bruce Lenman has described Galt's literary depiction of Irvine as 'half-remembered, half-invented',²¹⁵ thus implying the fictional nature of recollection in the process of analysis. In between Galt's clearest, most repeated images of growth exists a sort of utopia, a potential not at all disconnected from the twentieth-century literary craze that offered visions of the future. One is also reminded of the seventeenth-century Darien Company, whose flag featured a blazing sun on the horizon: a symbol of the exotic and the unknown that connected exiles, emigrants, and colonists from Scotland over centuries. In all of these cases we get a sense of great activity, of the Smithian 'hum of nations' that Dugald Moore (1805-1841) described in his long poem of discovering Glasgow. The explosion of activity that would elevate the city to its Victorian height as the 'Second City of the Empire' was therefore initiated in the Georgian era which Galt and his contemporaries dealt with so often.

²¹³ <http://www.gla.ac.uk/colleges/arts/research/scottishstudiesglobal/worldcongressofscottishliteratures/> [accessed 08/12/15].

²¹⁴ For a full assessment of their correspondence, see J. M. Cameron, 'Canada's Unknown Colony: John Galt and Hibernia' from *Ontario History* 65:2 (Toronto: Ontario Historical Society, 1973).

²¹⁵ Lenman, *Integration and Enlightenment*, 135.

Conclusion

Exhibiting the Character of Glasgow, 1888-2014

This thesis has examined the cultural history of Glasgow in the Georgian era, with a particular focus on the forgotten narratives of Religion, Enlightenment, Slavery, and Empire. In each case, cultural memory theory was used to develop the core argument that connects these histories. This concluding chapter will follow suit, determining that Glasgow's Georgian past was largely overwhelmed by an influx of modern ideas and technologies which transformed the city both physically and intellectually, consummated in the public imagination via the major exhibitions between 1888 and 1938. More than anything else, these events symbolise the character of Glasgow which was to become the most dominant. Beginning with the 1888 and 1901 exhibitions (the latter of which included Kelvingrove Museum) it will be argued that Glasgow's status as the 'Second City of the Empire' was deployed to upgrade public perceptions of a burgeoning port-city to a monumental, progressive centre of Britain. Despite the *Scottish* exhibition of 1911, this image of Glasgow as created at the turn of the nineteenth century was resurrected and refurbished in 1938.

In most cases, these exhibitions superseded the cultural memories of Georgian Glasgow with a focus on achievements in shipbuilding, industry, and world trade. It was not until 1990, when Glasgow's original historic centre was rebranded the 'Merchant City' that Georgian images were revived. This chapter will consider that, by 1990, the perception of Glasgow's civic character was already in play – unalterably – as a product of the Victorian era. It is for this reason that the final section of this chapter will examine the major 2014 Glasgow Life exhibition, *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837*, held in Kelvingrove Museum. As a collaborative doctoral student, I was directly involved with the planning and curation of *How Glasgow Flourished*, which I will use to converge the theories of cultural memory and the arguments within this thesis. It is hoped that the Georgian era can begin to be seen as a unique and pivotal time worth more serious attention.

But in order to make the case that the Georgian era *was* in fact forgotten, the surfeit of Victorian civic pride which overshadowed it must be examined in detail. The emphases on industry and sovereignty at the heart of the late Victorian era onwards have come to define Glasgow holistically. As a result, Glasgow's cultural memory remains disjointed and incomplete: the foregoing epochs of the city's social and cultural history do not feature in the public realm suitably enough to offer a full picture. We can draw from the field of cultural memory in order to clarify the situation. Both Ann Rigney (2005) and Murray Pittock (2013) have cited Michel Foucault's principle of 'scarcity' (*loi de rareté*) as regards the

construction of cultural memory. As Rigney puts it, utterances of a particular subject ‘acquire a value that is relative to [its] usefulness in given situations and, *faute de mieux*, to the lack of immediate alternatives.’¹ In applying this to the historical character of Glasgow, we can point to the plenitude of Victorian aspects and the scarcity of Georgian ones. Going further, it can be argued that, rather than being the *strongest* image of Glasgow in the public – which perhaps it deserves to be – the nineteenth-century metropolis has become the *defining* image. It follows that this would be the result of the unprecedented increase in population: from 77,000 in 1801 to a staggering 762,000 in 1901.²

In her book on Glasgow, Irene Maver stated: ‘Between 1860 and 1918 Glasgow was distinguished as the shipbuilding capital of the world.’ This leads us to the first defining image of the industrialised, outward-looking city that we witnessed in the previous chapter: the river Clyde. For Maver, ‘the city’s fortunes were bound up inextricably with the Clyde,’³ a fact which brought about the local saying: ‘Glasgow made the Clyde, and the Clyde made Glasgow.’ Adding to this, two of Glasgow’s most influential novels are George Blake’s *The Shipbuilders* (1935) and Alexander McArthur and H. Kingsley Long’s *No Mean City* (1935). It may be said that these works stand together as a cultural event which made permanent the images of shipbuilders and razor gangs in the minds of would-be visitors to Glasgow. Today, the disused Finnieston crane, prominent in the Glasgow skyline, serves as a colossal reminder that heavy industry was largely responsible for the city’s growth. It has become a monument to the era of shipbuilding, featuring as such in the opening ceremony of the 2014 Commonwealth Games in Glasgow. Previously, it was shown to dominate other Glasgow landmarks, old and new, in Clyde Waterfront’s ‘Two Clydes to every story’ advertisement [Fig. 47]. This 2009 campaign unwittingly revealed the compressed character of Glasgow: dominated by the abundance of Victorian architecture and industrial narratives while forgetting the Georgian era, reflected in a progressive and scientific urban townscape.

¹ Ann Rigney, ‘Plenitude, scarcity and the circulation of cultural memory’, *Journal of European Studies* 35:1 (2006), 11-28 (16); Murray Pittock, *Material Culture and Sedition, 1688-1760: Treacherous Objects, Secret Places* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 60-61.

² Population trends for Glasgow 1801-2013: http://www.understandingglasgow.com/indicators/population/trends/historic_population_trend [accessed 08/12/15].

³ Irene Maver, *Glasgow* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000), 113.



Figure 47:

[Left to right upper: Dumbarton Rock; Finnieston (Titan) Crane; Winter Gardens (People's Palace); Renfrew Town Hall. Left to right lower: Science Centre; Xscape; Riverside Museum]

The river Clyde was not fully navigable in the Georgian era,⁴ yet most Glaswegians link the origin of the city and its growth with more recent images of vast vessels setting off from the shipyards, as though the river was always teeming with activity. This compression of time and geography has relegated the Georgian era to the role of understudy in the public imagination.

This displacement of history occurs in the large wall murals (Fig. 48) in the Banqueting Hall of Glasgow City Chambers. It was between 1899 and 1901 that these murals were painted by the famous Glasgow Boys, and their scope of history reveals the historical glossing over of the Georgian period in favour of a sudden and unchallenged pride in Victorian achievement. Beginning with the 6th century miracles of St. Mungo, 'Legendary Glasgow' was painted by Alexander Ignatius Roche. This was followed by the centre mural depicting the Glasgow Fair (initiated in the 12th century), painted by Edward Arthur Walton. The final panel sees a massive leap to 'Modern Glasgow', by John Lavery, a depiction of shipyard workers labouring around a large ship. This leap in time (much like the choice of buildings in the poster above) completely omits large portions of Glasgow's history. And as crucial as St. Mungo remains to Glasgow's civic image (the city motto and iconography are designed into many different council notices and properties), the progression from Medieval to Victorian Glasgow in this pictorial timeline gives the impression that nothing important happened in between. And with few monuments or reference points on Glasgow's streets, it is understandable that such a shortfall in cultural memory has occurred.

⁴ George Gray, *A Chapter in Rutherglen History: The Upper Navigation and the Removal of the Weir* (Rutherglen: Private circulation, 1890), 8.



Figure 48: Wall murals in the Glasgow City Chambers Banqueting Hall.

As we look towards the city's exhibitions for further examples of *loi de rareté*, theories of cultural memory remain crucial. Texts, paintings, statues, and buildings which have survived from the Georgian era are objects of cultural memory that we can engage with and build a sense of that time which has no possible live or 'communicative' links, to use Jan Assmann's term.⁵ Most of these theories were mentioned as being related in some way to Maurice Halbwachs' use of the term 'collective memory'. He described it as 'the result, or sum, or combination of individual recollections of many members of the same society.'⁶ The initial benefit of analysing this sum of recollections would be a new and unique understanding of the event in question. As we will see, the new time frame of 1888-1938 involved in the range of Glasgow's exhibitions works on two levels in the context of memory. Firstly, the media in which the exhibitions were recorded changed – photography, for example, being widely in use, retained the events in an accessible and accurate way. Secondly, time-periods previous to the exhibitions (including the Georgian era) can be examined in this unique, festive frame, meaning that one is no longer engaging with Georgian Glasgow through *its* cultural memories, but through the cultural memories of the subsequent era(s), leading to a new understanding of the historiography of the city in the long eighteenth century. The difference here is the concentrated effort to portray Glasgow in a planned space. From the original exhibitions to the 2014 Kelvingrove Museum exhibition space, the level of planning inevitably comes with the editing and selection of appropriate objects and, as we will see, interpretations.

⁵ Jan Assmann, 'Communicative and Cultural Memory', *Media and Cultural Memory: An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* eds. Astrid Erll & Ansgar Nünning (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., 2008), 109-118 (110).

⁶ Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 39.

1888 & 1901: Defining Glasgow's Character

World's Fairs or Exhibitions have been a topic of much interest to scholars, and The Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations set in the Crystal Palace in London in 1851 is often seen as the first truly international stage of great societal progress. As regards Glasgow, competition for 'Scotland's Greatest Exhibition' [Fig. 55, below] would not be complete without mention of Edinburgh. Scotland's capital was often first to the achievements that mark out the Scottish Enlightenment, overshadowing those unique to Glasgow. In Robert Crawford's *On Glasgow and Edinburgh* (2013) it is stated: 'Well aware that Edinburgh had held its own International Exhibition two years earlier [in 1886], Glaswegians succeeded in outdoing it [in 1888].'⁷ This principal difference between Glasgow and Edinburgh that has been examined thus far has remained unchanged, it seems, since it was the subject of a 'Scotland' card [Fig. 49] issued by The Arbuckle Coffee Company in 1889. In this, the duality of Scotland is evident, and Glasgow's own Enlightenment already looks lost beneath the iron-grey sky of heavy industry.

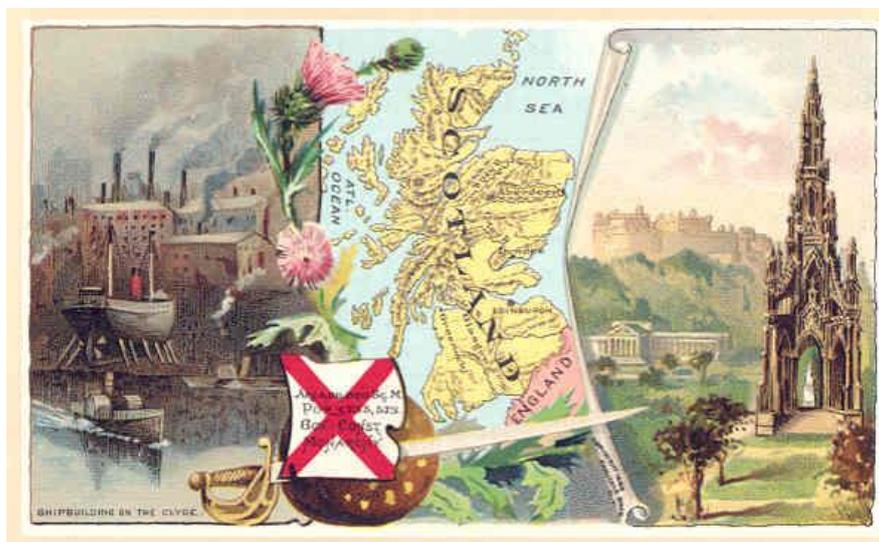


Figure 49: Arbuckle Coffee Company card, *Scotland* (1889)

Glasgow's first foray onto the international stage in 1888 was the first portrayal of the character of the city. There had been industrial exhibitions in the city from 1847 to 1886, 'devoted to setting the industries and manufacturers of the city in their wider global and imperial context while also displaying the products of other cultures, thereby improving and

⁷ Robert Crawford, *On Glasgow and Edinburgh* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013), 261.

educating the working classes,⁸ but these smaller affairs were not intended as self-portraits of Glasgow. Instead, London's 1851 Exhibition was the model Glasgow could follow; an opportunity to boast its strengths as a centre of industry on a major scale, while simultaneously drawing attention to Edinburgh's inability to do the same two years before. And while twenty-six other cities had hosted these International Exhibitions,⁹ Glasgow showcased itself as London's understudy, as the 'Second City of the Empire.' In terms of location, it is stated in Findling's *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions* (1990) that 'the site along the River Kelvin in Kelvingrove Park was a testament to Victorian achievement.'¹⁰ Thus, there is already a sense of the city renewing itself by spreading west from the older, overcrowded sections, 'negotiating the identities of Glasgow, Scotland, and the Empire,' before the exhibition itself is observed.¹¹

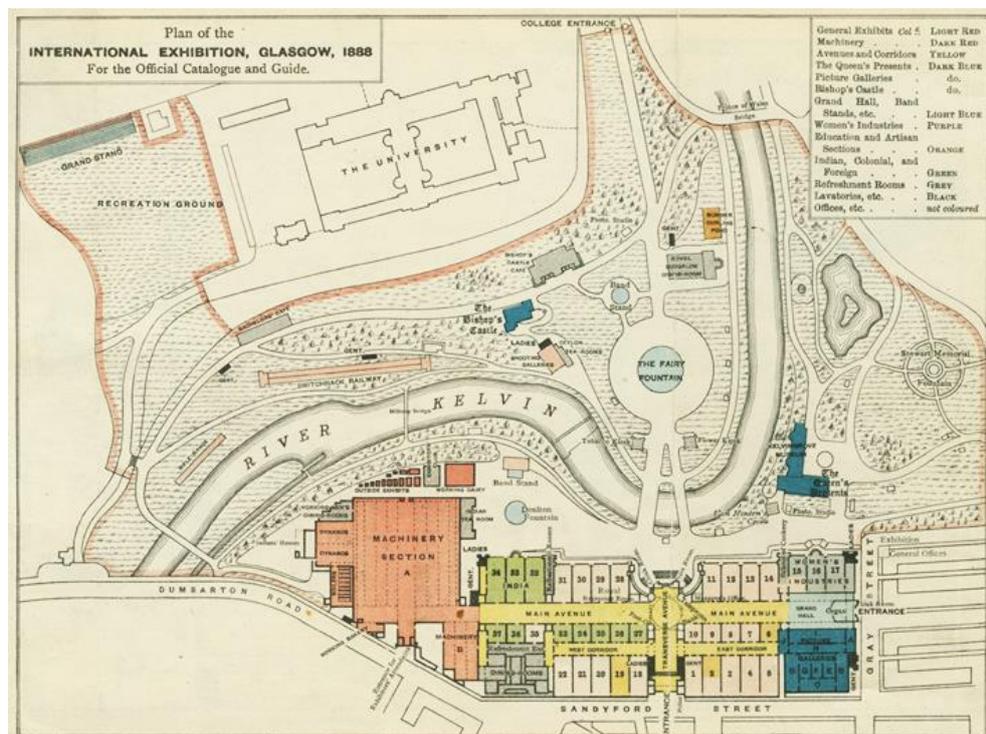


Figure 50: Plan of the International Exhibition, Glasgow, 1888.

⁸ John M. MacKenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire': Glasgow – imperial municipality", *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* eds. Felix Driver & David Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 215-237 (226)

⁹ As seen in the Table of Contents in John E. Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990)

¹⁰ John E. Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions, 1851-1988* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990), 103.

¹¹ MacKenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire'", 227.

The full title of the exhibition was ‘The International Exhibition of Science, Art and Industry’,¹² while the prospectus of 1888 had Industry first and Art last.¹³ While this may seem a small surface detail changed over time, the areas dedicated to ‘Machinery’ (light red) and ‘Fine Art’ (blue) on the map [Fig. 50] reveal the preference of industrial achievement over art. The main exhibition building was designed ‘in the Moorish style’ by James Sellars and James Barr, with a ‘150-foot-high dome at its centre, surrounded by four square towers, each topped with a minaret.’¹⁴ As a result, the site was often referred to in the press as ‘Baghdad by Kelvin.’¹⁵ As an important architectural structure, it can only be of importance in its time and in the minds of attendants and visitors, unlike the Municipal Chambers which were opened by Queen Victoria in the same year: a much more permanent expression of Glasgow’s ‘status as a great industrial power.’¹⁶

As observed in chapter one, the once-iconic Bishop’s Castle which stood near Glasgow Cathedral was left to ruin, as ‘the spirit of the times’ in the 1790s ‘did not favour the preservation of such a venerable relic.’¹⁷ The last of its stones made way ‘for the new Royal Infirmary,’¹⁸ but as a whole it was curiously resurrected in 1888. Its presence has been noted as a major tourist attraction in *Pen and Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition* (1888): ‘the imitation of antiquity has been very successfully carried out in the construction of the Bishop’s Castle, and wood and paint and canvas have been so put together as quite to cheat the eye into a belief that it is a genuine old building.’¹⁹ This follows Edinburgh’s ‘large-scale reconstruction of a typical 17th century street complete with legendary buildings that had long since been demolished.’²⁰ Among these buildings was Cardinal Beaton’s (1494-1546) House, which also featured on a postcard. It would seem that the religious troubles still resonant in the Georgian era were, by the late nineteenth century, distant enough to allow such a fantastical gaze into the past. Walker’s introduction to the mock-Bishop’s Castle

¹² See: <http://collections.glasgowmuseums.com/cld.html?cid=534212> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹³ Glasgow University Library Special Collections Department, Call Number: Mu23-x.20. Related ephemera from the Exhibition; prospectus begins on page 164.

¹⁴ Findling *Historical Dictionary* (1990), 103.

¹⁵ Alastair Lindsay Goldsmith, *The Glasgow International Exhibitions, 1888-1938*, (MLitt Thesis: University of Strathclyde, 1985), 54.

¹⁶ Perilla Kinchin & Juliet Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions: 1888, 1901, 1911, 1938, 1988* (Oxon: White Cockade, 1988), 18.

¹⁷ George MacGregor, *The History of Glasgow: From the Earliest Period to the Present Time* (Glasgow: Thomas D. Morison, 1881), 363.

¹⁸ Athol L. Murray, ‘The Bishop’s Castle, Glasgow 1598-1744’ in *Proc Soc Antiq Scot*, 133 (Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 2003), 343-358 (351).

¹⁹ Robert Walker & T. Raffles Davison, *Pen and Ink Notes at the Glasgow Exhibition* (London: J. S. Virtue & Co., 1888) 103.

²⁰ David McLean, ‘Lost Edinburgh: Edinburgh International Exhibition 1886’, *The Scotsman* 15th April 2013: <http://www.scotsman.com/lifestyle/heritage/lost-edinburgh-edinburgh-international-exhibition-1886-1-2895307> [accessed 08/12/15].

structure is telling of this new attitude to old Glasgow as he considers the architect's 'good deed' in 'restoring' the 'ancient building which clung round historic associations.'²¹

It is ironic, then, that such language is used in the Exhibition to combine the idea of the city's lost buildings with the valour found in a temporary copy of an ancient structure, reinvented and relocated (the mock-castle stood near the University, roughly on the spot 'where the statue of Lord Kelvin now stands').²² As argued throughout this thesis, the Victorian era's ability to define itself through growth and industrial progress also brought about a wholesale forgetting of the preceding era.

Many of the objects on display in the reconstructed castle included an oak cradle used by James VI; an oak work box and an embroidered velvet bed hanging depicting thistles which belonged to Mary, Queen of Scots; and a two-handed sword from Bannockburn. While these were on show, there was also a different form of remembering the Stuart era at J. Lyons' Bishop's Palace Temperance Restaurant, where waitresses were dressed as the Scottish Queen.²³ As such, the experience of the relics in the mock-castle take on a sort of carnival light, for, while the interior was designed to enhance the visitors' experience, the placement of their worth may be negated in going for a meal thereafter, and being served by many-a-living-version of said ancient and famous Queen. In effect, there was a sort of compression of history being enacted throughout the Exhibition. This adds to the idea of a miniature empire: being that different nations can be conglomerated is in keeping with the bringing together of different eras in time – a disorienting and isolating effect of displaying a large range of historical objects in the hope to define any one cultural aspect which, in this event, was ancient Scotland as a Kingdom contrasted with modern Scotland in the British Empire. Writing after the 1851 London Exhibition, William Whewell stated: 'By annihilating the space which separates different nations, we produce a spectacle in which is annihilated the time which separates one stage of a nation's progress from another.'²⁴ Not only did Glasgow's 'spectacle' introduce the Empire to the visitors, but it initiated the 'spectacle' of Victorian civic pride which lasts to this day.

The inaugural ode of the Exhibition reveals this pride. Written by poet and novelist Robert Buchanan (1841-1901), and set to music by Dr. A. C. Mackenzie, *The New Covenant* was performed as part of the opening ceremony. It opens:

²¹ Walker & Davison, *Pen and Ink Notes*, 102.

²² Henry C. Cornish, 'First Glasgow International Exhibition, 1888', *Old Glasgow Club Transactions Volume V, Session 1923-1928* (Glasgow: Aird and Coghill Ltd., 1928), 42-49 (46).

²³ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 46.

²⁴ William Whewell, 'On the General Bearing of the Great Exhibition', *Lectures on the Results of the Great Exhibition of 1851* (London: David Bogue, 1852), 3-25 (11).

Dark, sea-born city, with thy throne
Set on the surge-vex'd shore,
The trumpet of the storm was blown
To break thy rest of yore...

Glasgow as 'dark, sea-born city' is unusually anonymous. The name Glasgow, and any local characteristics of the city, are absent in the ode. Perhaps this was another attempt to elevate Glasgow beyond its origins into a glorious stronghold of the British Empire. It also serves as a reminder of the city's role in the overall context of International Exhibitions which, as we have seen, were already extensively practised before 1888.

Queen Victoria's death in January 1901 took nothing away from the Victorian sense of pride on display during Glasgow's second International Exhibition. In fact, it became more prominent. Taking place in the same site as before, 11.5 million visitors passed through compared to the previous 5.8 million.²⁵ The main new attraction was Kelvingrove Museum, and the legacy of that building today makes the 1901 Exhibition unlike the others for its ability to remember specific cultural ideas of the city. In terms of layout, the main building of 1888 which contained an art section was long gone (as was the reinvented Bishop's Castle). This time, the area was divided between three main buildings: the aforementioned Kelvingrove Art Gallery; the 200,000-square-foot Industrial Hall; and the 160,000-square-foot Machinery Hall (the latter two being connected by the 1,000 ft. long Grand Avenue).²⁶ The emphasis on industry and technology is once again obvious and, in spite of the newly-built Art Gallery, allowing dedicated space for Fine Art displays, it is clear that organisers still preferred to exhibit the industrial achievements of the city by surrounding the Art Gallery with these vast, temporary halls. In Thomas Richards' *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England* (1990), emphasis is placed on 'the elevation of a form of technology into a form of culture,' wherein 'machines [are] put on the stage, and after a time the machines became the stage.'²⁷ As we have seen previously in this thesis, Glasgow's institutional achievements have often been remarkable. However, the pride by which the city took up its mantle as Second City of the Empire illustrates a civic desire to raise its best attributes above those which did not bring about immediate fame.

For example, analyses of Glasgow's literary landscape reveal many gaps in the cultural memory of Glaswegians in the Scottish literary canon. A feature which most of the Glaswegian writers' legacies lack is their public remembrance. Roland Quinault's 'The Cult of the Centenary' (1998) delineates the use of studying commemorative events designed to

²⁵ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 15.

²⁶ Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World's Fairs and Expositions*, 172.

²⁷ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (California: Stanford University Press, 1990), 57.

‘revive’ or ‘create’ in the public imagination certain ‘perceptions of past events and people’ in connection with collective memory.²⁸ Quinault’s article has a literary slant, but contributes to our understanding of Glasgow’s place in the Victorian era. For example, it is stated that:

Neo-classicism was soon blended with other eclectic historical elements, including romantic medievalism, which led to the staging of costume pageants and period-style dinners. Such entertainments were designed to attract large numbers of ordinary people and reflected the Victorian taste for spectacle.²⁹

In 1888 we had seen ‘romantic medievalism’ exploited in the form of the Bishop’s Castle, while the unusual landscape of Kelvingrove accounts for Quinault’s rightfully acknowledged ‘eclectic’ nature of Victorian spectacle. Quinault’s statement that ‘the literary character of Victorian culture ensured that many more writers were commemorated than artists or composers’³⁰ is upheld by the huge crowd that gathered for the unveiling of the Robert Burns statue in 1877. Although the figure is not exact, Christopher Whatley considers that – whether or not 100,000 people gathered for the event – ‘half a million people in the west of Scotland were’ believed to have been ‘involved in or at least touched by the ceremony.’³¹ So great was Burns’ legacy that the Glasgow-centric writers explored in this thesis enjoyed no such Victorian fame. Similarly, the statue of Walter Scott (the highest in George Square) was erected in 1837. Both Burns and Scott were therefore held in high regard in civic ceremony, not just in George Square, but in the Exhibitions. As MacKenzie points out: ‘Those cultural icons Burns and Scott, prominent in stone in 1888, reappeared in soap’ in 1901:³² a new tourist attraction which had gained popularity in 1888 with Robin & Houston’s soap bust of Queen Victoria.³³

Yet for all this attention on recognisable *people*, Glasgow’s 1901 Exhibition also had another explicit aim being the first British host city of the twentieth century: ‘to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of London’s Great Exhibition of 1851.’³⁴ Therefore, the exhibitions had taken on a new prominence in the construction of civic pride. Where it

²⁸ Roland Quinault, ‘The Cult of the Centenary, c. 1784-1914’ in *Historical Research* 71:176 (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998), 303-323 (303).

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 321.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 322.

³¹ Christopher A. Whatley, ‘Memorialising Burns: Dundee and Montrose Compared’, (Glasgow: Glasgow University website, 2010), 7: http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_183298_en.pdf [accessed 08/12/15].

³² John M. MacKenzie, ‘“The Second City of the Empire”: Glasgow – imperial municipality’, *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* eds. Felix Driver & David Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 215-237 (228).

³³ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions*, 29.

³⁴ Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, 172.

was once great men and women who were idolised and commemorated, it was now the events themselves which were being remembered. And what modern memories they were.

As touched on above, the spectacle of the machine on *and* as the stage was ushering in new collective experiences and, in the case of these World's Fairs, dressing them up as symbols of progression - all before the unprecedented and inhumane experience of World War I. As Daniel Pick puts it: 'the industrial revolution was perceived as central to the question of war' by the 1860s, 'even if for a further period chivalric and Napoleonic war codes and images still persisted alongside.'³⁵ These 'codes and images' were cultural memories of an increasingly antiquated mode of combat. That they were gradually eroded by mechanised war shows us the capacity for the industrial revolution to alter collective ideas of history. The pageantry of these International Exhibitions, I suggest, was made hyper-real by the convergence of old and new; that is, the physically new being conducted in an old-fashioned manner. Spencer R. Weart describes this well in relation to the 1893 Chicago International Exposition – nick-named the 'White City' – containing 'broad avenues and sparkling fountains, incandescent at night under the new electric lamps with steel dynamos gleaming alongside alabaster sculptures of virgins, a picture of the future harmony between technology and art.'³⁶ And while these commemorations were in honour of the 400th anniversary of Christopher Columbus' arrival in the New World, the Chicago and other American affairs were also based on the models of London and Glasgow, with their purpose-built temporary halls in which, no matter the commemorative purpose, ended up showcasing the best and brightest of technological and industrial invention.

The very idea of defining Glasgow within temporary halls was only part of a city-wide attempt to 'explain' Glasgow to tourists. *Glasgow in 1901* was 'written to satisfy the curiosity of visitors to the International Exhibition of 1901 as to the qualities of Glasgow and her citizens.'³⁷ The author, James Hamilton Muir, was the combined pseudonym of James Bone, A. H. Charteris, and Muirhead Bone (the latter supplying the illustrations of Glasgow unique to this year).³⁸ The book is divided into three parts, offering distinctive frames through which the city may be experienced. They are: 'Glasgow of the Imagination', offering topographical writing, features of industry which make the city famous, and the city's placement as 'The Heart of Scotland'; 'Glasgow of Fact – the Place', offering a history from early Glasgow to the Union, extensive remarks on the river Clyde and the shipbuilding

³⁵ Daniel Pick, *War Marchine: The Rationalisation of Slaughter in the Modern Age* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1993), 177.

³⁶ Spencer R. Weart, *Nuclear Fear: A History of Images* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1988), 7.

³⁷ Simon Berry & Hamish Whyte eds., *Glasgow Observed*, (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1987), 179.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 178.

industries, and a look at the city's modern architecture as compared to remaining ancient edifices; and finally 'Glasgow of Fiction – the man and his haunts', which considers 'The City Man...His Howffs...The Working Man...Quayside Folk', and some words on the Exhibition itself.³⁹ It is telling that the frontispiece to this publication is a photogravure entitled 'Clyde Shipbuilders', further perpetrating the idea that shipbuilding alone forged Glasgow's place in the world. There is a deliberate romanticising of working-class daily life – which may have informed George Blake's *The Shipbuilders* – in the section entitled 'Our milieu':

The *milieu* of a town means very much more than the tale of sun or rain on its stone. It is not the fame of her towers or the beauty of her sunsets that attracts the traveller to Glasgow, and she does not take her stand on these... Perhaps our friend came nearest it when, looking in at the open door of a workshop, he was almost blinded by the smoke and iron dust, and deafened by the roar... the gasps of the exhaust pipes pushing their way through blackened roads, toiling Glasgow drawing hard her breath.⁴⁰

These ideas reveal themselves as contradictory and self-aggrandising when read alongside the equally proud testament to the newly-built Art Gallery and Museum: 'No British municipality has erected so important a palace of art, and one could wish that this one deserved better the praises of the discerning.'⁴¹ These competing definitions of Glasgow as a working city and a cultured city are still very much in play; readable in the rhetoric of almost all local cultural sites.

In 1901, The Official Guide declared that its collection of nineteenth-century oil paintings would 'give the Glasgow Exhibition a unique place in the artistic annals of the country.'⁴² From the eighteenth-century Foulis Academy, to Archibald McLellan's (1795-1854) galleries in Sauchiehall Street, to Kelvingrove Museum and, eventually, Charles Rennie Mackintosh's (1868-1928) Glasgow School of Art, the city's history of engagement with the arts is long and complex. It is full of contradiction and selective remembering, harking back to the concepts of memory at the beginning of this chapter. For instance: the same Glasgow Boys who were commissioned to paint the murals in the City Chambers had a poor showing at the 1901 Exhibition.⁴³ It is also said that 'only three' of their paintings were purchased for Glasgow City Art Gallery 'before any of them died.'⁴⁴ Mackintosh (who

³⁹ Derived from table of contents of James Hamilton Muir, *Glasgow in 1901* (Glasgow & Edinburgh: William Hodge & Company, 1901).

⁴⁰ James Hamilton Muir, *Glasgow in 1901* (Glasgow & Edinburgh: William Hodge & Company, 1901), 20.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 148.

⁴² *Glasgow International Exhibition 1901: Official Guide* (Glasgow: C. P. Watson, 1901), 101.

⁴³ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 65.

⁴⁴ Roger Billcliffe, 'A Brush with Europe: visual art in Glasgow 1890-1990' in *RSA Journal* 139:5417 (London: Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce, 1991), 330-342 (341).

is shown to be the most popular ‘artist or writer’ in my 2014 exhibition questionnaire [Appendix 1]), had a similarly limited input to the 1901 event, having designs rejected by the organisers based largely on the notion that his ‘work was generally regarded in his home city as uncomfortably odd.’⁴⁵ How, then, does Mackintosh not only survive these initial setbacks – but come to embody Glasgow’s answer to the arts overall? Perhaps the answer lies in the rhetoric used in a 1996 Mackintosh exhibition held in the McLellan Galleries. Murray Grigor’s review denotes the absence of Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson (1817-1875) in the exhibition narrative, despite the fact that Mackintosh used new-Greek motifs in the design which won him the Alexander Thomson travelling scholarship in 1890.⁴⁶

More interestingly in the context of this conclusion: it seems that Mackintosh’s legacy was folded into the popular, industrial character of Glasgow. As Grigor puts it, ‘the compendious [exhibition] catalogue explores...how Glasgow merchants engendered radical architecture,’ and ‘how the essential craft traditions of the city allowed half the world’s shipping to be fitted out with such fin de siècle panache.’⁴⁷ Indeed, Mackintosh’s style, with its international influence, seemed custom-made for a progressive Glasgow: streamlined, minimalistic, strong on the outside and refined on the inside.⁴⁸ Add for good measure that Mackintosh worked as a junior member of staff for the Fairfield Shipbuilding and Engineering Co. around 1888⁴⁹ and the manipulation of Glasgow’s art history as a tangent of its celebrated industrial character is made much easier. Without going as far as saying that this character was challenged in the 1911 exhibition, it was certainly cast in a new light as part of Scotland’s national story.

1911 & 1938: Memories of Ancient Scotland & Empire

The Scottish Exhibition held in Kelvingrove Park in 1911 immediately raised the question of national identity. The stated purpose of the Exhibition was ‘to create a greater public interest in Scottish History and Literature... to celebrate distinguished Scotsmen,’ and to ‘represent a realistic picture of Scottish Burghal Life in bygone times.’⁵⁰ The most recognisable difference between this exhibition and the foregoing Victorian pair – aside from

⁴⁵ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions* (1988), 59.

⁴⁶ Murray Grigor, ‘Not in architectural order’, *RSA Journal* 144:5473 (London: Royal Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, 1996), 39.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ Scottish architect James Miller (1860-1947), who designed many of the buildings for the 1901 Glasgow Exhibition, carried his eclectic style into the interior of the Cunard liner *RMS Lusitania*: an amalgamation of Georgian, Queen Anne, and Louis XVI styles.

⁴⁹ Stark, 139.

⁵⁰ Quoted in Kinchin & Kinchin, 96-97.

the Scottish name – was the layout. The emphasis was shifted from the site of the new Art Galleries completely, and with no clearly defined main building, the park was littered with different smaller buildings including the Palace of Art, the Palace of History, the Palace of Industries, and the Aviation Building.

Elfie Rembold's consideration of the 1911 Exhibition notes the new, Edwardian preference for 'cultural achievements' over 'technological performances' in representing a nation.⁵¹ In the introduction to *Glasgow, volume II* (1996), W. Hamish Fraser suggests that 'the Scottish emphasis... may itself have unconsciously signified a narrowing of horizons.'⁵² For Bruce Lenman, it was the emphasis of 'folk' values and traditions that led the charge for the main purpose of the exhibition: to fund a new chair in Scottish history and literature⁵³ at Glasgow similar to that which had existed in Edinburgh for ten years.⁵⁴ It is said that 'members of the Historical Committee of the exhibition could or would not present Scottish history in either a positive or negative way'⁵⁵ and that 'the advocates of a history chair were divided between those who located Scotland within the context of the Union and the Empire, those who directed their attention toward Europe, and finally those who confined their view solely to Scotland.'⁵⁶ It is therefore more reasonable to suggest that the Scottish branding of the exhibition marks not a narrowing of cultural horizons, but rather an unresolved issue of identity made clear in the light of such officiating. As has been suggested above, Glasgow's 'delayed interest in Scottish history' was a result of its 'swift and revolutionary' rise, during which it was 'distanced from ancient and role-bound formal aesthetic traditions.'⁵⁷

According to Rembold, the national press branded the exhibition 'troubled' and 'checkered',⁵⁸ despite the fact that it was planned to the point of exhaustion, including several sub-categories of history and literature (to say nothing of the familiar Glaswegian industrial displays) which were said to cover the period between James III (1451-1488) and Sir Walter Scott (1771-1832). Besides the expected venerable relics ('It was with pride we gazed at the Wallace letter... the Brooch of Lorn... [the] sword... of Bannockburn'),⁵⁹ the catalogue also reveals that the 1911 Exhibition did exhibit some of the figures of Glasgow's

⁵¹ Elfie Rembold, 'Negotiating Scottish Identity: The Glasgow History Exhibition 1911' in *National Identities* 1:3 (London: Routledge, 1999), 265-285 (266).

⁵² W. Hamish Fraser, 'Introduction: "Let Glasgow Flourish"', *Glasgow, Volume II: 1830-1912* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), 1-7 (6).

⁵³ Bruce P. Lenman, 'The Teaching of Scottish History in the Scottish Universities', *The Scottish Historical Review* 52:154 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1973), 165-190 (177).

⁵⁴ Rembold, 271.

⁵⁵ Rembold, 'Negotiating Scottish Identity' (1999), 267.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 272.

⁵⁷ James Schmiechen: quoted in Rembold, 271.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*, 267.

⁵⁹ James Baillie, 'The Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art, and Industry, Glasgow, 1911', *Old Glasgow Club Transactions Volume Session 1934-1935* (Glasgow: Aird and Coghill Ltd., 1935), 7-15 (11).

literary enlightenment. These included portraits of Tobias Smollett, Thomas Campbell, and the more obscure Glasgow poet Dugald Moore alongside portraits of Burns and Scott; holographic reproductions of letters including one from the Glasgow physician and author John Moore to Burns advising him ‘to deal more sparingly for the future in the Provincial Dialect’;⁶⁰ and a varied display of books printed in the city, with three copies of the *The Protestation of The General Assemblie of the Church of Scotland* (1638) alongside several examples by the Foulis brothers.

Perhaps the real issue in 1911 was that for the first time Glasgow displayed its connection with historical literary roots to an emerging modern audience with a limited collective memory and a more secure idea of the British Empire than Scottish history. This is not to deny that generations of readers familiar with the novels of Scott and his contemporaries would be entranced by the historic objects on display, but rather that Glasgow had already rejected this world in the previous exhibitions in favour of a modern British one. It is understandable that the historical elements could have been slightly disorienting for those who expected a similar layout to the 1901 Exhibition; but little could have prepared visitors for the developed *faux*-Scottish designs that took place. As with the panoramas in chapter one, the immersive, out-of-time quality to the 1911 Exhibition would have been an unprecedented novelty. The removal (or replacement) of context has featured in all the Glasgow Exhibitions. John Lavery’s painting *Potter at Work, 1888* depicts a Bengali potter working on a piece of his display during the Exhibition. It offers a glimpse into the interactive element of the event as well as revealing the carefully planned authenticity, as though being transported, to an Indian marketplace.

In 1911 there were new additions which maintained this tradition, none more notable than the Highland Clachan. John MacKenzie suggests that such ‘reconstructions...set out to reconcile Lowland and Gaelic culture, while suggesting their joint role in the creation of the Scottish spirit that had produced modern technology and industry.’⁶¹ On the exhibition map, however, one can spot two ironically adjacent sections: West Africans and Laplanders. Perilla and Juliet Kinchin use the *Souvenir of a Visit to the West African Colonies* as an example of the common ethnographic attitudes of the visitors. Therefore, ‘exhibiting’ Scottish ‘natives’ takes the parochialism of the event beyond a simple exploitation of ‘the world’s weakness for tartan and the romance of Scotland.’⁶² Any doubts about the distinction

⁶⁰ *Scottish Exhibition of National History, Art and Industry: Palace of History, Catalogue of exhibits v. 1* (Glasgow: Dalross, 1911), 184.

⁶¹ John M. MacKenzie, ‘Empire and National Identities: the Case of Scotland’ in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 8 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1998), 215-231 (227).

⁶² Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions*, 97.

between historical re-enactment and plain exploitation should be quelled by the fact that these 1911 exhibits, being in the ‘amusement section’, charged a separate admission fee.⁶³ Behind *The Clachan*’s saleability was cultural compression. As the relocation of the Bishop’s Castle from the East to the West of the city was revelatory of its new purpose, so too was the imagined relocation of the Highlands to the Lowlands. Such a convergence of two distinct aspects of Scotland can be seen as a symbol of the uncertain, overwhelming nature of the Exhibition itself. The roots of *An Clachan* in Glasgow can be traced to The Highland Association’s Bazaar in St. Andrew’s Halls in 1907, which featured ‘a typical representation of a “Clachan” or village of the Western Highlands and Islands... panoramic views of Highland scenery painted by Colin Mackintosh,’ and even ‘a reproduction of Prince Charlie’s Cave.’⁶⁴ In 1911, spanning three-acres and in the context of Kelvingrove Park, it resembled a ‘dream village’ – to borrow Bob Crampsey’s words⁶⁵ – complete with Gaelic-speaking employees and ‘home-spun tartan.’⁶⁶

Souvenirs and objects of the Exhibition which seek to record the experience are also important in the process of analysis. Figure 51 shows a photograph taken in *The Clachan* beside an edited, mass-produced version made ‘for album and postcard use.’⁶⁷ This change represents a false memory, an act of invented authenticity: not only has a Highland village been transported to Kelvingrove Park, but its placement in Kelvingrove Park has been erased. This double removal makes the site an interesting focal point of the Exhibition, not least of all for questions it raises over historical significance. In terms of identity, and the pomp which surrounds it in 1938, one is reminded of Sir Walter Scott’s organisation of George IV’s state visit to Scotland in 1822. In Raphael Samuel’s *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* (1989), Christopher Harvie opines the following: ‘It was the political apotheosis of Scott’s combination of unionism and cultural nationalism, the symbolic confirmation of the Hanoverian line, the transference of remaining Jacobite and nationalist sentiments to wider British imperial loyalties... reminding the political metropolis and élite that Scots loyalty, though full-hearted, was not wholly unconditional.’⁶⁸ Perhaps the tartantry of the Scottish Exhibition of 1911 serves as the continuation of this placement of Scotland in Britain.

⁶³ *Ibid*, 121.

⁶⁴ *Souvenir and handbook of Feill a’ Chomuinn Ghaidhealaich (The Highland Association Bazaar) 1907* (Glasgow: J. M. Munro, 1907), 71.

⁶⁵ Bob Crampsey, *The Empire Exhibition of 1938: The Last Durbar* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988), 49.

⁶⁶ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions*, 122.

⁶⁷ *Ibid*.

⁶⁸ Christopher Harvie, ‘Scott and the Image of Scotland,’ *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity, Volume II: Minorities and Outsiders* ed. Raphael Samuel (London & New York: Routledge, 1989), 173-192 (184).

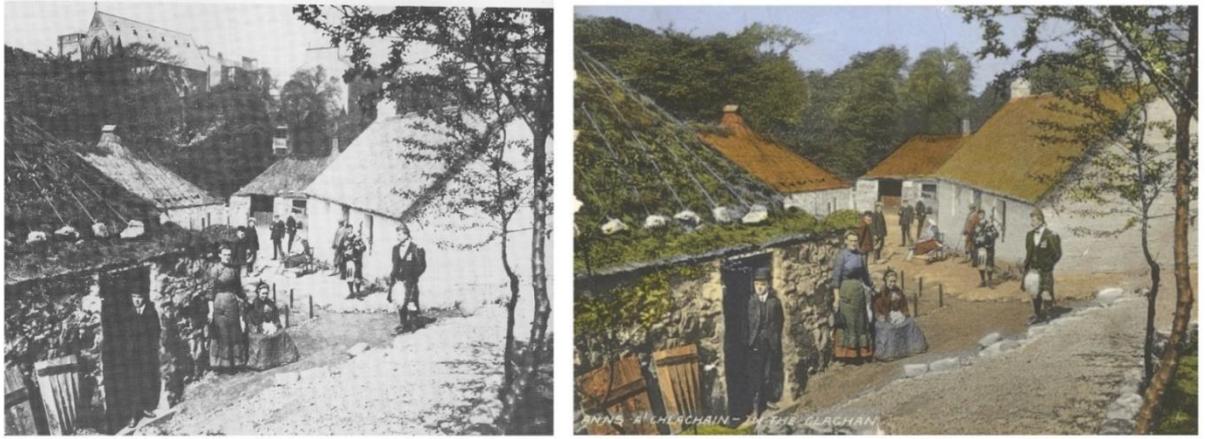


Figure 51: Photograph from 1911 Exhibition and the picture postcard created from it.

The 1938 ‘Empire Exhibition (Scotland)’ was the only major Exhibition in Glasgow to be held anywhere other than Kelvingrove, this time in Bellahouston Park. It attracted 12,593,232 visitors, making it the most popular Exhibition in Glasgow’s history.⁶⁹ Beside the change of location, there is a distinct tone which separates this event from those held in the west which, ironically, adds weight to the conflicting issues surrounding national identity. For one, there is a sense of urgency in the representations of growth – unlike the grand exhibitions of 1888 and 1901, wherein Glasgow seemed confident in its longevity as Second City in the Empire. The layout of the Exhibition grounds with the huge dedicated spaces to the Palace of Engineering and the Palaces (note the plural) of Industries shows the same favouritism for Glasgow’s heavy-industry that was present in 1888 and 1901. As Kinchin and Kinchin point out, World War I aided Glasgow’s industrial workforces but soon dissipated, and ‘Scotland as a whole’ was ‘lagging behind in industrial recovery.’ So the confidence emblemised in the Industrial Halls in previous affairs was much less apparent in 1938,⁷⁰ with the need to advertise what made Glasgow so strong in the first place taking centre-stage. Indeed, Findling’s *Historical Dictionary of World’s Fairs* makes this clear: ‘The idea for an Empire Exhibition in Glasgow was conceived in 1931 at the height of the depression in conscious effort to promote employment and to advertise the industries of Scotland.’⁷¹ It is here at the point of the word ‘advertise’ that we can begin to think about Glasgow as a commercial concept.

The style of 1938 was certainly more modern, pertaining to new ideas representative of Great Britain far more than the frozen-in-time, all-encompassing compressions of space that featured previously. Perhaps the biggest shift in style can be interpreted in Mark

⁶⁹ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions*, 15.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 127-128.

⁷¹ Findling ed., *Historical Dictionary of World’s Fairs and Expositions*, 291.

Crinson's analysis of the design choices made by Thomas Smith Tait. Crinson says: 'Tait was anxious to emphasize the fact that the buildings were steel framed and prefabricated and could be easily erected and dismantled,'⁷² which marks a change in the Exhibition's priorities from the days of the faux buildings and the 'charming sham' that was the Auld Toun.⁷³ This turn to Modernism was fairly new in Britain. As Findling puts it: 'Whereas previous British exhibitions had adopted pastiche, eclectic, or antique styles, Glasgow was unashamedly modern.'⁷⁴ The symbol of this new-found modernity was the Tower of Empire. According to Goldsmith, the Tower was to be a permanent feature, but as World War II began it was 'seen as a possible navigation aid for enemy aircraft' and was taken down.⁷⁵ The Tower certainly would have reiterated and memorialised the Victorian self-confidence the city once enjoyed, but in reading this inter-war Exhibition it is difficult to ignore the sense of urgency in promoting employment and regrowth which were missing in 1888 and 1901. In the Official Guide, the Tower becomes something like a beacon of Utopia:

The finished effort, dominating the Exhibition... is symbolic of all that is enterprising, and is the crowning achievement of the imagination which envisaged the Empire city of Bellahouston rising from the wooded slopes and spacious lawns of a beautiful public park.

The idea of an 'empire city' is resonant of the city as a 'miniature Empire' as discussed above. Also, the 'rising' steel and concrete from a hitherto natural landscape is a powerful colonial image, further inscribing the cultural memories of Empire. Ultimately, the Tower conforms to what Eric Hobsbawm calls 'the legitimacy of prosperity'. Indeed, his discussion of the role of the Eiffel Tower in the transformation of 'the heritage of the [French] revolution into a combined expression of state pomp and power and the citizens' pleasure'⁷⁶ can be applied to the modernisation of Glasgow out of the Scottish past and into the realm of the New World. After all, the Official Guide's description of the Empire Tower likens 'the skyscrapers of Manhattan' to 'the constancy of man's aspiration towards the heavens.'⁷⁷

For all this, the use of Burns, Scott, Carlyle, Livingstone and Watt (the 'great Scottish achievers') on the wall of the North Pavilion⁷⁸ and the reappearance of The Clachan within the official 'Empire' context complicates the lingering issues of national identity. In Colin

⁷² Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Hants: Ashgate, 2003), 96.

⁷³ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 45.

⁷⁴ Findling, *Historical Dictionary* (1990), 291.

⁷⁵ Goldsmith, *The Glasgow International Exhibitions*, 96.

⁷⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, 'Mass-Producing Traditions: Europe, 1870-1914', *The Invention of Tradition* eds. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press – Canto, 1996 [1983]), 263-307 (271).

⁷⁷ *Empire Exhibition Scotland – 1938, Official Guide* (Glasgow: McCorquodale & Co. Ltd., 1938), 76.

⁷⁸ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 153.

McArthur's account of the Exhibition, he states: 'The Clachan and the Tower of Empire are the polar points of the dialectic which threatens to render individual Scots schizoid... illustrating the generality of the ideological struggle between cores and peripheries.'⁷⁹ He goes on, stating: 'Great national moments of self-presentation... were the occasions when the ongoing dialectic of modern/urban against rural/ancient emerged in its most public and delirious form.'⁸⁰ John MacKenzie adds weight to McArthur's use of the Tower and The Clachan as opposite cultural symbols, stating that The Clachan was an 'idyllic vision of a rural past' awkwardly 'displayed within a dramatically modern architectural context.' His accompanying illustration shows The Tower 'rising above the funfair', informing us that, seen from everywhere in the Park, The Tower rose above the supposedly authentic Highland Village.⁸¹ As though the parenthesis surrounding '(Scotland)' was not enough, Tait's Tower above the Clachan is suggestive of the imperial narrative of the Exhibition. While Glasgow's buildings were removed from photographs of the Highland Village in 1911, the Tower became central to the marketing campaign in 1938, installing this new modern style in the minds of tourists and locals.

In *The Dynamics of Heritage* (2010), Laurence Gouriévidis' comments on The Clachan further develop the importance of memory in such native exhibits. '*An Clachan*,' he states, 'was certainly devised around the collective imaginaries enveloping the Highlands and Islands as it was meant to "raise many memories in the minds of returned exiles and... give to others some impression of the real old Scotland, the Land of the Gaels, the Scotland that is fast passing before the relentless onrush of modernity."⁸² Indeed, it is this kind of analysis which renders the consideration of the actual content of The Clachan subsidiary to comments of cultural identity. There is perhaps no account of the 1938 Exhibition more striking in this dichotomy of old vs. new than King George VI and Queen Elizabeth's visit to the top of Tait's Tower and then to The Clachan, 'where Mary Morrison from Barra sang them a lament while working at her spinning wheel.'⁸³ For Thomas Richards, the 'image of Victoria became a common text and a prevailing context for the nation' in English Exhibitions after the Jubilee of 1887, thus merging 'advertising and spectacle.'⁸⁴ Since then,

⁷⁹ Colin McArthur, 'The dialectic of national identity: The Glasgow Empire Exhibition of 1938', *Popular Culture and Social Relations* eds. Tony Bennett, Colin Mercer & Janet Woollacott (Milton Keynes & Philadelphia: Open University Press, 1986), 117-134 (131-132).

⁸⁰ Colin McArthur, 'The dialectic of national identity' (1986), 117-134 (132).

⁸¹ John M. MacKenzie, "'The Second City of the Empire": Glasgow – imperial municipality', *Imperial Cities: Landscape, Display and Identity* eds. Felix Driver & David Gilbert (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 215-237 (229-230).

⁸² Laurence Gouriévidis, *The Dynamics of Heritage: History, Memory and the Highland Clearances* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), 123.

⁸³ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow's Great Exhibitions*, 138.

⁸⁴ Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England*, 105.

Exhibitions have been viewed synonymously with branding and propaganda. For instance, John MacKenzie says that 1938 can ‘be placed in the classic exhibition tradition, combining fun with information, economic propaganda with ethnic display.’⁸⁵ For Kenneth Luckhurst, ‘the exhibition can be a most powerful instrument for propaganda,’ saying that it was unlikely for a visitor to Glasgow’s Exhibition to leave without ‘some new and lasting impression of the significance of the British Empire as a whole.’⁸⁶ To achieve this ‘lasting impression,’ the site would have to be memorable. Mark Crinson points to the use of colour which unified all the buildings in the Exhibition, and the continuation of these colours ‘in the street furniture: in the kiosks, information stands, signposts, lamps and litter bins.’⁸⁷

This design-led unification process is perhaps one of the strongest examples of modernisation in Glasgow’s Exhibition. This was the use of the lion rampant, an overtly Scottish symbol, in any and all objects of and in the Exhibition. The English ‘Wembley’ lion was used to the same effect in guides and postage stamps in the 1924/25 Empire Exhibition. For Irene Maver, ‘using old symbols in a new context... potently combined imperial and Scottish aspirations.’⁸⁸ In 1901, most of the souvenirs from the Exhibition featured the image of the Main Building, as can be seen in its presence on brooches, medals, and handkerchiefs [Fig. 52]. In 1938, the (distinctly Scottish) Empire Lion was used in guides, programmes, pamphlets, silverware, key-rings, handkerchiefs, and postcards [Fig. 53].



Figure 52: Souvenirs from 1901



Figure 53: Souvenirs from 1938

⁸⁵ John M. MacKenzie, *Propaganda and Empire: The Manipulation of British Public Opinion, 1880-1960* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), 113

⁸⁶ Kenneth W. Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions* (London: The Studio Publications, 1951), 11

⁸⁷ Mark Crinson, *Modern Architecture and the End of Empire* (Hants: Ashgate, 2003), 96

⁸⁸ Maver, *Glasgow*, 256

Being an instantly recognisable motif, the lion perpetrated the position of Scotland in the Empire far more effectively than the superimposed palatial Main Building of 1901. The repetition of one image throughout the Exhibition was a powerful associative technique which unified Glasgow in Scotland, and Scotland in Britain. It epitomises the blurred lines of Scottish Nationalism, as Murray Pittock puts it, after the merging of the National Party of Scotland with the Scottish Party to become the Scottish National Party in 1934. The competing agendas (Home-rule vs. the British Empire) within this new party,⁸⁹ as well as the increasing diversity of Scottish literature in the 1920s and 30s form the cultural context to this Exhibition. In other words, using the lion rampant as the logo certainly gives Glasgow a nationalist stamp, but – as we will see next with the 1980s and 90s marketing campaigns in Glasgow – images like this can outlast (and even skew) the cultural memory of a certain place and time. Billed as ‘Scotland’s Greatest Exhibit’ [Fig. 54], some of the other images found on the 1938 pamphlets combined tartan, ancient churches, battles, the Tower of Empire, and the Empire Lion; offering a sort of progression of Scotland’s journey from its roots to its revived British modernity, as was depicted by *The Glasgow Herald* [Fig. 55].

Glasgow’s character had come full circle, from an anonymous ‘dark’ city to an equally anonymous modern one, built nonetheless on the recent memories of imperial and industrial strength. As put by Martin Bellamy (2006), ‘shipbuilding had become tamed in the public imagination’ following the abundance of novels, plays, and films that portrayed the industry, but was ultimately rooted in that Victorian sense of pride that crystalised between 1888 and 1901.⁹⁰ As Kinchin and Kinchin remind us, however, the Festival of Britain in 1951 effectively usurped the modernist architecture introduced by Tait in Glasgow, in the same year as the first post-war census revealed that Birmingham, not Glasgow, was named the Second City.⁹¹ In all, the combination of modern and ancient Scotland proved too cumbersome and, despite the popularity of the Exhibition, it could not match up to the impact of 1888 and 1901 in defining the perception of Glasgow.

⁸⁹ Murray Pittock, *The Road to Independence? Scotland since the Sixties* (London: Reaktion Books, 2008), 55.

⁹⁰ Martin Bellamy, ‘Shipbuilding and cultural identity on Clydeside’, *Journal for Maritime Research* 8:1 (London: Routledge, 2006), 19.

⁹¹ Kinchin & Kinchin, *Glasgow’s Great Exhibitions*, 168-170.



Figure 54: 1938 Exhibition leaflet

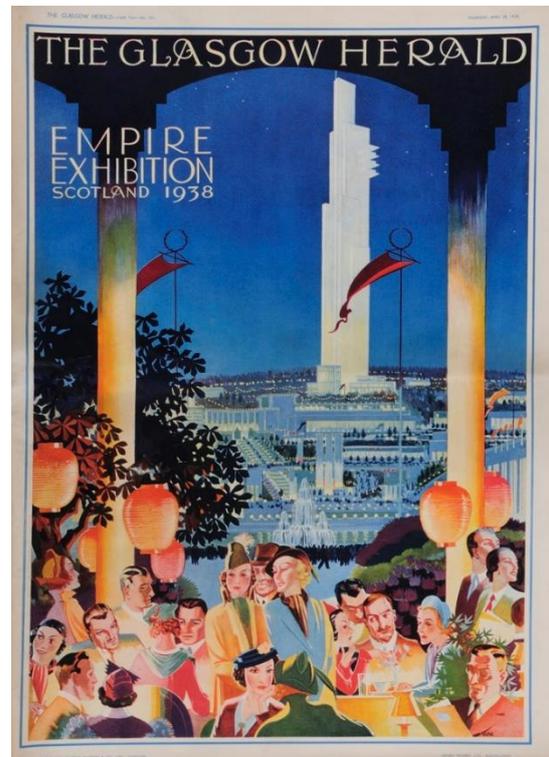


Figure 55: Front of *Glasgow Herald* (28/04/1938)

2014: Context, content, reception

The most serious issue in dealing with Georgian Glasgow in the city museums is simply that it has been unrepresented for too long. As the original interpretation plan puts it: ‘The collections of this period held by Glasgow Museums are among the finest of any civic museum service in Great Britain. Alas, they have never been displayed in a major exhibition about the city’s history.’⁹² The purpose of *How Glasgow Flourished* was to change this: to bring these objects to the public.

As mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the term Georgian seems uncomfortable, almost insecure beside the familiar character of Victorian Glasgow. This is because other than the narrative of the Tobacco Lords in the People’s Palace,⁹³ and the Foulis Academy Exhibition held in the Mitchell Library in 2001, the civic contextualisation of Glasgow and its eighteenth-century history has been entirely ignored since the literary relics of Smollett, Moore and others were part of the Scottish Exhibition in 1911. Therefore we may argue that the 2014 exhibition with which I was involved was long overdue.

⁹² As stated in Glasgow Life’s Interpretation Plan (19/10/2011).

⁹³ See: <http://www.glasgowlife.org.uk/museums/peoples-palace/highlights/Pages/default.aspx> [accessed 08/12/15].

But, given the application of cultural memory throughout this thesis, it is possible to say that *How Glasgow Flourished* came too soon. What I mean by this is that Glasgow's cultural identity remains trapped somewhere between the prevalent shipbuilding era, a matured multiculturalism, and progressive urban planning. The eighteenth-century cultural movements in Glasgow are therefore inaccessible: there are no stable or tangible sources. It is true that acknowledging the Georgian era with a major exhibition was urgently needed, but perhaps some preparatory, small-scale public engagement events beforehand might have contextualised *How Glasgow Flourished* and improved its impact.

As this thesis has persistently recalled, the majority of Glasgow's Georgian architecture is lost. While buildings such as Kelvingrove Museum were being built, the surfeit of socialist and working-class culture that responded to the pomp of the late Victorian period brought about a sense of separation from the origins of Glasgow's wealth through tobacco, sugar, and cotton. In a way this is not unlike the marginalisation of history in English culture which, as Paul Readman puts it, was 'swept from the high place it had won for itself' by 'the rapid pace of change in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.'⁹⁴ But what histories remain? Which of them have survived the passage of time and the many technological revolutions since the International Exhibitions outlined above?

The Merchant City remains a popular bar and restaurant district of Glasgow, but its name (1990-present) bears little resemblance to the cultural memory of Glasgow as it is today, and as it has been for the past century. In fact, the Merchant City area *should* be the exact location in which Georgian Glasgow is evoked. The concentration of the few remaining Georgian buildings such as the Trades Hall on Glassford Street and the churches in the Saltmarket area, not to mention the Trongate and the High Street on which the original University of Glasgow stood, should offer locals and tourists in Glasgow an impression of this era. Instead, it represents a cordoned off, increasingly unpopular subcategory of the Georgian era: the merchants themselves. This celebration of the select few wealthy men has overshadowed their ties to slavery and, yes, their connections with figures of Glasgow's Enlightenment including Adam Smith and the Foulis brothers. This localised imbalance has complicated the public's perception of Glasgow's already skewed historical character. Therefore, before we can analyse the 2014 exhibition on its own, we should consider the context of the city's cultural development over the past thirty years.

In *Selling Places* (1998), Stephen Ward says, 'It was Glasgow, traditionally perceived as hard, dirty and violent, a seemingly unstormable stronghold of the left, which took Britain

⁹⁴ Paul Readman, 'The Place of the Past in English Culture c. 1890-1914, *Past & Present* 186 (Oxford: Oxford University Press [on behalf of The Past and Present Society, 2005), 147-199 (148).

into this new era of place marketing in 1983-84.⁹⁵ The slogan which brought Glasgow into the spotlight was the famous ‘Glasgow’s Miles Better’, with a smiling Mr. Happy in place of the ‘o’ in Glasgow. For Ward, the success of the slogan was built partially on the ‘I ♥ New York’ campaign, opening Glasgow to a global audience.⁹⁶ The spatial compression of the city’s meaning in the Exhibitions is echoed in such campaigns. As Ward says, ‘these campaigns have commodified places and denied or trivialized their subtle meanings.’⁹⁷ It is possible that these ‘subtle meanings’ are only discoverable by living in or visiting a place, and experiencing it outside the focus of tourism. John and Margaret Gold’s analysis of Glasgow in 1990, during its time as the European City of Culture, considers Glasgow’s saleability. They have noted: ‘There is scarcely a study of modern Glasgow that fails to represent this festival as a landmark in the city’s modern history.’⁹⁸ Glasgow, they suggest, ‘became a byword for high-density working-class housing lacking basic amenities and high levels of social deprivation.’⁹⁹ A revival in tourism was also a revival of older class issues, harkening back to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century Exhibitions. Gold and Gold remind us that the rebranded Merchant City of Glasgow was met with opposition from the socialist Worker’s City group, who ‘argued that any celebration of culture in a city with a long industrial history had to tackle the working-class experience. Instead, the city had prioritised the marketing agenda and marginalised representation of Glasgow’s working-class roots to cater for middle-class and tourist tastes.’¹⁰⁰ While these readings are vital, Raphael Samuel’s analysis of the Merchant City as a site of memory allows us to consider the city’s sudden focus on the city-centre in a new light:

Glasgow’s “Merchant City” is an apparently successful example [of municipal idealism and civic pride], the restoration and refurbishment of a run-down district of sweatshops and warehouses into one that is simultaneously pre-industrial and post-modern, exorcising memories of the shipyards by resurrecting the commercial glories of the age of Adam Smith, while at the same time providing a showcase for modern fashion and a new business headquarters for information technology.¹⁰¹

Samuel’s words above suggest that the contradictory nature of the reinvented Merchant City is concomitant with the presence of new and old in the Exhibitions, particularly 1911 and

⁹⁵ Stephen V. Ward, *Selling Places: The marketing and promotion of towns and cities, 1850-2000* (London: Routledge – E & FN Spon, 1998), 191.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 192.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 239.

⁹⁸ John R. Gold & Margaret M. Gold, *Cities of Culture: Staging International Festivals and the Urban Agenda, 1851-2000* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 225.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 226.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory, Volume 1: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London & New York: Verso, 1994), 146.

1938. A recent symbol of this may be the ‘illumination of the Gothic skyline of the Necropolis’ during 1990; a literal combination of the older part of the city with new technologies without recreation or pomp.¹⁰² Glasgow, it seems, has always merged visions of the past – however industrial the focus may have been – with visions of the future (see Fig. 1, above).

Mark O’Neill, the Director of Policy and Research at Glasgow Life, offered one of the most relevant insights into the current situation of the city’s relationship with culture in 2009. O’Neill covers Glasgow’s cultural sites, including The Burrell Collection, The Gallery of Modern Art, The People’s Palace, The St. Mungo Museum of Religious Life and Art, Kelvingrove Museum, as well as the recently completed Riverside Museum and Glasgow Museums Resource Centre - the city’s museum store which offers public access to objects not on display in its other museum venues. Beside acknowledging Glasgow as having ‘the best preserved Victorian urban architecture in the UK,’¹⁰³ O’Neill’s opinion that Glasgow’s self-definition ‘is not unitary or without conflict, and is to a degree, very consciously, commodified in response to global economic forces’ is a measured response to the present state of Glasgow’s remembrance of its past. The issue is not that the ‘main directions and content’ of museum displays ‘are decided locally and reflect local realities and aspirations’¹⁰⁴ but that the city has been intrinsically involved in dictating imperial values onto the public as a sort of erasure of its social problems, rendering everything that came before the Victorian period as a sort of tributary flowing into the all-powerful Clyde of the shipbuilding era. This returns us to the chronology of the murals in the City Chambers, and the tremendous gap only recently being filled by such events as the 2014 exhibition in Kelvingrove Museum.

As stated, *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837* was Glasgow Museum’s first major history exhibition based on the Georgian era.¹⁰⁵ It opened on 18 April 2014 and, upon closing on August 17, expectations of 30,000 visitors had been succeeded by almost double the amount, with a total of 57,753.¹⁰⁶ The success of the exhibition is also evident in the visitor questionnaires: not only in the quantitative statistics but in the comments that visitors made regarding the impact of the exhibition on their understanding of the Georgian era. The exhibition dealt with several themes and narratives particular to Glasgow in the Georgian era, including the Tobacco Lords, the elite, social order, education, textiles, coal mining, steam power, radicalism and reform, printing and publications, slavery, and family histories.

¹⁰² Ibid, 180.

¹⁰³ Mark O’Neill, ‘Museums, Meaning and Money in Glasgow’, *Journal of Irish Studies* 2:2 (Aberdeen: AHRC Centre for Irish and Scottish Studies, 2009), 139-152 (140).

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 150.

¹⁰⁵ Glasgow Museums Interpretation Plan, 2014 History Exhibition (19/10/2011).

¹⁰⁶ Figures courtesy of Dr. Anthony Lewis (18/08/14).

The use of objects was therefore carefully considered and diverse – including paintings, etchings, drawings, models, sculptures, precious metals, banners, books, glass, pottery, various dress types, and an array of digital media from projections to interactive touchscreens.

Certain objects on display have been examined throughout this thesis; such was the terms of the partnership established between the University of Glasgow and Glasgow Life in 2010. In co-curating the ‘Printing and Publications’ section, for example, I was directly involved with the curators and management at Glasgow Life; making the case for some of my research to be integrated into the relevant sections of the exhibition. In particular, my chapter on the print culture (Chapter One) became a reference point for the portrayal of the Foulis brothers and their achievements. Moreover, the use of Foulis Academy work throughout the exhibition, from marketing to the contextual topographic views, is the first civic attempt to frame the work of the eighteenth-century brothers in a history exhibition of this scale.¹⁰⁷ Where I was able to offer assistance with the historical research I had already carried out, I was also able to draw from the other images and objects used in the exhibition and refer to them in my thesis.

For instance: John Knox’s painting *Old Glasgow Cross or The Trongate* (1826) was used in the previous chapter on John Galt and was deemed to be one of the best portrayals of Glasgow that the curators placed it at the beginning of the exhibition. The rhetoric of the exhibition itself was also concomitant with the premise of this thesis, as the opening panel reads: ‘In this exhibition we celebrate Georgian Glasgow... an important but often overlooked period of the city’s history.’ One of the major issues in maintaining this statement is balancing the disparate themes. Of all, the most contested of these was slavery. While slavery *does* feature, it is absent in one of the exhibition’s key objects:¹⁰⁸ the *Portrait of John Glassford and his Family* (c.1767). This painting was contextualised in chapter three, including its provenance and display in the People’s Palace in 2007. In 2014, however, the painting’s two contextual panels – ‘John Glassford, Millionaire Businessman’ and ‘Happy Families?’ – make no mention of the servant in the painting, therefore eliding the issue of slavery from this crucial object.¹⁰⁹ The panels describe Glassford’s business and family

¹⁰⁷ Although this point refers to the contextualisation of the Foulis brothers in Glasgow history, The Mitchell Library exhibition on the brothers in 2001 (as noted in chapter one) deserves mention here.

¹⁰⁸ Glasgow Life Interpretation Plan (30/08/2013).

¹⁰⁹ The Glassford servant can be found, however, in the exhibition publication *Introducing Georgian Glasgow: How Glasgow Flourished* (Glasgow: Glasgow Museums, 2014), 9. In the exhibition itself, one would have to be told about the location of the servant by someone else or have prior knowledge of its presence.

relationships, especially his marriages and divorces, which sheds a light of irony on the seemingly perfect upper-class Glasgow family.

In the first corridor of the exhibition there is a display cabinet dedicated to the issue of slavery. It includes a sketch of the house owned by Archibald Stirling of Keir (1769-1847) in Jamaica; a woven panel depicting a woman with a black page boy; an earthenware teapot portraying a pastoral scene with a black figure (base stamped 'Wedgwood'); and contextual letters, panels and prints with newspaper excerpts of runaway slaves and the ever-present Liverpool slave ship 'Brooks'.¹¹⁰ It is telling that, aside from the Glaswegian advertisements and the Scottish correspondences, the visual interpretation of this display relies on English objects. Both the panel and the teapot were made in England and, as part of Glasgow Museums' collections, serve more as contextual objects than 'narratives of Glasgow'.

This raises the issue of accessibility as was discussed in the chapter on slavery. It was argued that Adam Smith represented a viable access point for Glasgow's history of slavery. In *How Glasgow Flourished*, Smith was included as part of the 'Credit and Money' theme; further proving the points made about the dominance of *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) and capitalism in Glaswegian considerations of the anti-slavery-minded Smith. Interestingly, the issue of slavery reappears later in the label for the *Opening of the Glasgow and Garnkirk Railway* (undated) lithograph: 'When slavery was abolished, the government paid compensation to businessmen. Many of them invested this money in the city's railways. A new transport system developed, profoundly affecting Glasgow's future development.' This seems unusual given the focus on John Glassford as Businessman, previously, and the notion that Glasgow's industrialisation through the development of railways was rooted in the financial spoils of plantation slavery. In this, Glasgow's first Georgian exhibition, there seems to have been an opportunity to make the history of slavery more prominent. In my questionnaire, an overwhelming 81% of the interviewees believed that the city should publicly commemorate or acknowledge the role of slavery in Glasgow's growth.¹¹¹ Even so, several visitors had completely missed the presence of slavery, such was its sporadic display, and asked to be shown the location of the servant in the Glassford family portrait. This temporary exhibition, I suggest, could therefore have done more to connect the key objects with this theme as a starting point for a more permanent acknowledgement of complicity in slavery.

The changing title of the exhibition over time reveals the journey of the overall intended impressions of Georgian Glasgow. This thesis has suggested that, being largely

¹¹⁰ See p. 160 of this thesis.

¹¹¹ See Appendix.

invisible in Glasgow’s cultural memory, the Georgian era would prove a problematic period to harness and display. It should therefore be stated that the criticisms of *How Glasgow Flourished* are meant to suggest improvement in the next occurrence of such an event, and are fully respectful of the negotiations that are intrinsic to curation, as I have learned over the past three years. That said, the change in the direction of the exhibition has been such that key ideas were lost. Early ‘working titles’ suggest the focus on the origins of Glasgow’s eighteenth-century environment, based on Daniel Defoe’s (1660-1731) travel writing: *Georgian Glasgow: ‘tis the cleanest and beautifullest and best built city*; and *‘The Beautifullest city’: Glasgow in the age of merchants, 1700 -1840*.¹¹² In July 2012, 97 face-to-face interviews were conducted with visitors to Kelvingrove Museum by Glasgow Life staff and several titles were suggested and voted on [Table 1].

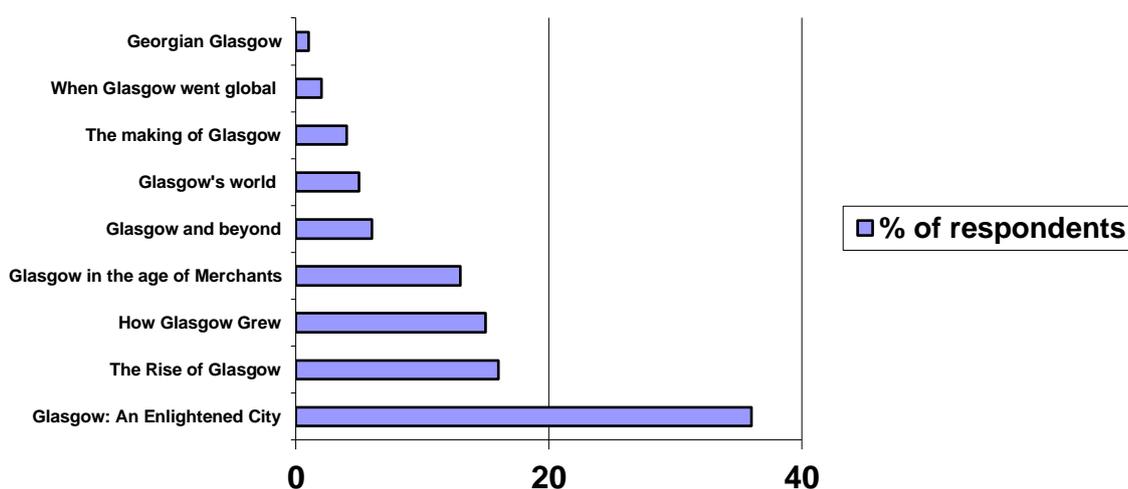


Table 1

It is interesting to note that the term *Georgian Glasgow* received the lowest votes (1%), which in itself is revelatory of the very issue at hand: the need to educate, exhibit, and encourage discussion on this period of the city’s history. More interestingly, perhaps, is the most popular vote, *Glasgow: An Enlightened City* (36%).¹¹³ It would seem as though the Enlightenment – that crucial concept which has featured throughout this thesis – was a satisfactory theme through which Georgian Glasgow could be introduced. In fact, an early Interpretation Plan by Glasgow Life stated that ‘the exhibition will feature the famous leaders, academics, engineers, artists [including] Peers (Duke of Argyle, Duke of Hamilton, Duke of Montrose), Lord Provosts, Adam Smith, William Hunter, James Watt and the Foulis brothers.’ Later, it is stated that, following the popularly-demanded section on Glasgow’s merchants, ‘the second theme of the exhibition focuses on Glasgow as a city of the Scottish

¹¹² Glasgow Life consultation report (16/07/2012).

¹¹³ Ibid.

Enlightenment.’ The document therefore outlines the necessity of ‘the men and women of letters’ in establishing Glasgow’s worldwide importance.¹¹⁴ By April 2013, however, the ‘Enlightened’ aspect of Georgian Glasgow was all but removed. Glasgow Life staff carried out a Family Consultation Session, offering two exhibition titles for the families to consider: *How Glasgow Flourished* and *The Making of Glasgow*. The former was the unanimous favourite. The loss of the Enlightenment in this context has its roots in the previous year, when a consultation day (28 April 2012)¹¹⁵ with around twenty-four participants led to the shift from the Enlightenment as a key theme towards the socio-economic background to Glasgow’s growth. As time progressed, the difficulty in utilising the Enlightenment may have been partly due to the presence of slavery. With the role of slavery being discussed in the media there was an evident wariness about portraying Glasgow as a city of the Enlightenment *and* slavery. On the surface, *How Glasgow Flourished* seems more like an unbiased expression of Georgian Glasgow than *An Enlightened City*. Not only does this engender a dangerous cultural policy of selective remembering, but it also reveals the true extent to the skewed understanding of Adam Smith, above, which was examined in Chapter Three. Smith, as an enlightened opponent of slavery working in Glasgow, would have easily combined these issues with as little embarrassment as possible.

This change of title and focus of the exhibition, then, brought about the wholesale forgetting – to return to memory studies theory – of the Enlightenment in Georgian Glasgow. As of the opening day, the word ‘Enlightenment’ did not feature in any of the object labels or panels. This represents a major problem in the figuration of Glasgow’s role in Scotland’s eighteenth-century intellectual landmarks. Because of this, the majority of people who were asked ‘Having visited the exhibition, can you tell me something you can recall about the Scottish Enlightenment?’ answered ‘I did not get a sense of the Scottish Enlightenment’ (45%). Others said ‘The Scottish Enlightenment has more to do with Edinburgh’ (13%): a harkening back to that traditional view of Glasgow as ‘Industrial’ and Edinburgh as ‘Enlightened’. In the third and final area of the exhibition, however, is a concentration of objects which *suggest* Glasgow’s Enlightenment. These are ‘World-Class Education’ and ‘Printing and Publications’.¹¹⁶

The former section contains a portrait of William Cullen (1710-1790) and the renowned image of Glasgow University from the seventeenth century by John Slezer (*d.* 1717).¹¹⁷ The panel reads: ‘At the University of Glasgow [students] would study under

¹¹⁴ Glasgow Life’s Interpretation Plan (19/10/2011).

¹¹⁵ The first consultation day took place on 2 September 2010. This was the second.

¹¹⁶ See Appendix 1 (pp. 258-264) for the location of these sections.

¹¹⁷ See Figure 1.

brilliant teachers such as William Cullen (medicine), Adam Smith (moral philosophy), John Robison (natural philosophy/ physics), John Millar (law) and Francis Hutcheson (philosophy).’ Are these not the names of the Glasgow Enlightenment? Their presence is overwhelmed by a lack of Enlightenment context and a familiar reliance on the Tobacco Lords and the narrative of civic wealth in establishing the character of Glasgow. And although this exhibition has begun to correct the problems of Glasgow’s impaired cultural memory, there is clearly more to be done in cementing these names, and the names of the authors explored in this thesis.¹¹⁸ During my time as a collaborative doctoral student, I helped curate the ‘Printing and Publications’ section of the exhibition (Fig. 56) and, based on my research on the Foulis brothers, helped negotiated their presence. This included the writing of object labels, panel texts, and choosing the objects and images through which to communicate this particular narrative. It is therefore important that the sections on printing and education are close together, as they provide an access point into the world of the Scottish Enlightenment, if not explicitly so.



Figure 56: *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837*, ‘Printing and Publications’ display.

As discussed in the chapter on print culture and religion, the Foulis Academy of Fine Arts produced impressive views of Glasgow from almost all points in the compass. In the exhibition, both of Robert Paul’s Views of Glasgow from the South East (1760s) were displayed, showing the artists skill with perspective and distance; effectively offering a zoom-in/zoom-out view of Glasgow from the same point. Beside these were Paul’s engravings ‘from the South on the East Side of St. Mungo’s Church’; ‘A View of St. Andrew’s Church from the Battlements of the Old Town House’; and four books. These were tourist books and histories of Glasgow, displaying the early-Victorian taste for local

¹¹⁸ A fitting example of this is the Hunterian Art Gallery’s portrait gallery of Enlightenment thinkers, which was further improved by the 2013/14 exhibition *Allan Ramsay: Portraits of the Enlightenment*.

historical tourism.¹¹⁹ Each book is opened to show other topographical views – suggesting the legacy of Paul’s work in the Foulis Academy – and, in the case of the history book (1881), the image on display is David Allan’s (1744-1796) ‘Fine Art Exhibition in the Court of Old College’ (1761).¹²⁰ It should also be noted that this image, from an essentially forgotten aspect of Glasgow’s cultural memory, was used as the primary image in Glasgow Life’s marketing strategy for the exhibition. A poster was designed based on Allan’s work, representing the starting point for a new feature of Glasgow’s exhibited character,¹²¹ taking its cue from a lively social scene in the arts rather than a bustling, masculine scene of industry [Fig. 57].

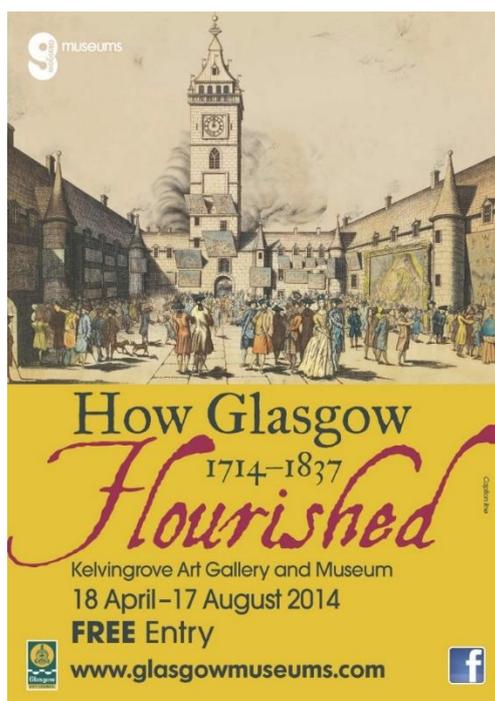


Figure 57: Poster for *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837*

Localising Cultural Memory

In this concluding chapter, the development of Glasgow’s character has been the focus. From there, the 2014 Glasgow Life exhibition was reviewed alongside the general concepts discussed throughout this thesis. It is therefore fitting to end with some focussed ideas on cultural memory and the potential for this exhibition, and museum spaces in Glasgow, to affect new interpretations of what is, at present, a predominantly Victorian city. In relation to this thesis, the problematic role of slavery and the elision of the Scottish Enlightenment

¹¹⁹ They were: *Select Views of Glasgow and its Environs* (1829); *Glasgow Delineated* (1839); *Views and notices of Glasgow of former Times* (1848 [1843]); and George MacGregor’s *History of Glasgow* (1881).

¹²⁰ See Figure 14.

¹²¹ 1% of visitors interviewed had seen this image before.

in *How Glasgow Flourished* are the clearest examples of the exhibition's unfulfilled potential. What is more, the complex interrelationship of slavery *and* Enlightenment seems to have prohibited either theme being properly explored, leaving the familiar narrative of industry with much more exhibition space than was necessary. This issue returns us to the review of Enlightenment literature in the introduction, in which the expected names and places of the Scottish Enlightenment (rarely connected to Glasgow) were highlighted and challenged. Indeed, most of the visitors I spoke to about the issue named David Hume, connecting him only with Edinburgh. Before any more is said on cultural memory, however, it should be stated that the exhibition has successfully promoted Georgian Glasgow as a new, meaningful term for the public.

My own role in the exhibition grew steadily from my introduction to the curators and the different museum venues from where the staff worked. From the Glasgow Museums Resource Centre, where I accessed the database¹²² and became familiarised with the processes that lead up to an exhibition, to the meetings at Kelvingrove, where vital decisions on objects and interpretations were made, I have witnessed the majority of the journey of this exhibition. Its links with this thesis have been beneficial: aside from the prominence of the Foulis brothers and works which came out of their Academy (an area of the exhibition I pursued for its ability to represent the otherwise lost Enlightenment narrative), the cultural memory of Georgian Glasgow has also been given a permanent place in Glasgow Life's strategy.

The permanent 'Glasgow Stories' section of Kelvingrove was renewed in March 2014; changing its angle from a focus on the city post-1990 to a chronological narrative of Glasgow in its various stages of development. The Victorian era is given the largest space and, given the prominence of industry and shipbuilding in the public imagination as outlined above, this is understandable. However, it is made all the more effective by the presence of Georgian Glasgow. This section includes a portrait of Lord Provost Arthur Connell (1772-1774), a map of Glasgow from 1775, and yet another topographical view of the city from Foulis Academy pupil Robert Paul. The importance of the Georgian era is explained in an official press release, in which it is stated that the Glasgow Story 'moves on to Georgian Glasgow and the 18th Century, charting a period in which the city grew significantly in size, stature and international influence.'¹²³ Herein lies the beginning of the officially renewed interest in Georgian Glasgow by its chief cultural body, Glasgow Life. My involvement in

¹²² Dr. Ellen McAdam, former head of Glasgow Museums, suggested that much of the collections there are still in need of cataloguing.

¹²³ See: <https://newsroom.peoplemakeglasgow.com/news/news-archive/march-2014/kelvingrove-glasgow-stories/> [accessed 08/12/15].

this is rooted in my arguments for a considered use of the term ‘Georgian’, in spite of its initial lack of popularity as an exhibition title. Together with repeated images such as the Foulis Academy landscapes which I had been researching, the era would become recognisable over time. Despite the shortcomings of a generally successful exhibition, Georgian Glasgow, it seems, has been given its space. But before a line can be drawn under this point, more should be said on Glasgow’s disjointed self-portrait.

Earlier, Carol Foreman’s crucial text *Lost Glasgow* was mentioned. In it, the chapter dedicated to the Georgian era is not titled as such: instead, 1707-1837 is titled ‘From Merchant City to Victorian City’ while 1837-1901 is clearly marked ‘The Victorian City’.¹²⁴ This is symbolic of Glasgow’s historical issue with the Georgian period. From the Union to the height of industrialisation, Glasgow has been underrepresented, mislabelled, and entirely overshadowed by Edinburgh in a national context (which we will come to below). This thesis and the several projects with which I was involved – none more so than the Glasgow Life exhibition – have made the case for a longer, more diverse Glasgow history. As a scholarly work, this thesis has been able to delve into the theories and discussions of literature and memory which were unsuitable, perhaps, for a public exhibition of this kind. Nonetheless, the wealth of the collections at the core of Glasgow’s museums has highlighted the need for more exhibitions, themed according to specific subjects which, rooted in the important work done in 2014, can fill the gap in cultural memory which has only recently been addressed. It may even be said that the forgotten people and ideas of the Georgian era can evolve and belong to Glasgow alongside the more familiar, reinforced character of the city.

The importance of cultural memory is implied by the interdisciplinary relationships that helped produce this exhibition and the issues of ownership, selectivity, and distinctive strategies therein. Unlike the civic affairs of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the ceremony and pomp of Glasgow’s character was not the concern. But, as I have argued, the cultural memory of this confident, Victorian *version* of Glasgow, including its industrial motifs, has never been adequately challenged until now. Therefore, the issues of Georgian Glasgow’s subservient place in Glasgow’s projected character – whether in museums or city streets – are dormant and invisible without any context. A statement such as this, in reference to periods of history in certain places, is reliant on theories of cultural memory. In particular, the relationship between cultural memory (or ‘transgenerational’)¹²⁵ and communicative

¹²⁴ Carol Foreman, *Lost Glasgow: Glasgow’s Lost Architectural Heritage* (Edinburgh: Birlinn, 2002), contents page.

¹²⁵ Christina West, ‘Memory—Recollection—Culture—Identity—Space: Social Context, Identity Formation, and Self-construction of the Calé (Gitanos) in Spain’, *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (London: Springer, 2011), 101-119 (104).

memory ('generational')¹²⁶ in shaping collective memories (the shared experience of a particular exhibition and its effect on the perceived character of Glasgow) as well as the importance of location are at the heart of this final analysis.

To sum up the use of cultural memory thus far, this thesis has dealt with printed material such as books and pamphlets in the proliferation of religious and secular ideas; the issue of the ownership of individuals from history and the ideas they represent; the issue of ownership and location as regards the remembrance of transatlantic slavery; and the dominance of Empire in the shaping of national identity. In each of these cases, comparative scholarship has been used to exemplify the role of printed literature, paintings, etchings, statues, and artifacts in the preservation of cultural memory specific to Glasgow-based people, institutions, and buildings. In *How Glasgow Flourished*, a similar dialogue was in play. Of course, objects and scenes from the past suggest the bygone people and places of that period. This is the most common relationship between the curator and the audience. Its invisibility, however, suggests an equally important cultural memory which has *not* been evoked. This is what we might call 'archival' memory; that which Aleida Assmann has described, through the words of Jacques Derrida, as being a 'political power.'¹²⁷ In the case of Glasgow's cultural memory, the main archival store is the newly opened Glasgow Museums Resource Centre in Nitshill, mentioned above. Outside specially acquired loans and relocated objects from other Glasgow museums, all exhibitions rely on this store in order to label the provenance of each object and therefore facilitate its correct, historical use. But, if 'control of the archive means control of memory,'¹²⁸ as Assmann puts it, the potential for certain objects and associated narratives to be elided is increased.

In a sense, then, the 'forgetting' of the Enlightenment in the instance of *How Glasgow Flourished* has been concomitant with the decisions made by the main curators. This implies the same issue which this conclusion has argued: the reliance on popular Glasgow histories in the representation of the Georgian era for the public. Even a short tour around the 2014 exhibition space and a glance at each section offers the visitor, I believe, a *reinforcement* of the character of Glasgow that already abounds: industrial and socially-conscious. Indeed, 15 of the 91 interviewees (55% of whom lived in and around Glasgow) used terms like 'reinforced' and 'reminded' when explaining what they had learned about Glasgow. These semantics reveal the dilemma of showcasing an underrepresented era of history locally, even with the use of local objects.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Aleida Assmann, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 328.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

In terms of location, there is a curious occurrence of collective memory particular to Kelvingrove Museum worth noting which, based on the discussions above, explains the persistence of Glasgow's repeated character. Eviatar Zerubavel has said that, across all age groups, 'museums are one of the institutional forms in which communities shape their collective memory.'¹²⁹ This is, of course, applicable to all museums, and is therefore as suitable to Kelvingrove Museum as it is to the People's Palace, despite their cultural differences. Zerubavel goes on to say 'it is important to consider not only what is represented, but also what is not represented', confirming the issues of elision raised above.¹³⁰ Taking these general statements and confronting them within the confines of the 2014 exhibition reveals further truths about Glasgow. Among the 91 interviewees, 25 (27%) of them stated that Kelvingrove Museum was their favourite place in Glasgow. Interestingly, one interviewee stated: 'What I like about this building is that it cares about Glasgow's history, whereas the National Museums in Edinburgh are meant to offer a more national story.'¹³¹ This raises the question of identity, as above, and suggests the insular cultural experience offered by Kelvingrove Museum, despite its national and international displays. Laurence Gouriévidis, in his discussion on the representation of the Highland Clearances in Museums (2000), confirms this when he refers to the opening of the National Museum of Scotland in Edinburgh on St. Andrew's Day 1998, and how this symbolic, commemorative act "challenge[d] head-on the notion that Scotland only began to flourish properly after [the Union with England in] 1707."¹³² Given that the Georgian era began in 1714, may we assume that *How Glasgow Flourished* was constructed with an imperial view of Scotland in mind? Based on the above, may we even say that a more British than Scottish context for Georgian Glasgow was evoked? As we know, Glasgow has long been viewed as the Second City of the Empire – at least as recently as 1950 – and an insular experience such as that which is offered in Kelvingrove Museum has its own cultural conditions.

To go further, we may even consider Kelvingrove Museum as a *lieu* (or, 'site') of memory which conjures images of Victorian Glasgow regardless of the content of its exhibitions. Built at the end of the Victorian period, in time for the Glasgow International Exhibition in 1901, the impressive building symbolised the Victorian wealth and splendour of the city. Beside the names of famous artists from home and abroad on the walls of the

¹²⁹ Mauro Spicci, 'Museums, Memory and the Shaping of Identity: a conversation with Professor Eviatar Zerubavel', *Altre Modernità*; 5: 2011 (Milan: University of Milan, 2011) 115-118 (116).

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 117.

¹³¹ Author's interview notes.

¹³² Quoted in Laurence Gouriévidis, 'Representing the Disrupted Past of Northern Scotland: The Highland Clearances in Museums', *History & Memory* 12:2 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 122-141 (124).

building are three-dimensional shipping motifs. It is no wonder, then, that a showcase of Georgian Glasgow should lean on Victorian Glasgow in this building. Indeed, we have spoken so much about the forgetting and misrepresentation of Georgian Glasgow in the public imagination that the presence of Victorian Glasgow, even when it is not the focus, has so obviously, if silently, remained. In effect, *How Glasgow Flourished* operated with not one dialogue (the highly edited narrative constructed by the curators), but two. The second was the popular, ever-present Victorian prism, in the form of the building itself, through which Georgian Glasgow was observed. This is when we can once again consider the time-frames in question. Today, one can visit a permanent exhibition within Kelvingrove Museum called *Glasgow and the World*, displaying paintings, souvenirs, and models which were originally on display during the initial Glasgow Exhibitions. As such, this permanent exhibition exemplifies how objects of collective memory (those bought, sold, and gazed upon in 1888 and 1901) can become objects of collective memory for visitors today, who view it all in a new context.

The sense of refraction from the original experience is limitless here, like a hall of mirrors; returning us to the point that Kelvingrove Museum is symbolic of Glasgow at the turn of the twentieth century. This is why there is also a sense of pageantry taking place in Kelvingrove Museum, a commemoration of a popular and long-lasting Glaswegian-ness. The recurrent sense of ‘reinforcement’ felt by visitors to *How Glasgow Flourished* was therefore an acknowledgement of the overarching character of Glasgow. After all, they had very few (if any) reference points for anything *other* than Glaswegian civic pride to be reinforced. This is Foucault’s *loi de rareté* again.

With Kelvingrove Museum emblemising its own time, the Georgian world on show in 2014 was arguably weakened by the comparative splendour and survivability of this great Victorian building. While it was a case of transportation with the Hunterian Museum in chapter two, we might say that exhibiting Georgian Glasgow in the West End relies on a unique set of negotiable characteristics. Brushing over slavery and the Scottish Enlightenment in the first instance might have been deemed necessary to introduce an almost-forgotten era. One can only hope that in future events such important themes are given more attention.

This crisis of cultural memory is aided by existing scholarship. As Peter Meusburger et al have said, the ‘social process of remembering requires a bodily practice of commemoration, often in the form of ritualised performances. Buildings, squares, statues, and street names “facilitate commemorative performance by reproducing and producing

social relations.”¹³³ In *How Glasgow Flourished*, the circumstances in which John Glassford made his millions, leading to his fame and memory in the form of Glassford Street, was one of the most popular responses when visitors were asked which Glaswegians they remembered from the exhibition.¹³⁴ But to what extent was he actually being socially remembered? What was evident in the responses was the public’s confusion between ‘remembering’ street names such as Glassford Street and Jamaica Street (with its connotations of slavery) and ‘remembering’ the Georgian era as a historical period: an era which had never been fully presented in any public space and could not be ‘collectively’ remembered. It is useful here to recall the point made in Chapter Three that semantics of memory such as ‘amnesia’ or ‘forgotten’ must be handled carefully: the most obvious example being that, while Virginia Street and Jamaica Street *can* connect the passer-by to Glasgow’s relationship with slavery, it does not always succeed. The reason being that the public do not share the same level of knowledge or cultural memory of this aspect of the city’s history. In the same way, Glassford Street and the other Merchant City markers cannot stand as suitable markers of the Georgian era. To borrow Michael Billig’s (1995) term, there is an insurmountable ‘banality’ that, like ‘unwaved flags in civic spaces’, lie dormant with little effect on cultural memory.¹³⁵

Having said this, it can be argued that the Kelvingrove Museum building in the West End of Glasgow – detached from the Merchant City, High Street, George Square, and other lieux of Georgian Glasgow – was instrumenting a sense of Victorian Glasgow throughout the duration of *How Glasgow Flourished*. This is why ‘place-bound rituals’ (such as museum-going) and ‘cultural artifacts’ (such as those on display during the exhibition) were effectively ‘solidifying’ predominant notions of the city ‘in the conscious and the subconscious mind[s]’ of the museum-goers. Anthony Smith has called this the “territorialization of memory.”¹³⁶ In Glasgow, it is clear that the built environment and the public imagination are bound by the image of what we can call, as Carol Foreman has called it, the Victorian city. The illustrations above, and the majority of responses in Appendix One, point to this same conclusion.

So, how do we go forward from here? By opening these Glasgow-centric issues to a wider, interdisciplinary scholarly audience I believe that new questions on the use of cultural

¹³³ Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan and Edgar Wunder, ‘Cultural Memories: An Introduction’, *Cultural Memories: The Geographical Point of View* eds. Peter Meusburger, Michael Heffernan & Edgar Wunder (London: Springer, 2011), 2-14 (8).

¹³⁴ 42% of the visitors were able to name John Glassford, making him the most memorable of the Georgians on show. The closest after Glassford was James Watt, who was named by 13% of the visitors.

¹³⁵ Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 2013 [1995]), 49-50.

¹³⁶ Quoted in Peter Meusburger et al, ‘Cultural Memories: An Introduction’, (2011), 8.

memory have been asked. As this conclusion has shown, being in partnership with cultural institutions such as museum services allows these questions to be brought to the public. With this transcultural approach, questions of remembering and forgetting can be answered more successfully. In this case, the perceivable absence of the Georgian era in Glasgow's cultural memory has invited a critique of the dominant character of the city. From here, particular themes such as literature, religion, slavery and the Enlightenment (with its own subsections of medicine, science, and philosophy) can be contextualised in *suitable* places. While the Victorian cultural memories of Kelvingrove Museum offered an introduction of the Georgian era through *How Glasgow Flourished*, harnessing the cultural memories of other institutions allows for the evolution of Georgian Glasgow. The Hunterian, for instance, has the potential to exhibit the men and women of Glasgow's Enlightenment while the Mitchell Library can provide a fitting format for the men and women of Glasgow literature. These institutions need not always be steeped in time or history specifically (especially since there is not enough Georgian architecture left in Glasgow to facilitate this history), but the relevance of the building is intrinsic to the success of the public experience. This was shown in 2014, during the course of the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow. As stated at the beginning, the Games were an opportunity for Glasgow to showcase its international appeal. At the same time, however, the lingering issues of Empire in Glasgow's cultural memory were addressed by Jude Barber and Louise Welsh in the form of the aptly named Empire Café. Held at The Briggait in Glasgow, the location itself – in the Merchant City, with the Merchant's Steeple looming overhead – was meant to aid the exploration of 'Scotland's relationship with the North Atlantic slave trade through coffee, sugar, tea, cotton, music, visual art, academic lectures, poetry, debate, workshops, historical walks, film and literature.'¹³⁷ These kinds of events are examples of what we might consider as multi-dimensional instances of collective remembering which (without ignoring the inevitable issues of ownership and selectivity that occurs in every public event) can offer an alternate experience to museums in publicising under-developed issues.

To put it this way: there are various ways to exhibit an impression of the past. As Gaynor Kavanagh has said, 'the images created by museums can buttress social identity, and consolidate social positions and class interests.' In Glasgow, this seems undeniably true. She goes on to say that these images can also enable 'the opening of new ideas and the articulation of long silent questions. They can even provide the basis for an agenda for change.'¹³⁸ *How Glasgow Flourished*, I believe, has provided this agenda. Glasgow Life's

¹³⁷ See: <http://www.empire-cafe.org/about> [accessed 08/12/15].

¹³⁸ Gaynor Kavanagh, 'History in the Museum – and out of it', *Presenting Scotland's Story* ed. Timothy Ambrose (Edinburgh: Scottish Museums Council, 1989), 27-37 (36).

final-product interpretation of ‘Georgian Glasgow’ in the exhibition may have differed from my own at times, but the fruits of this interdisciplinary collaboration have revealed the extent to which ‘images’ can be interpreted and remembered by upcoming generations of the public as well as academics and professionals from a wide range of practices. Institutional issues of ownership and misrepresentation become less prominent when more voices are heard. And as we look to use these voices to enhance the presence of Glasgow’s history, other educational and cultural institutions can use this project as an example for critiquing their own, unique cultural memories. Buildings may be demolished, authors and poets might fall out of fashion, but faded histories are not beyond our memory.

Appendix I

How Glasgow Flourished: Visitor Responses

This appendix will highlight some of the key data gained from my interviews with visitors to the major Glasgow Life exhibition *How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837* at Kelvingrove Museum & Art Gallery between 30/04/14 and 13/08/14. Out of the 112 visitors approached, 91 agreed to complete the interview and answer questions on themselves, the museum, Glasgow, and their opinions and reactions to the exhibition. Only 20 of the 91 visitors I approached had never been to the museum before. Many of the interviewees were approached during the Commonwealth Games season in July 2014. Out of the 91, over half of them (53) stated that their visit was specifically based on seeing *How Glasgow Flourished*.

Demographics

There were 45 male and 46 female interviewees. The most common age group was 55-64, of whom there were 29. With 27 visitors aged 65 or over, the majority of visitors interviewed were over 55. Those aged between 45 and 54 were the next most common group, totalling 17. There were 6 visitors aged 35-44s, 10 aged 25-34s, and 1 visitor each in the 16-24 and 10-15 groups.

The majority (54%) of the interviewees were Glasgow residents, while 12% were from elsewhere in Scotland. Visitors from the rest of the UK (England/Northern Ireland/Wales) accounted for 22% of the visitors. The rest were from the Republic of Ireland, Continental Europe, North America, the Far East, and Argentina.

General Reception

Overall, the exhibition was received very favourably.

The 'exhibition design and layout' was only marked 'Poor' by 1 visitor, who stated that the lighting was too dim and the layout (not being in chronological order) was disorienting. 10 visitors believed it was 'Average', while the rest rated it highly (37 said 'Good', 43 said 'Very good').

When asked about the ‘quality of the displays’, the responses were similar. The only visitor who rated the quality as ‘Poor’ suggested that the text on the labels was too small and not very legible. 6 Visitors gave ‘Average’ as their answer; 36 said ‘Good’; and 48 said ‘Very good.’

The most difficult features of the exhibition to gauge were the Audio/Visual elements. There were sounds and screens at various points, but this question also addressed the touch-pad maps. Out of the 91 visitors, almost half (45) of them did not engage at all with this technology. Of the remaining 46 who did: 1 visitor said it was ‘Poor’ (in the opening week of the exhibition, there were some technical difficulties with one or two of the touch-pads); 10 said ‘Average’; 20 said ‘Good’; and 15 said ‘Very good.’

The last question was aimed at gauging the ‘overall level of enjoyment’. This was the most positively received. No-one said ‘Very poor’ or ‘Poor’, only 5 said ‘Average’, while 34 said ‘Good’ and 52 said ‘Very good.’

Content Analysis

The first question the visitors were asked about the content of the exhibition itself, requiring them to name or recall certain objects/ stories, was: ‘What was your favourite part of the exhibition?’ Many visitors gave more than one ‘favourite’, and so out of the 91 visitors, a total of 121 answers were given to this question. Because not everyone could remember specific details, some answers were less indicative than others. For example, 8 visitors gave answers like ‘All of it’ or ‘I couldn’t possibly choose just one thing.’ Furthermore, in lieu of an object, some visitors named themes or ideas. For example, 3 visitors said ‘The Hanoverian regime’ was their favourite aspect, despite their being no single object to prompt this response. The Hanoverian regime, then, can be taken to mean the plural narratives of the royal family in Georgian Glasgow, which these visitors seemed to enjoy. Other answers such as ‘Working class people’ (7) and ‘Industrial growth’ (18) reveal that impressions of the tone/theme of the exhibition can often be more memorable than key objects. These two answers, of course, confirm the general argument in this thesis that civic pride rooted in post-Georgian industrialisation and working class culture are often the most dominant, intertwined attitudes about Glasgow.

The most popular answer was the ‘Weaving loom’, which took up a large portion of floor space (indicated with a red X on *Figure 58*) and, while it was inactive, it was aided by screens and sound effects showing a recreation of its Georgian-era use. The closest narrative to this was the ‘Radicalism and Reform’ section in the adjacent room: an important cultural landmark in the public imagination referring to the Calton Weavers and reiterating working class culture.

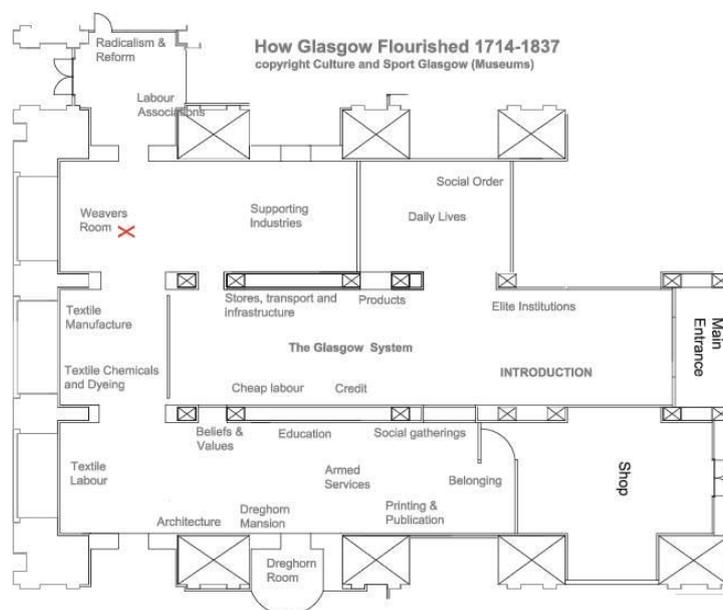


Figure 58: How Glasgow Flourished: 1714-1837 exhibition, gallery layout.

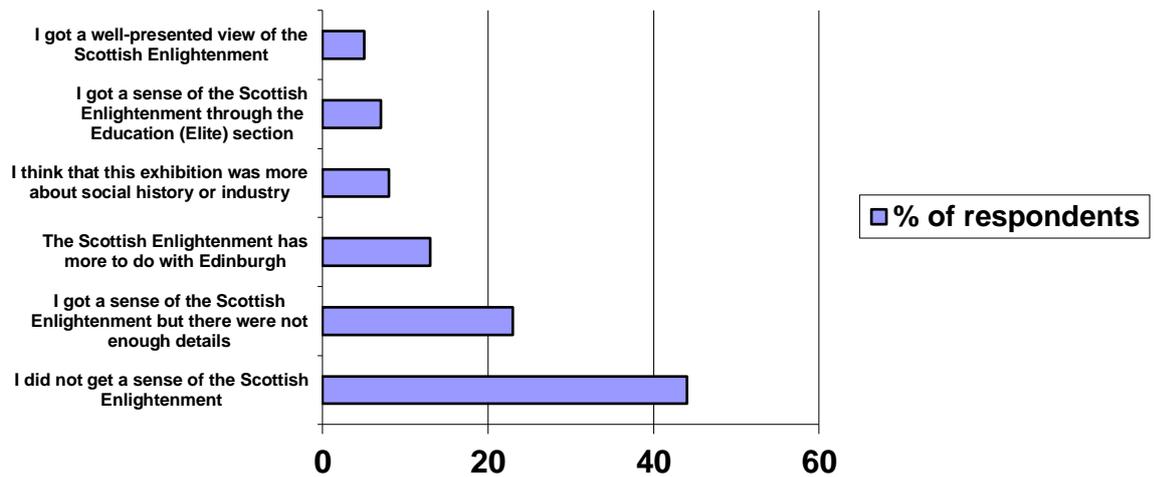
The next most popular aspect of the exhibition highlighted by visitors was the various views of old Glasgow, comprising of paintings, etchings, and the in-built design of the eighteenth and early nineteenth-century maps. Interestingly, both the ‘Glassford Family’ (present in the large family portrait with the controversially unnoticeable slave; object labels; and family tree at the exit of the exhibition) and ‘Slavery’ were named 8 times by the visitors. Other narratives named included: James Watt and his work on steam power; the miners; family history; the textile industry; and the Foulis brothers/ publishing history.

Perhaps reflective of these ‘favourites’ was the responses which allowed the visitors to indicate on a scale of 1 (strongly agree) to 5 (strongly disagree) how much they agree with the following statement: ‘Visiting the Georgian Glasgow exhibition has changed my ideas about Glasgow’s history (or) taught me something about Glasgow’s history?’ Only one visitor gave ‘Strongly disagree’ as their answer, while seven said ‘Disagree’. Indeed, the majority of responses were either ‘Neutral’ (18); ‘Agree’ (35); and ‘Strongly Agree’ (30). That most visitors, when indicating a positive answer, chose ‘Agree’ instead

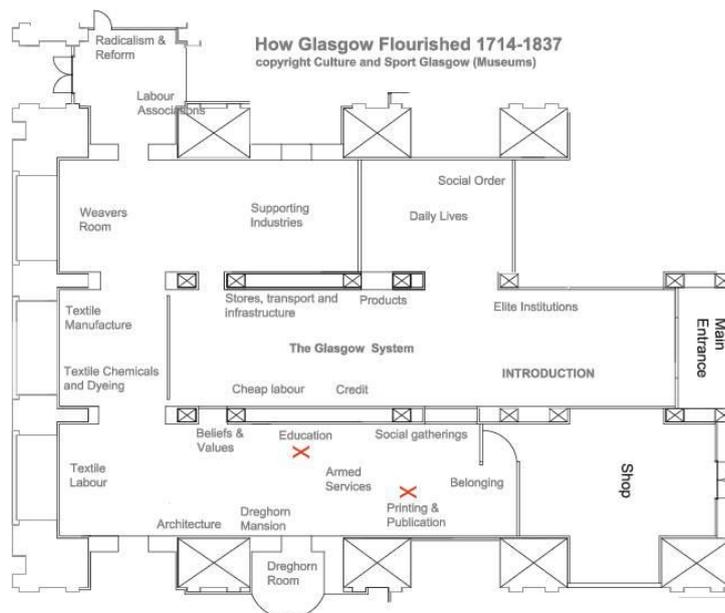
of ‘Strongly Agree’ suggests the recurrent notion of reinforcement (as regards Glasgow’s history) felt by the visitors. Of course, this exhibition was favourably received and undoubtedly educated many visitors sampled here. Given that the total of visitors was 57,753, it can only be assumed that *How Glasgow Flourished* has begun to reposition the Georgian era in the public imagination. Nonetheless, the popularity of ‘working class’ and ‘industrial’ narratives (above) was certainly confirmed in the visitor responses to this question. For example, one visitor who answered ‘Neutral’ stated: ‘This exhibition reinforced what I was familiar with.’ Another, who wavered between ‘Strongly agree’ and ‘Agree’ – opting, in the end, for the latter – said: ‘This exhibition reminded me what I knew vaguely and taught me some new things.’ The total number of visitors to use such terminology as this was 15 out of 91.

Staying on the topic of memory, and how visitors dealt with their recent tour of the exhibition, they were asked: ‘Having visited the exhibition, can you tell me any memorable Glaswegians you learnt about during your visit?’ As with some of the other questions, some visitors were inclined to give more than one name, and so the total number of names given was 115. With the highest number of mentions, John Glassford was named 38 times. This is perhaps a result of the placement (and size) of his family portrait, the recurrence of his family’s name throughout the exhibition in object labels and other family paintings, the family tree near the exit, and Glaswegians’ familiarity with Glassford Street in the Merchant City area. The next most mentioned name was James Watt (13), followed by Allan Dreghorn (8), David Dale (7), the Duke of Argyll (6), and Adam Smith (5). Other mentions of 3 or lower included William Skirving, William Cullen, Robert (and/or Andrew) Foulis, and John Anderson. 24 visitors said they were unable to recall a name.

These last three names: Cullen, Foulis, and Anderson, relate to the next question – aimed at gauging the overall reception of the Scottish Enlightenment in the exhibition. The term ‘Enlightenment’ was never used in the exhibition text, which makes these responses all the more interesting. This issue was dealt with more relatively in the Conclusion chapter of this thesis. For the purposes of the data outlined above, it should be repeated here that the issue of the Enlightenment, it seemed, was partly complicated by the presence of slavery. The table below displays the visitors’ responses to the question: ‘Having visited the exhibition, can you tell me something you can recall about the Scottish Enlightenment?’



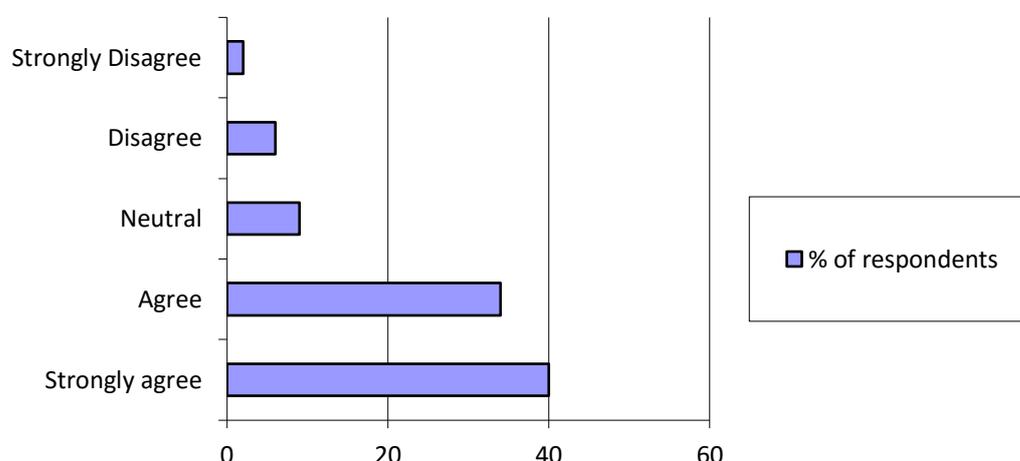
It might seem unsurprising that without the use of the term ‘Enlightenment’ in the exhibition narrative, 45% of the visitors did not ‘get a sense’ of it. But this question was asked with the intention of understanding how the Scottish Enlightenment came across, if at all. Some names were mentioned by visitors who wished to expand on their answer. And although Lord Kelvin was not a Georgian figure, he was named alongside the likes of David Hume, Adam Smith, and Thomas Reid. Crucially, these last three names *were* included in the exhibition, in the Elite Education section across from the Foulis brothers section (marked again on the gallery layout, as above).



Therefore, the Scottish Enlightenment managed to come across in general, contextual terms in place of any specific application of terms. It is not the purpose of this appendix to scrutinise the results: the arguments surrounding the meanings of them and other analyses can be found in the body of the thesis. Nonetheless, these figures do reveal that

the Scottish Enlightenment has limited capacity in Glasgow’s cultural history when it is not exhibited alongside other, more dominant narratives.

Given that slavery was, and continues to be, an important aspect of Glasgow’s past, the visitors were asked to indicate, on the same scale of 1 to 5, how strongly they agreed with the statement: ‘Glasgow’s role in the slave trade should be commemorated/acknowledged publicly.’ This was not intended to be a leading or confusing question. Indeed, it could be argued that the very presence of slavery as a topic in this exhibition was public (even official) acknowledgement. It was therefore made clear to visitors that something like a plaque, a statue, or a permanent exhibition dedicated to slavery would be classed as ‘commemoration.’ Out of the 91 interviewees, 40 said ‘Strongly agree’; 34 said ‘Agree’; 9 said ‘Neutral’; while 4 Disagreed and 2 ‘Strongly’ disagreed:



It is clear that most people were in favour of more public engagement with the issue. Some visitors who wished to expand said the following: ‘Of course we should, the whole of Britain was involved and other British cities have “owned up”’... ‘If there is no place for people to learn the history it will be ignored.’ Some of those who disagreed felt strongly that they should not be represented as pro-slavery or as being ‘ashamed’, and gave the following expansions: ‘The commemoration should take place overseas, from where the slaves were taken’... ‘No, there is no need to build statues, we should educate the upcoming generations about Glasgow and Scotland’s ties to slavery in the schools.’ Those who ‘Strongly’ disagreed with commemoration said: ‘Slavery is a thing of the past and it should stay there’ and ‘These were men of their time.’

It is hoped that these statistics and some of the recorded responses can aid in our understanding and future development of historical knowledge.

Impressions of Glasgow

The opening question was intended to be light-hearted and to encourage creative responses. It was: ‘What is the first word that you think of when I say “Glasgow”?’ Put another way, at times, it was asked ‘How would you describe or sum up the city?’ The most popular word/phrase, stated 13 times, was ‘Friendly’. ‘Diverse’ was given 5 times, followed by ‘Historical’ (4), ‘Pure Dead Brilliant’ (3), ‘Surprising’ (2), and ‘Cosmopolitan’. There were scores of other suggestions, including: ‘Eclectic... Modern... Dark... Hidden Gem... No Mean City... Tenements... Cultured... People’s City... Dear Green Place... Heavy Industry.’

The next question was: ‘What is your favourite Glasgow landmark or place?’ As before, some visitors responded with more than one ‘favourite’, and so there were 114 answers from 91 visitors. The most popular, with 25 mentions, was Kelvingrove Museum (the venue of the exhibition itself). The next most popular was the Trongate area (7); and the University of Glasgow (7); followed by the Glasgow School of Art (6); Kelvingrove Park and Botanic Gardens (5); and the Burrell Collection (4). The list included many more buildings, squares, and venues. 14 were unable to name a place, mostly because they had just arrived in the city or felt they had not had the chance to see enough of it yet.

Finally, the visitors were asked if they ‘Could name some of Glasgow’s famous writers or artists, from any time.’ With this question, it was expected that few Georgian names would appear, and that some of the ideas of popular cultural histories might reappear. By and large this was the case: Charles Rennie Mackintosh was mentioned most (33 times); followed by The Glasgow Boys (19); Alasdair Gray (12); William McIlvanney, Alexander ‘Greek’ Thomson, Adam Smith, and James Kelman (4). Other contemporary names mentioned were John Byrne, Liz Lochhead, Avril Paton, and Christopher Brookmyre. Georgian names beside Smith included Thomas Campbell, Tobias Smollett, James Boswell, and Robert Burns (whose Glasgow connections, though slight, may be admissible given his monumental fame).

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