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## Introduction: Scottish Cosmopolitanism at the fin de Siècle

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**INTRODUCTION:  
SCOTTISH COSMOPOLITANISM  
AT THE FIN DE SIÈCLE**

*Matthew Creasy*

When the stoic philosopher Diogenes was asked where he came from, he replied that he was “a citizen of the world” (“κοσμοπολίτης”).<sup>1</sup> Widely interpreted as a rejection of local affiliations in favour of more universal values, this gesture instantiated the view that cosmopolitanism is a call to look beyond the national towards other nations, languages and ways of being. From this perspective, the very idea of a Scottish cosmopolitanism might seem like a contradiction in terms, one that risks substituting a local interest in Scotland and Scottish concerns for a more international perspective on world events. In terms of timing, Scottish cosmopolitanism at the fin de siècle might also seem doubtful. As Andrew Nash observes: “The Victorian period in Scottish literature has long been viewed with embarrassment if not disdain”.<sup>2</sup> The end of the century became strongly associated with the “kailyard fiction” of S.R. Crockett and J.M. Barrie: sentimental stories of local life with a reputation for being parochial and inward-looking.

Those who sought to rescue Scotland from this seemingly least cosmopolitan of genres during the twentieth century had doubts about the values of looking further afield. During a notorious exchange in 1962, Hugh MacDiarmid denounced Alexander Trocchi as “cosmopolitan scum”: the implication being that Trocchi’s international affiliations in France and the Americas compromised his commitment to a Scottish writer’s proper

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<sup>1</sup> Diogenes Laertes, “Diogenes,” in *Lives of the Eminent Philosophers*, trans. by Pamela Mensch, ed. by James Miller (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 211. Thanks to Michael Shaw for comments and suggestions on this introduction during the drafting process.

<sup>2</sup> Andrew Nash, “Victorian Scottish Literature,” in Gerard Carruthers and Liam McIlvanney, eds, *Cambridge Companion to Scottish Literature* (Cambridge: CUP, 2013), 145-58 (145).

task of realising a truly national identity in their writings.<sup>3</sup> The sentiment echoes Charles Rennie Mackintosh who urged fellow designers in 1892 to be “a little less cosmopolitan & rather more national in our Archi[itecture].”<sup>4</sup> From some perspectives, then, Scottish cosmopolitanism may be undesirable, as well as unlikely.

Such tensions between cosmopolitanism and nationalism are more widespread than Scotland. They have been central to critical discussion of this complex and shifting term. But they also have a specific resonance within Scottish studies that should not be over-simplified. His bad-tempered verbal swipe misrepresents MacDiarmid’s international interests and each of the critical positions outlined in the previous paragraph has come under scrutiny. Counter to its “parochial and reactionary” reputation, Lindsay Paterson points out that Kailyard fiction “was produced largely for a market of expatriates”.<sup>5</sup> If the contents were local, the circulation was international.<sup>6</sup>

In *Scotland and the Nineteenth-Century World*, Gerard Carruthers, David Goldie and Andrew Renfrew, comment that:

the charges laid against nineteenth-century Scottish literature appear to have very little to do with nineteenth-century conditions or even the literature they produced; they are, rather, a product of what followed, a backwards projection of the overdetermined impulse for “Renaissance”, and are based, therefore, on an idealised, holistic version of “the nation” that few would subscribe to in the twenty-first century.<sup>7</sup>

On this reading, MacDiarmid and others are responsible for downplaying the scope and value of their nineteenth-century precursors for their own ends. Elsewhere in the same volume, Douglas Gifford discerns a “dynamic engagement with many pressing local, national and international themes and issues” across the work of a diverse range of late-nineteenth-century Scottish writers, thinkers and artists, from Patrick Geddes, the Glasgow

<sup>3</sup> See Fiona Paton, “Cosmopolitan Scum: A Genealogy of Beat in Subaltern Scottish Literature,” in A. Robert Lee, ed., *Routledge Handbook of International Beat Literature* (London: Routledge, 2018), 58-70 (58-59).

<sup>4</sup> Michael Shaw, *The Fin-de-Siècle Scottish Revival: Romance, Decadence and Celtic Identity* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2020), *passim*; the quotation from Mackintosh’s early lecture is on p. 130.

<sup>5</sup> Lindsay Paterson, *The Autonomy of Modern Scotland* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1994), 60/61.

<sup>6</sup> For reassessments of this genre and its reputation, see also, e.g., Andrew Nash, *Kailyard and Scottish Literature* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2007); Ian Campbell, *Kailyard: New Assessments* (Edinburgh: Ramsay Head, 1981).

<sup>7</sup> Gerard Carruthers, David Goldie and Andrew Renfrew, “Introduction,” in *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 15-20 (16).

Boys and Margaret Macdonald to Robert Cunninghame Graham, William Sharp and Violet Jacob.<sup>8</sup> Identifying the fin de siècle as a period of “cultural revivalism in Scotland” that pre-dates MacDiarmid’s Renaissance, Michael Shaw has argued strongly for its “decadent, symbolist and international dimensions.”<sup>9</sup>

This kind of critical work, sensitive to the topic’s complexities and potential contradictions, was central to the workshop-series exploring “Scottish Cosmopolitanism at the Fin de Siècle” funded by the Royal Society of Edinburgh.<sup>10</sup> The contributions to this special issue of *Studies in Scottish Literature* emerged from the workshop-series and both the workshops and this volume are based on the premise that critical work in this field must negotiate both the local and the international.

Essays in this volume probe the tensions between cosmopolitanism and national identity within Scotland at the end of the nineteenth century, exploring whether they are, indeed, necessarily at odds. In this context, it should be noted that even Diogenes’ famous words may have a particular, local resonance. As Bruce Robbins points out, this espousal of world citizenship may constitute a form of evasion and can be read as a way for Diogenes to disavow his birthplace on the Ionian colony of Sinope, from which he had been banished for forgery.<sup>11</sup> On this view, the Stoic philosopher’s principled refusal of local allegiance (which inspired advocates of world citizenship) is itself rooted in the particularities of his situation. The need to situate and locate cosmopolitanism is central to this volume, as part of redressing the bias in previous critical histories, identified by Carruthers, Goldie and Renfrew, and to re-situate Scottish literature and culture in a fuller and more finely calibrated sense of “nineteenth century conditions.” This introduction, then, looks at critical approaches to cosmopolitanism, before turning to the particular Scottish contexts of cosmopolitanism at the fin de siècle and frame the contributions that follow.

In recent decades, new conceptions of cosmopolitanism have arisen which seek to resolve or deny contradiction between the differing claims of

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<sup>8</sup> Douglas Gifford, “Preparing for Renaissance: Revaluing Nineteenth-Century Scottish Literature,” in *Scotland and the 19<sup>th</sup>-Century World* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2012), 21-35 (21).

<sup>9</sup> Shaw, *Scottish Revival*, 5.

<sup>10</sup> Royal Society of Edinburgh Research Workshop 64958 (2019-2020): PI: Matthew Creasy, CI: Michael Shaw. The project website archives video and other materials from these workshop sessions: <https://scoco.glasgow.ac.uk>.

<sup>11</sup> Bruce Robbins, “Introduction,” in *Cosmopolitanisms*, ed. by Bruce Robbins and Paulo Lemos Horta (New York: New York University Press, 2017), 21. See also Laertes, “Diogenes,” 198, which reports conflicting rumours from Diocles and Eubulides about the exile of Diogenes.

the local and the global. Famously, Kwame Anthony Appiah has advocated a “cosmopolitan patriotism,” observing that:

the cosmopolitan patriot can entertain the possibility of a world in which *everyone* is a rooted cosmopolitan, attached to a home of one’s own, with its own cultural particularities, but taking pleasure from the presence of other, different places that are home to other, different people.<sup>12</sup>

Cosmopolitan values, Appiah suggests, may even be strengthened by their roots in a particular and local culture. In relation to Scotland, this is clearly congenial to the understanding of the work of a figure such as Patrick Geddes. As Michael Shaw and Siân Reynolds have argued, Geddes’ attempts to inculcate a “Celtic renaissance” in Scotland were inseparable from his complex and varied international commitments, from the founding of a “Scottish College” in Montpelier to his involvement with the Paris exhibition of 1900 and his extensive international networks of exchange between scholars and teachers in Scotland, France and elsewhere in Europe. Indeed, Lorraine Janzen Kooistra’s contribution to this issue explores the central role played by Geddes’ magazine, *The Evergreen* in these activities, whilst Murdo Macdonald draws attention to the diverse and complex relationships Geddes cultivated in India and Japan.<sup>13</sup> One aim of this issue, then, is to provide a broader contextual frame within which to understand Geddes and his colleagues, whose work is becoming increasingly well-known.

For Appiah and others, redefining cosmopolitanism is a matter of present urgency: it has the potential to determine policy and practice at a global level. Cosmopolitanism is not an abstract ideal within these debates: as Martha Nussbaum’s recent work makes clear, it informs decisions about how or if wealthy nations should distribute resources to other parts of the world.<sup>14</sup> It impacts enterprises such as the attempt to slow or halt climate change and the status and rights of refugees. The “new cosmopolitanisms” advocated in various forms by Appiah, Nussbaum, Bruce Robbins and others seek to replace political approaches founded on national self-interest with a putatively cosmopolitan sense of humanity’s global responsibilities.

As Pheng Cheah has shown, the value of cosmopolitanism for these critics lies in its power to resist the hegemonic pressures of Western economic and political imperialism upon other (less well-off) parts of the

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<sup>12</sup> Kwame Anthony Appiah, “Cosmopolitan Patriots,” *Critical Inquiry* 23:3 (1997), 617-39 (618).

<sup>13</sup> See Shaw, *Scottish Revival*, 1-32; Siân Reynolds, *Paris-Edinburgh Cultural Connections in the Belle Epoque*. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 77-99 and 115-42.

<sup>14</sup> See Martha Nussbaum, *The Cosmopolitan Tradition: A Noble but Flawed Ideal* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019).

world. Appiah's appeal to "cosmopolitan patriotism" is motivated in part by the intimation that local or national movements have much to offer in the effort to extract justice from the international or global capitalist system. One difficulty here lies in finding articulations or constellations of nationalism that are capable of fighting off the homogenising effects of a global economic and political system without slipping into chauvinism.

Central to these ongoing debates about cosmopolitanism is the intellectual history of this diverse and complex concept. Nussbaum's *Cosmopolitan Tradition* works forward from Diogenes and Cicero through Hugo Grotius and Adam Smith to the activities of Non-Governmental Organisations in poverty-stricken areas of the Global South. Cheah starts from the "*esprit cosmopolite*" of Renaissance humanism, which posited "an intellectual ethic, a universal humanism that transcends regional particularism", and argues that Immanuel Kant's "Idea for a Universal History with a Cosmopolitan Purpose" (1784) instantiated a shift to thinking about "a world political community", introducing the responsibilities of the state.<sup>15</sup> The latter is just one of several recent accounts which place significant emphasis upon the shaping influence of events in the nineteenth century upon cosmopolitan values.

Pascale Casanova's *The World Republic of Letters* (1998) has been highly influential here in its account of the impact of Johan Gottfried von Herder's arguments about the links between language and nationhood.<sup>16</sup> In *Literary Cosmopolitanism in the English Fin de Siècle*, Stefano Evangelista draws upon Casanova's account to argue that the split between cosmopolitanism and nationalism debated by Appiah and others derives from the fallout of Herder's arguments as part of the rise of the Nation state in the Victorian period.<sup>17</sup> The fin de siècle was a particular locus of historical importance here, Evangelista argues, as an emergent crisis in imperial power coincided with evolving ideologies of nationalism and a drive towards experiment in the literary and artistic world.

Evangelista's study and other recent critical work such as Tanya Agathacleos and Jason Rudy's special issue of *Victorian Literature and Culture* dedicated to "Victorian Cosmopolitanisms" point to the double value of historical work on cosmopolitanism: through such study not only do we come to a better understanding of the past, but we open up the

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<sup>15</sup> Pheng Cheah, "Introduction Part II: The Cosmopolitical Today," in *Cosmopolitics: Thinking and Feeling Beyond the Nation*, ed. by Pheng Cheah and Bruce Robbins (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), 20-44 (22-23).

<sup>16</sup> Pascale Casanova, trans. by M.B. Debevoise, *The World Republic of Letters*, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2004), 75-81.

<sup>17</sup> Stefano Evangelista, *Literary Cosmopolitanism in the English Fin de Siècle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 5-7.

possibility of the better understanding of our present. (In the aftermath of Brexit, this may seem all the more urgent.) Inspired by Amanda Anderson's work on cosmopolitanism and distance or detachment, many of the contributors to Agathocleous and Rudy's *Victorian Cosmopolitanisms* find cosmopolitanism to be double edged: a receptivity to other cultures in the nineteenth century lay perilously close to the Victorian imperialist project and the material exploitation of those cultures.<sup>18</sup> Cheah's account makes it clear that such disquiet also has its precedents in the period under scrutiny, citing *The Communist Manifesto* of 1848, by Marx and Engels:

The bourgeoisie has through its exploitation of the world market given a cosmopolitan character to production and consumption in every country.<sup>19</sup>

Cheah discerns here a general ambivalence towards cosmopolitanism by Marx, who saw it as "both the necessary and positive condition of a worldwide proletarian revolution and also that which proletarian cosmopolitanism has to destroy".<sup>20</sup> Marx's thinking thus anticipates the sense within the New Cosmopolitan debates that cosmopolitanism is both the solution and part of the problem.

The same year that Marx was writing, John Stuart Mill observed in his *Principles of Political Economy* that "Capital is becoming more and more cosmopolitan," a comment which has acquired a canonical status as the first illustrative example of "cosmopolitan" supplied by the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The manner in which both these nineteenth-century writers use the term to describe the material interconnections between trading nations is highly suggestive. It reflects the way that, as Evangelista and others have argued, the nineteenth century proved transformative to the development of cosmopolitanism precisely because of the rapid development and expansion of travel networks and technologies.<sup>21</sup> Within this the material

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<sup>18</sup> See Tanya Agathocleous and Jason R. Rudy, 'Victorian Cosmopolitanisms: Introduction', *Victorian Literature and Culture* 38:2 (2010): 389-397, as well as contributions by e.g. Lauren Goodlad, Bruce Robbins, Judith R. Walkowitz and Regenia Gagnier (amongst others).

<sup>19</sup> Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The Communist Manifesto* (1888 text, transl. Samuel Moore; ed. Jeffrey C. Isaac, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 17; quoted in Cheah, 'Introduction Part II', *Cosmopolitics*, 26.

<sup>20</sup> Cheah, "Introduction Part II," *Cosmopolitics*, 27. Evangelista points to similar ambivalence and tensions for Giuseppe Mazzini between his Italian nationalism and commitment to a united Europe, in his *Literary Cosmopolitanism*, 5-7.

<sup>21</sup> See Evangelista, *Literary Cosmopolitanism*, 2-3; 38-39. In her contribution to this issue, Linda Hughes cites a similar observation from Valeska Huber and Jan C. Jansen, "Dealing with Difference: Cosmopolitanism in the Nineteenth-Century World of Empires," *Humanity*, 12.1 (2021): 39-46.

lines of interconnectivity fostered by empire and imperialism played a crucial role.

The empirical nature of these global interconnections corresponds broadly to what Bruce Robbins, following Scott Malcomson, designates “actually existing cosmopolitanisms”.<sup>22</sup> An important contradistinction emerges here between the shaping force of (“actually existing”) hard economic facts and what could be designated “cosmopolitan dispositions”—the attitudes and stances adopted towards such interconnections and their consequences. Diogenes’ curt reply was not just a statement of common humanity; it has been taken as the assertion and an embrace of that common humanity over other more localised claims upon his allegiance.

But the complexity of the term “cosmopolitanism” comprises a variety of stances and dispositions, and the nineteenth century is rich in examples of this. In some contexts, for example, its associations are negative. In 1891, Yeats praised the national achievement of fellow Irish poet, William Allingham, describing him as “no thin-blooded cosmopolitan.”<sup>23</sup> In comparison, a search for the term “cosmopolitan” in online databases of Scottish periodicals from the nineteenth century yields the largest number of returns during the 1890s in relation to lectures and classes on “the Cosmopolitan System of Dresscutting.” An article in the *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette* identifies a “Miss Hollinrake” as “proprietrix of the cosmopolitan system” and describes how she draws on “costumes from the Greek period to the present day.”<sup>24</sup> These different usages are cognate: they each designate, as Evangelista points out, “associations of worldliness and material privilege,” but they connote very different feelings about such “worldliness.”<sup>25</sup> Sophistication is something towards which many of us can only aspire when it comes to dress, whereas hostile responses to cosmopolitanism associate sophistication with detachment or cynicism and this feeds into ideological conflicts between

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<sup>22</sup> See Bruce Robbins, “Introduction Part I: Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism,” and Scott L. Malcomson, “The Varieties of Cosmopolitan Experience,” in Robbins and Cheah, eds. *Cosmopolitics*, 1-18; and 233-45.

<sup>23</sup> W.B. Yeats, “A poet we have neglected”, *United Ireland* (12 December 1891) in *Uncollected Prose 1: First Reviews and Articles 1886-1896*, ed. John P. Frayne (Palgrave: Macmillan, 1970), 212.

<sup>24</sup> Anon “The Cosmopolitan System of Dresscutting”, *Greenock Telegraph and Clyde Shipping Gazette* (15 September 1896): 4. Miss Hollindrake did not hold a monopoly: amongst other references, earlier articles in the *Dundee Evening Telegraph* (20 September 1894): 1, and *Stonehaven Journal* (17 August 1893): 3, advertise similar lectures by a “Miss Wilson of Glasgow.”

<sup>25</sup> Evangelista, *Literary Cosmopolitanism*, 16.

cosmopolitanism and nationalism. Hence Mackintosh's suspicions about the term and MacDiarmid's response to Trocchi.

The associations between cosmopolitanism and different kinds of detachment (for better and worse) have been amply explored by Amanda Anderson in relation to nineteenth-century literature.<sup>26</sup> For the purposes of this special issue, the distinction between “actually-existing cosmopolitanisms” and “cosmopolitan dispositions” is important because of the ways in which they are so closely intertwined. In terms of our understanding of Scottish forms of cosmopolitanisms in particular, Anderson's observation is very helpful:

What the philosopher Thomas Nagel memorably dubbed “the view from nowhere” is always actually a view from somewhere, a somewhere determined not only by the social and cultural identity of the author but also by historical and cultural horizons more broadly construed.<sup>27</sup>

The desire to detach yourself implies a position from which you wish to achieve distance. In the same way, an aspiration to global values still has to take place from somewhere particular upon that globe. Cosmopolitan “dispositions” vary depending who, what, or where you are; and most usually the “actually existing cosmopolitanism”—the local facts and history of particular connections—play a significant role in shaping them. This understanding is vital for an appreciation of why Scottish forms of cosmopolitanism should be a valuable and distinct object of study. For example, the global reach and cosmopolitan potential of regional “kailyard” fiction, cited previously, depended very much, as Giulia Bruna points out, on extensive international, transatlantic and transnational networks of publishers, booksellers, journalists and editors.<sup>28</sup>

Tom Devine's general account of Scotland's global economic standing at the end of the nineteenth century is illuminating here, since it argues persuasively that Scotland was deeply connected with the rest of the world in the nineteenth century, describing it as “a key player in the global economy,” despite a population of fewer than 5 million people.<sup>29</sup> Glasgow alone, Devine notes, produced “one half of British marine-engine horsepower, one-third of the railway locomotives and rolling stock, one third of

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<sup>26</sup> See Amanda Anderson, *Powers of Distance: Cosmopolitanism and the Cultivation of Detachment* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

<sup>27</sup> Anderson, *Powers of Distance*, 5.

<sup>28</sup> Giulia Bruna, “Ian Maclaren's Scottish Local-Colour Fiction in Transnational Contexts: Networks of Reception, Circulation, and Translation in the United States and Europe”, *Translation and Literature* 30 (2021): 307-31.

<sup>29</sup> T.M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation: A Modern History* (London: Penguin, 1999, rev. 2012), 252.

the shipping tonnage and about a fifth of the steel” (*ibid.*, 249-50). He points also to the international nature of this economic and industrial activity: “Scottish foreign investment rose from £60 million in 1870 to £500 million in 1914” (*ibid.*, 255). Outwith Glasgow, Devine draws attention to Dundee’s central role in the production of jute. This area of manufacture was international in its origins, stemming from the activities of the East India Trade Company in Bengal. It was also international in its subsequent relations: sacks manufactured from jute produced in Dundee provided the sandbags which helped sustain trench warfare during the first world war (*ibid.*, 250). By 1918, Devine records, “one thousand million sandbags had been shipped to the fronts in Europe” (*ibid.*, 261).

Whilst such deep connections to other parts of the world shaped cosmopolitan attitudes in Scotland, their determining effects were not simple. As Devine points out, the fulness of these economic inter-relations did not translate into improved conditions for all of Scotland’s inhabitants. Despite her global industrial reach at the end of the nineteenth century Scotland was a country of social inequality with a dire housing situation and high levels of unemployment (*ibid.*, 261).

Nor did economic success always translate into clear political clout or cultural prestige. Instead, this had to be achieved in more devious or roundabout ways. Robert Crawford, for example, suggests that Scotland’s “invention” of the discipline of literary studies in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was a direct consequence of the unequal distribution of power within the United Kingdom: with London as a centre of political authority and Oxford and Cambridge as centres of cultural prestige, Scottish universities taught Belles Lettres, he argues, in order to equip Scots with the rhetorical skills in the manipulation of English in order to fight their corner.<sup>30</sup> Likewise, Lindsay Paterson describes a “Scottish sub-parliament” in the nineteenth century, whereby Scottish MPs raised and debated Scottish matters within the London parliament with a high level of independence or freedom from their contemporaries.<sup>31</sup>

The nature and variety of Scottish cosmopolitanism needs to be seen against this complex background, especially in relation to Scotland’s position within the Union. The tensions between cosmopolitanism and nationalism have, for example, to be framed in Scotland’s case in relation to the close association between nationalism and Unionism at the fin de siècle. As Richard Finlay points out, prior to the First World War many Scottish Nationalists saw the Union as a key to increasing Scotland’s power and status, precisely through the connections and links fostered by

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<sup>30</sup> Robert Crawford, “Introduction,” in Crawford, ed., *The Scottish Invention of English Literature*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 1-21.

<sup>31</sup> Paterson, *Autonomy*, 49.

empire.<sup>32</sup> Scholars of Scottish history and culture are only just coming to terms with this as they negotiate the potential conflicts between the power and status conferred by Scotland's nineteenth-century global connections and the moral and political consequences of Scottish involvement in the iniquities of the British imperial project. Crucial here has been Michael Shaw's work on transformations and developments within Scottish cultural identities at the fin de siècle, through ideas of Celticism and cosmopolitan connections between Scotland and Europe and other parts of the world.

Contributions to this special issue are dedicated to the work of unpicking and tracing out the complexities and nuances of Scottish cosmopolitanism at the fin de siècle. Some of these may already be familiar or becoming more so. As Lorraine Janzen Kooistra's contribution demonstrates, the cosmopolitan affiliations of Patrick Geddes, William Sharp and their colleagues are obvious to anyone who opens the pages of *The Evergreen*. Their engagements with art and literature from across Europe are inscribed throughout both visually (through ornament) and verbally. But the essays in this volume also seek to expand present understandings of this growing field of study. Thus, Kooistra's essay draws important attention to Geddes's collaborations with women artists working on design elements in *The Evergreen*, using digital means to connect figures such as Nellie Baxter, Helen Hay, Annie Mackie, and Marion Mason within the cosmopolitan community of the magazine's pages.

Murdo Macdonald's essay also adopts this interdisciplinary approach. As well as drawing attention to the global reach of Geddes's interests and influence, Macdonald's essay explores the sheer variety of his interests from visual design and book-making to folksong. Michael Shaw's essay on William and Elizabeth Sharp reinforces these connections between cosmopolitanism and interdisciplinarity, since it explores their art writings in the form of reports on the artistic salons of Paris, published in the *Glasgow Herald*. Shaw pursues the tensions between cosmopolitanism and nationalism explored above, arguing that the Sharps rooted their fascination with recent French art in a pointed sense of national particularism.

William Sharp also features prominently in Koenraad Claes's essay, which examines the links and parallels between Scotland and Belgium as "culturally emergent" small nations at the end of the nineteenth century. Just as Sharp's fictional writings as "Fiona Macleod," such as *The Sin Eater and Other Tales* (1895), move between Scottish English, Scots and Scottish Gaelic, so, Claes argues, he saw parallels with the linguistic and

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<sup>32</sup> Richard Finlay, "National Identity, Union, and Empire 1850-c.1970," in John M. MacKenzie and T.M. Devine, eds, *Scotland and the British Empire* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 293-95.

political split between Flemish and French in the writings of his Belgian contemporaries and their investment in national revival. Claes, however, also warns that the parallels are incomplete and that Sharp may not have fully understood the value and implications of original Flemish writers.

This account focuses strongly upon a Flemish language periodical, *Van Nu en Straks* (“Of Now & Soon”), reflecting a common thread that runs through many of the contributions to this volume. Whilst an emphasis upon magazines, newspapers and manifestos reflects the rise of periodical studies within critical work on the nineteenth century over the last twenty years, it also relates to the specific role played by various kinds of periodical in the development of late nineteenth century cosmopolitan values. Agathocleos and Rudy identify a range of magazines and periodicals from the second half of the nineteenth century, including *Cosmopolis* (1896-1898), *Cosmopolitan Review* (1861), the *Cosmopolitan* (1865-76) and the *Cosmopolitan Critic and Controversialist* (1876-77), which set out explicitly to promote cosmopolitan artistic and cultural values.<sup>33</sup> Evangelista argues that as well as providing “a platform from which authors projected their cosmopolitan credentials and created their public personae,” these late nineteenth-century periodicals also brought to light “network-like structures that stretched across borders, enabling authors to operate internationally.”<sup>34</sup>

On this account, periodicals embodied cosmopolitan values, not only in their choice of form and contents, but in the material circumstances of their publication. The effects could be transformational: Robert Louis Stevenson’s incomplete final novel *Weir of Hermiston* belongs amongst those of his works which centre very closely upon settings from earlier Scottish history. As Linda Hughes notes in these pages, early readers even complained about Stevenson’s use of dialect and regional vocabulary. But it was first published in the very first issue of *Cosmopolis* in January 1896, where it appeared alongside work by Henry James, as well as original articles in French by Paul Bourget and Georg Brandes and German language contributions by Teodor Mommsen. Read in this context, seemingly parochial aspects of Stevenson’s *Weir* may need to be seen in light of recent work on Stevenson’s “global” values in relation to more obviously cosmopolitan collections such as *South Sea Tales*.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Agathocleos and Rudy, “Victorian Cosmopolitanisms,” 389.

<sup>34</sup> Evangelista, *Literary Cosmopolitanism*, 165.

<sup>35</sup> See for example, Angela Smith, “Scottish Literature and the British Empire”, *Scotland and the British Empire*, ed. by John M. Mackenzie and T.M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); Harriet Gordon, “*At Home in the World*”: Robert Louis Stevenson’s Global Literary Networks (unpublished Phd thesis, Cardiff University, 2019); and, especially, Glenda Norquay, *Robert Louis*

Publications such as *The Evergreen* and *Van Nu en Straks* clearly capitalise upon the manifesto value of the periodical press to galvanise and organise contributors and readers. Likewise, the career of Ruiraidh Erskine of Marr, outlined here in Alex Murray's contribution, revolved to a considerable extent around the establishment of periodicals and magazines from *Guth na Bliadhna*, to *The Whirlwind* and the *Pictish Review* as an outlet for his literary politics. As Murray explains, Erskine's contributions, collaborations and editorial influence sought to reconcile Nationalism and Unionism with his cosmopolitan and internationalist aesthetics. As such, his positioning reflects the complexities of Scotland's national, linguistic and political status in the nineteenth century outlined above.

Much of Erskine's campaigning advocacy for Scottish independence found expression in periodicals that were published outwith Scotland itself. In this respect, his activities are similar to those of Andrew Lang, who is the subject of Linda Hughes' contribution. Examining his regular "causerie" in the London-based *Longman's Magazine*, Hughes argues that Lang formulates a "discursive cosmopolitanism," which manifests his global literary and cultural affiliations by bringing seemingly disparate materials from different parts of the world together within his writing. Lang's column titled "At the Sign of the Ship" thus travels widely, bringing readers along a figurative journey around the world. Scotland, Hughes argues, lies at the heart of this imaginative global stravaing; it provides a regular touchstone through his existing connections with Scottish writers such as a Robert Louis Stevenson, but also through memories of Lang's own childhood in Scotland and his investment in Scotland's linguistic diversity. Although published in London, then, Lang's cosmopolitan outlook, Hughes urges, should be understood as a Scottish cosmopolitanism.

Kirstie Blair's account of working-class Scottish writers begins by drawing attention to more literal forms of mobility during this period: some working-class writers acquired cosmopolitan interests through their physical travels around the world as sailors and traders. The main focus of her article, John Parkinson (who after his conversion to Islam wrote as Yeha al Nasir or Yehya-en-Nasr) left work at a mill in Ayrshire and moved to Rangoon to work as a journalist. At the same time, other Scottish working-class writers followed Lang's approach, moving around the globe in their imaginations by drawing upon the resources offered by local libraries. Blair's contribution explores the intersection of these two different kinds of cosmopolitanism, tracking reports of Parkinson's literary activity in local newspapers, such as the *Ardrossan and Saltcoats Herald*.

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Stevenson, *Literary Networks and Transatlantic Publishing in the 1890s* (Oxford: Anthem, 2020).

Blair's account of regional Scottish newspapers reveals a cosmopolitan interest in literature and culture from across the globe at a local level in Scotland that may be surprising to some. As such, it chimes with Shaw's account of William and Elizabeth Sharp's writings about French art for the *Glasgow Herald*. Where critical accounts of cosmopolitanism have tended to focus upon relatively small-circulation, elite and avant-garde publications such as *The Evergreen* (with its beautiful, ornately stamped leather covers), these essays by Shaw and Blair belong to a burgeoning recognition that more everyday forms of cosmopolitan engagement can be found at the fin de siècle too. Crucial for the process of uncovering this has been an increase in research using digital archives based on late nineteenth century periodicals and books. Thus, Alison Chapman's contribution delves through the *Digital Victorian Periodical Poetry* project at the University of Victoria and uncovers poetry by William Sharp and John Davidson that was published in seemingly non-cosmopolitan serial print outlets such as the magazines *Good Words* and *Chambers's*. Probing the delicately allusive international connections of texts which appeared anonymously or under a pseudonym, Chapman asks whether their cosmopolitan aesthetics would still be acknowledged if the digital archive did not facilitate the revelation of these writers' identities.

Chapman's approach is closely allied to that of Lorraine Janzen Kooistra, whose contribution includes an account of various supporting resources (archival material, "personographies") that accompany the digitised versions of late nineteenth-century art magazines on the *Yellow Nineties 2.0* website which she curates and edits. Taken together, these two articles are highly suggestive for the overall project embodied by this special issue. Just as theoretical debates regarding the nature and value of cosmopolitanism continue to evolve and, increasingly, incorporate appreciation of particularist perspectives, so the potential for new digital resources indicate that the area of study outlined in this issue and these contributions is likely to grow too as readers and critics come to understand the complexity and diversity of Scottish cosmopolitanism at the fin de siècle.

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