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Benjamin West, 'Narcissus and Echo' (1805)

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Spotlight: Romantic Biographies

Alessa Johns, *Bluestocking Feminism and British-German Cultural Transfer, 1750–1837*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2014. Pp. 227. £26.95 (pb). ISBN 9780472035946.

Alessa Johns's book on the reciprocal exchange of progressive 'knowledge, methods, people, and goods' (1) between Britain and Germany in the decades of the Personal Union builds on her expertise in British women writers and the connections between Europe and its colonies in the long eighteenth century. Since Sylvia Harcstark Myers's ground-breaking study (1990) revived historical and literary interest in Bluestocking feminism, several publications and a National Portrait Gallery exhibition (2008) have attended to the achievements of female intellectuals and their participation in cultural and political debates in eighteenth-century Britain. More recently, the label 'bluestocking' has been extended to include discursive connections of both women and men debating issues of liberty and sociocultural reform in wider, transnational contexts. Johns's monograph is a notable contribution to this more comprehensive approach, standing as a well-researched, informed, and engagingly written scholarly exploration of the processes and agents of cultural transfer in the second half of the long eighteenth century.

The study departs from the narrower definition of 'Bluestocking' referring exclusively to the eponymous circle and salon, and uses 'the term [bluestocking feminism] in its broadest possible sense, applying both its original reference to both sexes and to interest in intellectual and philanthropic pursuits, as well as including later members of feminist intellectual circles in Britain and on the Continent' (12). Johns adopts Bruno Latour's actor-network theory to examine selected cultural transfer activities in four chapters that address the book as a cosmopolitan object and Anglo-German book trade before the French Revolution; the dissemination of progressive, feminist ideas through translations and translators; travel writing in the Napoleonic area and 'the gendered discussions of [the volcano metaphor] Vesuvius' (91); and the influence of transatlantic journeys on the perception and discussion of gender roles in Britain and Germany.

The first substantial chapter illustrates how books 'aided in national self-definition and at the same time furthered international connection' (19), introducing two women who were 'central in fostering the intellectual and cultural growth of northern Germany in the period' (26): British-born Göttingen publisher Anna Vandenhoeck, and book collector and 'bluestocking aristocrat' (26) Philippine Charlotte of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel. According to Johns, these women's nationalist self-affirmation did not conflict with their international orientation, which 'was of a more pragmatic, embedded nature' than the cosmopolitanism of male German thinkers who 'gave way to growing nationalism after the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars' (37). While Vandenhoeck's pragmatism was probably helped by the fact that she died before 1789, these two female cultural agents certainly lived and promoted what Johns (after Kwame Anthony Appiah) characterizes as an eighteenth-century 'patriotic cosmopolitanism' (38).

Chapter Two details some fascinating examples of translations that were conducive to 'transnational social understanding' (40), but also reflected nationalist peculiarities. While Meta Forkel's German version of Thomas Paine's *The Rights of Man* disseminated radical English ideas (57-61), Mary Wollstonecraft failed to transfer the 'pragmatic aim of social transformation' (66) of Christian Gotthilf Salzmann's acclaimed educational text *Moralisches Elementarbuch* (1783). Originally hired to 'further liberal ideology by teaching English readers progressive German approaches' (76), Wollstonecraft enhances the text with a metaphysical transcendence that ultimately weakens its protofeminist agenda – a remarkable case of progressive ideologies actually thwarting what they aim to achieve.

Chapters Three and Four deal with cultural transfer through travel encounters. Focusing on representations of Vesuvius in northern European travel accounts, Johns uses the volcano's literary rendition to illustrate gendered responses to war and catastrophes in the Napoleonic era (109-120). Her discussion of traveller, Shakespeare scholar and versatile writer Anna Jameson, whose journeys to Italy and North America run through the chapters, gives due attention to a fascinating figure of early transnationalism. Jameson's meticulous observations of Canadian First Nations' social structures complicate 'simplistic theories of historical progress' (128) by showing awareness of the intersection of class and gender in both the colonies and in Europe. Placing her in 'a long line of feminists beginning [with] Christine de Pizan,' (152), Johns portrays Jameson as an enlightened utopian thinker who rejected separate spheres for women and men in favour of a 'communion of labour' (150).

This stimulating book deserved more attentive editing. Dates of birth and death are assigned only occasionally to the historical figures portrayed, while some central contentions lose clarity in the attempt to widen the conceptual grasp of the study's approach. Historiographical methods like the *terrains vastes*, established in French scholarship but less well-known in Anglophone contexts, would have benefited from a clear exposition. Notwithstanding such minor weaknesses, the study draws attention to hitherto overlooked cultural agents and the historical means of transfer of progressive thinking in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Johns successfully corrects imperialist and nationalist myths to uncover a cosmopolitan legacy in micronarratives which, as the case of Anna Jameson in particular shows, provide keys to a new understanding of both 'the grand narrative of women's long-standing oppression' (170) and to both sexes' creative and engaged confrontation of it.

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Claudia Thomas Kairoff, *Anna Seward and the End of the Eighteenth Century*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2012. Pp. xiii+308. $55. ISBN 9781421403281.

Susanne Schmid, *British Literary Salons of the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013. Pp. ix+252. £55 (hb). ISBN 9780230110656. Pb. £21 (pb). ISBN 9781137557643.

In the introduction to *Anna Seward and the End of the Eighteenth Century*, Claudia Kairoff unequivocally presents Seward, the 'Swan of Lichfield', as a major literary figure from the 'end of the eighteenth century', a particularly apt chronological delimitation straddling the eighteenth century and the Romantic (or even 'pre-Romantic') period. From the outset, Kairoff casts Seward as embodying several of the cultural and literary tensions of this transitional phase through her many roles as a doyenne of cultivated society, a mentor of younger authors, a leading light of provincial culture (though one endowed with national relevance) and a fearless intellectual who mounted an attack on Samuel Johnson in *The Gentleman's Magazine* in 1786. As a figure of transition, Seward did not understand why Wordsworth had to write about daffodils, yet, at the same time, she wrote a hugely successful novel of sentiment in verse, *Louisa*, and encouraged the youthful literary pursuits of future key Romantic intellectuals and writers such as Walter Scott and Henry Francis Cary.

At over 300 pages, Kairoff's is a substantial critical-biographical study that usefully complements Teresa Barnard's more straightforwardly biographical *Anna Seward: A Constructed Life* (2009). By focusing on literary themes and forms, Seward's connections to her cultural milieu and socio-political environment, as well as the contexts of cultural production and transmission available to her, Kairoff throws light on the 'Swan' as a woman and an author caught up in a period of wide-ranging transformations. Her study both builds and expands on John Brewer's reassessment of Seward in a substantial section of *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (1997) – a precedent Kairoff explicitly acknowledges in her opening pages.

Even as she offers an overview of Seward's entire output, Kairoff also carries out detailed textual readings of sizeable portions of the poetry; and this welcome exercise throws into relief the poet's painstaking formal experiments, as well as contributing to explaining the praise her contemporaries lavished on her. Kairoff applies this approach to Seward's use of the sonnet and her famous polemic with Charlotte Smith over 'legitimacy' in sonnet-writing, but also in the case of other forms such as, for example, the locodescriptive 'Lichfield, an Elegy', which is meticulously analysed in the introduction. These textual examinations invariably confirm Seward's committment to the technical aspects of versification, while also bearing out the relevance of formal experimentation within the fraught transition from eighteenth-century to Romantic poetic modes.

Another priority in Kairoff's study is reconstructing the ways in which Seward combined privacy with her public roles, especially in the two chapters on Lady Miller's circle at Batheaston. These contain a detailed account of Seward's debut as a poet within a context of gentility and sociability presided over by a woman who was (or, indeed, aimed to be) a leader of taste. The most valuable contribution of this section lies precisely in its taking the Batheaston circle seriously, instead of treating it as a footnote or dismissing it as a diverting coterie of dilettantes. Here, Lady Miller is not a clueless *parvenue* sponsoring mediocre writers for her own self-aggrandizement, but rather a patroness providing a creative outlet and promoting textual circulation at the meeting-point of national and local cultures. In this respect, Kairoff offers some sharp discussions of how Seward's compositions for the Batheaston gatherings rework these socio-cultural themes, and the related question of Seward's conservatism and patriotism.

Kairoff depicts Seward as an enduringly relevant poet because of her position within the network of continuities, transitions and transformations that affected her aesthetics and modes of literary production and circulation. And, in terms of Seward's impact, Kairoff sometimes suggests – and on occasion examines – the connections between Seward and Scott, Keats, and Elizabeth Barrett. On the whole, the book succeeds in carrying out a triple operation – assessing Seward's poetry through close readings that do justice to its thematic richness and formal complexity; confirming her as a late-century promoter of earlier literary developments, though also keeping an eye on new developments; and acknowledging her as an historically-aware, aesthetically adventurous representative of early Romantic-period literature.

While Kairoff's interest centres on Seward's links to the Batheaston circle, in her study of literary salons in Romantic-era Britain Susanne Schmid undertakes a wider-ranging and variously groundbreaking investigation, which provocatively begins by invoking Marc Augé's notion of the 'non-place'. Schmid casts salons as virtual spaces or spaces of ideas that were not necessarily connected to a precise physical location. Within this theoretical framework she places her meticulous reconstruction of names, venues, events and texts, which she explores through the categories of sociability, theatricality and conversation. If, as we know, social and sociable 'Romanticism' has emerged as a major theme over the last ten to fifteen years largely thanks to Gillian Russell's and Clara Tuite's landmark *Romantic Sociability* (2002), Schmid's book offers itself as a substantial contribution to this ever-expanding area of research. Its explicit purpose is that of 'restoring British salon sociability to the pantheon of culturally

relevant sites' (2) alongside coffeehouses, theatres and clubs, thus awarding British salons the relevance which those of contemporary France, Germany, Italy and Spain have always enjoyed in literary and cultural studies of these national traditions. To this end, Schmid envisages salons within a long-term perspective, as they testify to how the Bluestocking tradition continued well into and beyond the Romantic period; at the same time, she highlights those peculiarities and specificities of Romantic-era salons that were occasioned by the mutating social, political and cultural conditions within which these gatherings, and the women who presided over them, existed and developed.

Besides providing cultural-historical contextualization, Schmid's introduction illustrates several terminological and theoretical points such as the notions of the 'non-place', 'social sphere' and performativity. It is followed by three sections focusing on as many representative salons. The first deals with Mary Berry, whom Madame de Staël called 'the cleverest woman in England' (51), her salon-related activities both at home and abroad, her connections with Horace Walpole and Anne Damer, as well as her activities as a dramatist and an editor. The second section focuses on Lady Holland and her salon at Holland House, the most prestigious and longest-lived of those examined by Schmid. The value of this section lies particularly in the unprecedented degree of attention it devotes to Lady Holland herself – that is, her personality and power in animating the cultural life of Holland House, but also her writings (in this respect, Schmid provides a rare and valuable analysis of her 'Spanish Journal'). Finally, the third section concentrates on the fascinatingly scandalous Marguerite, Countess of Blessington, and her manifold literary activities in the context of the four salons she ran at different times, one of which was the constantly changing group she gathered in several Continental cities (such as Naples, Genoa and Paris) between 1822 and 1829.

The book is refreshingly open about the difficulties of this kind of project and, especially, about the challenges posed by orality, the fleeting nature of conversation in the sociable practices at the heart of salon life, and the lack of solid textual evidence beyond an occasional 'terse diary entry or a short passage in a letter' (55). Schmid builds her study on a vast array of facts, anecdotes and *dramatis personae*, which, however, never resolve into a chaotic jumble, as the book presents a clear structure based on the arguments and theoretical premisses laid out in the introduction. If anything is missing from this study, it is perhaps a more detailed contextualization of Romantic salons within the broader picture of salon history in Britain between the mid-eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, as this would have emphasized even more clearly the cultural fractures between pre- and post-Romantic salons. This possible shortcoming, however, is more than fully compensated by Schmid's careful interpretations of specific materials and episodes, as well as the insights she repeatedly opens up into a sizeable gallery of women who were directly involved in cultural production and diffusion and who must be acknowledged and reappraised as major 'authors of the social sphere' (69). Together with Kairoff's study, Schmid's book confirms the vitality of the ongoing work of rediscovery of the central role played by women in constructing and promoting participative cultural debate in Romantic-era Britain.

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Laura Kirkley, ed., *Caroline of Lichtfield* by Isabelle de Montolieu. Trans. Thomas Holcroft. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2014. Pp. xxxii + 270. £60. ISBN 9781848933927.

In her groundbreaking book *The Popular Novel in England 1770-1800* (1932), J.M.S. Tompkins has a chapter on 'Didacticism and Sensibility': two concepts that might seem mutually exclusive, but that were often complementary. Novelists used the paradigm of sensibility as a matter of course because it was the dominant aesthetic and ethical model in the second half of the eighteenth century, but also because it enabled them to make in a seemingly innocuous form points about social, and especially gender, relations. This 'ideological' function is to be found in the novel under review.

Isabelle de Montolieu, a Swiss writer, had a variegated career, translating and adapting a great many novels from several European languages of which she had sometimes a limited command, as she herself readily acknowledged. Her translation of Jane Austen's *Sense and Sensibility* heightens the feelings in it and makes sensibility much less ambivalent than in the original; she also tampers with the plot quite freely, having Willoughby marry the young woman he seduced. Indeed, in Montolieu's prolific works, it is sometimes difficult to tell what is original and what is a loose adaptation, some of the works she translated having been lost.

Her first novel *Caroline de Lichtfield, ou Mémoires d'une famille prussienne*, published in 1786, was extremely successful and remained so for decades. When Montolieu was preparing the manuscript for publication, she had the editorial support of no less than the historian Edward Gibbon and Jacques Georges Deyverdun, the translator into French of Goethe's *Werther*. Thomas Holcroft, who probably chose to translate this novel for commercial reasons, was, like Montolieu, both a novelist and a translator, but he took a less adaptive approach to translation than she did. With this novel Montolieu clearly made a deeper impression on her readers than many novelists of sensibility. The dénouement of *Caroline de Lichtfield* diverges from the standard sentimental plot in having the protagonist come to love her disfigured husband; having initially been attracted to an attractive young man, Lindorf, she gradually warms to her kind, thoughtful older husband, who is a sort of father figure and offers a companionate marriage. This unconventional ending may partly explain why Maria Edgeworth wished to visit Montolieu in 1820; Edgeworth also enjoyed reading sentimental fiction and allowed herself to shed tears over it, although she very much resisted effusive sentiment in her own fiction. Austen may have been influenced by Montolieu's novel when she devised the plot of 'Elinor and Marianne', the first version of *Sense and Sensibility*, in the 1790s. The question of second attachments was still taken very seriously in the second half of the eighteenth century, having been dramatized at length in Samuel Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*; this question runs through *Sense and Sensibility* and Maria Edgeworth's *Belinda*. Second attachments were deemed by conventional moralists to be incompatible with female delicacy and propriety, but these novelists were anxious to uphold notions of female rationality and agency, which transcend the essentially physical and intuitive dictates of sensibility.

Caroline of Lichtfield is a novel of high sensibility, but Laura Kirkley argues, in her Introduction, that it can also be self-reflexive and subtly ironical. She places this work in Montolieu's œuvre, discusses it as a Swiss novel and contrasts it with Rousseau's *Julie, ou la nouvelle Héloïse* and *Emile*. As Kirkley touches on late eighteenth-century and modern translation theory in her Introduction, she might have explained the ways Holcroft tailored his translation for 'the British target readership' (xviii). However, the helpful endnotes *do* comment on many aspects of Holcroft's translation; Kirkley shows how Holcroft sometimes condensed the text, sometimes expanded it, underlining certain points, without seeming to have one clear end in view when carrying out those changes. The notes also elucidate literary and

historical references, and show how Montolieu to some extent critiques the paradigm of sensibility.

This edition provides a select bibliography, a chronology of both Montolieu and Holcroft, a note on the text, four appendices, editorial notes and textual variants, all of which are very helpful. Altogether, this is a very welcome addition to the Chawton House Library Series.

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Saeko Yoshikawa, *William Wordsworth and the Invention of Tourism, 1820-1900*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014. Pp. xii+268. £65. ISBN 9781472420138.

The word 'invention' in the title of Yoshikawa's book suggests a conscious and deliberate attempt to build and shape tourism. Yoshikawa begins her exploration of a series of mid-nineteenth-century 'Wordsworthian pilgrimage[s]' (48) by taking readers through the unpublished 1850 album, *Wordsworth*, previously owned by an art collector in the late nineteenth century, and bestowed to the Wordsworth Trust in 2006 by Dr Duncan Thomson. Although the collective, commercial idea of touring was still distant at the time of the album's composition, Yoshikawa underlines the significance of its pencil sketches – visual representations of Wordsworthian places in the manner closest to the poet's own vision, particularly of the four houses he resided in. While the artist exhibits an almost intimate knowledge of Wordsworth and his circle, such as Wordsworth's interest in the chimneys of Loughrigg Holme and Southey's more frequently-trodden entry near Greta Hall, not every visitor to the Lake District was lucky enough to possess such privileged first-hand knowledge. They had to rely on local anecdotes and descriptions in guidebooks to learn about the poet. Carefully written and rich in detail, Yoshikawa's book provides readers with an abundance of quotations from personal accounts of visitors to illustrate how guidebooks mediated between these and actual places in the Lake District from 1802 to 1900.

Yoshikawa makes extensive use of guidebooks to show how the Wordsworthian connections of various places gradually came to crystalise, deposit, and accumulate in people's hearts, offering a new way of understanding the formation of those connections as a century-long process. In Chapter 2, she points readers to a time when Wordsworth's quotations were lacking or treated only as one of many in early guidebooks, especially those published after the continuing fashion for picturesque tourism in the 1810s and 20s. She notes that before the 1820s and 30s, when quotations from *The Excursion* (1814) became standardised, visits to Rydal Mount were mainly prompted by the intention to obtain picturesque views from Wordsworth's house. Yoshikawa not only gives readers a gradual sense of development of Wordsworth's popularity and his association with the Lake District, but also of the legitimacy of his residences as Wordsworthian memorials (170). For instance, it took years for Dove Cottage to succeed Rydal Mount as 'Wordsworth's cottage'. Yoshikawa draws her readers' attention to factors that affect a place's legitimacy as a memorial to the poet, including its status of ownership (e.g. tenants' deterrence of visitors from the privately-owned Rydal Mount), the certainty of its essential connections with Wordsworth (e.g. debates over which house in Hawkshead was the poet's residence), and the availability of the poet's published works and guidebooks to popularise it.

Reading Yoshikawa's investigation of the aforesaid process of mediation leads to the discovery that the authenticity of some places as Wordsworthian sites/locales have not been fully verified before they were brought to the attention of guidebook readers, a strategy that

Yoshikawa has described as a play between 'fact and fancy' (170). In Chapter 6, she shows the materialist approach to be prevalent from the 1860s among guidebook writers who strove to discover places where tangible legacies of the poet were still to be found, including Wordsworth's Seat in Rydal that overlooks the lake and vale. This emphasis on the tangible could perhaps be compared, contrasted, and even related to the enormous interest in materiality expressed in recent Romantic criticism.

The strength of Yoshikawa's informative and descriptive approach is complemented by the revealing facts with which she presents readers; some of which have the potential to significantly impact our understanding of what might be called the internationalisation of Romantic readership and influence that has gradually gained the attention of Romantic scholars working on comparative poetry and legacy. She touches on the question of ownership, inquiring why Wordsworth's four residences, despite not having been owned by himself, have become so imbued with the nation's (and even the world's) memories of him. Generations of visitors, including the hitherto underexplored Ichinosuke Takagi (1888-1974) exhibited a longing for a personal and place-specific kind of physicality in living out the spiritual connection they had established with Wordsworth through their reading.

In the course of Yoshikawa's examination of the history of guidebooks and Wordsworth's poetry interlocking to construct places of memory related to the poet, she touches on the recent themes of preservation (Chapter 6) and environmental protection (Chapter 2). While her central metaphors, the reading of landscape (12) and the Lake District as a museum, have been adopted from Nicola Watson's recent book *The Literary Tourist* (2006) and Ann Wroe's article 'A Continuous Force' respectively, some of her core concepts, such as the keyword 'quasi-religious' (89) describing visitors' search for the experience with Wordsworth's spirit that presides over various 'haunts' (1) show hints of having descended from what Geoffrey Hartman called the 'spirit of place'(212) in *Wordsworth's Poetry 1787-1814* (1964). It is with terminology traditionally familiar to Wordsworthian study that Yoshikawa brings to readers her new angle on Wordsworth's personal and poetic engagement with places; one that is backed up by historical study of those places (such as their ownership and changes through urban development) and confirmed by biographical records of his exchange with the locals. She has enabled us to see through the unique and penetrating lenses of the painter of the 1850 album and enlarged our vision of Wordsworthian landscapes and monuments.

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José Ruiz Mas, María Antonia López-Burgos del Barrio, and Eroulla Demetriou, eds., *Women's Travel Writings in Iberia*. Chawton House Library Series. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2013. Vol. 1. Pp. xxx-258; Vol. 2. Pp. 270; Vol. 3. Pp. xii-422; Vol. 4. Pp. 431; and Vol. 5. Pp. xvii-459. £425. ISBN 9781851966479.

The recognition of the impact of Spain and Portugal in British Romanticism has of late been an issue arousing considerable interest among scholars who dedicate their research to Anglo-Spanish and Anglo-Portuguese literary relations, namely Saglia (2000), Alberich (2001, 2013), Machado de Sousa (2007), Duarte (2010), Almeida (2010), Gândara-Terenas (2012), and Coletes-Blanco and Laspra-Rodríguez (2013). Their studies deserve due attention as they re-introduce the idea of cultural interchange among the different participants of the Peninsular War (Spain-Britain and Portugal-Britain) who fought their common enemy: Napoleon

Bonaparte. The British Romantic 'discoverers' of Spain and Portugal soon realized that these two countries, systematically ignored by the educational Grand Tour of the eighteenth century, enjoyed rich Roman and Arabic/Oriental artistic heritages and boasted powerful vernacular literatures, histories and folklore. Furthermore, the heroic peoples of Spain and Portugal had recently proven thirsty for social and political revolution, longing for their own liberal Constitutions (1812 and 1822 respectively), fighting for their independence from the invasion of a foreign power and from the political and ideological manacles of the omnipotent Roman Catholic Church, absolutist monarchies and an army of idle aristocrats. The 1830-50 period saw a large group of intrepid British ladies crisscross the Iberian Peninsula in search of the personal and psychological freedom that their Romantic and early Victorian society had denied them.

This is the historical and literary backdrop against which Pickering & Chatto's series *Women's Travel Writings in Iberia* comes to the fore. The Iberian series consists of three travel accounts published in the first half of the nineteenth century and now re-published in a facsimile edition and accompanied by a General Introduction, a Chronology of the life and works of each of the three travel writers, and editorial notes, all written by three Spanish travel literature experts of international renown.

The choice of the English authors, Marianne Baillie, Lady Henrietta Georgiana Chatterton and Sarah Ellis as representatives of female travellers in Iberia during the Romantic/early Victorian period is probably determined by the limited selection of Iberian travelogues available in the Chawton House Library. Baillie (c.1795-c.1831), it must be granted, did write a popular account in the shape of a collection of letters to her mother on her nearly three-year stay in Lisbon and Sintra, where her husband had been sent to work due to an (unexplained) interest of their personal protector, Lord Chichester. Although she hated almost every minute of her first two years in Portugal, she faithfully described the social and political atmosphere of post-Peninsular-War Portugal under D. João IV, who spent most of his reign in Brazil. An extra asset to Baillie's account is the inclusion of several of her poems, written while in Portugal, which she later used in her *Trifles in Verse* (1825), a collection that turned her into a minor poet of the time.

However, Chatterton and Ellis are not so relevant to the history of English female travel writing in nineteenth-century Spain. Chatterton (1806-1876) became a well-known travel writer on Ireland and the French Pyrenees, but her meagre experience of Spain was limited to three short excursions to San Sebastian and to some remote rural areas of Catalonia. Due to her constant 'low spirits' (as she used to call them), she travelled with difficulty and was constantly looking forward to returning to her travel headquarters in the French Pyrenees, where she felt safer and more comfortable. Yet Chatterton can be viewed as a real expert on things Spanish if one compares her to Ellis.

Indeed, Ellis (1799-1872), the best-selling writer of treatises about how to be the model English Victorian middle-class and upper-class mother, daughter or wife for the sake of the glory of the British Empire, did not even once cross the French border to visit a single Spanish village. She travelled to the French Pyrenees with her husband, Rev. William Ellis, a well-known Congregationalist missionary, in order to allow him to spend a few months of rest and rehabilitation among its spas and idyllic mountain views after suffering from what seems to have been depression. Ellis plagiarised French local guides on the Pau and the Bearn area, as the volume's editor Eroulla Demetriou shows. In the eyes of a staunch Congregationalist like Ellis, the south of France was contemplated as an only slightly less uncivilized prolongation of Spain. Her only views of 'Spain' are focused on her disgust for the abundant Spanish- banditti-looking shepherds and Arab-looking mule-drivers that she often sees on the French mountain paths.

English travel in Portugal is well represented by Baillie, but other British post-Peninsular-War women travellers in Spain (Londonderry, Witson, Grovenor, Romer, Quillinan, Tenison, to name but a few), would have made a better choice. However, this does not detract from the good editing of the three selected works. The editors include an illuminating General Introduction to the three travel accounts and to the period, more generally, as well as to the personalities and bibliography of their authors. Breaking with the tradition of the late-Romantic/early-Victorian solitary and brave female traveller who ventured into the unknown lands of previously-unvisited and scarcely-explored countries, the three authors adhere to a less heroic type of woman who travelled in the security and company of her husband. These women had not taken up travelling voluntarily: Baillie and Ellis were 'forced' to travel into the wilderness of Southern Europe by their respective husbands but enjoyed the aid of a train of local servants. Chatterton took up travelling south in search of a pleasant climate that could provide her with a remedy to her ailments, again with the invaluable help of local servants hired specifically to carry her in a *chaise à porteur*. The editors' General Introduction becomes all the more valuable as they indeed make the most of the restricted Spanish experience in Chatterton's and Ellis's travel books.

The editors have also contributed a thorough Chronology of each of the selected authors. Ellis's life and works are more widely known, especially by any specialist on Victorian conduct books; but searching for relevant information on the life and literary highlights of a minor English poet such as Baillie and a minor travel writer/novelist such as Chatterton is no easy feat. José Ruiz Mas has made a mammoth effort to find bio-biographical information on Baillie, of whom so little is known and so much is left to mystery, especially regarding her life after her return to England. María Antonia López-Burgos del Barrio has wisely relied on E.H. Dering's memoirs of Lady Chatterton to complete the puzzle of her adventurous travelling life and her prolific, though mediocre, literary career. The editors also include very complete sections dedicated to the reception of each of the works under study with information on the fairly numerous reviews that each of these travel books gave rise to. Special mention should be made of the strenuous research carried out as far as editorial notes are concerned. Every literary reference is identified and explained in detail that is easily comprehensible to the layman and the specialist. The editors also boast a profound knowledge of French, Spanish and Portuguese languages, literatures, histories and geographies that will not go unnoticed by any researcher on this period of European cultural and international relations. This collection is therefore essential for the shelves of any university or research library.

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Gioia Angeletti, *Lord Byron and Discourses of Otherness: Scotland, Italy, and Femininity*. Edinburgh: Humming Earth, 2012. Pp. 167. £14.95. ISBN 9781846220388.

Writing to the Pisan Circle member John Taaffe, Jr., on 12 December 1821, about his resolute attempt to rescue a sacrilegious man from being burnt alive at Lucca, Lord Byron reflected obliquely on the atrocious state of contemporary Italian politics and, by extension, on the consequences of his own exile: 'I am a Citizen of the World – content where I am now – but able to find a country elsewhere'. Byron's involvement in social and radical developments outside his own national context were just as important to him as emergent nationalist tendencies.

Like most of the characters in his works, Byron was constantly travelling: from Scotland to England, then to Portugal, Spain, Albania, Greece, back towards Switzerland, and then to Italy. Such was the manner of his travels that his notorious worldliness can also be regarded in light of Edward Said's contention in *The World, The Text and the Critic* (1983), that, like their authors, texts are 'always enmeshed in circumstance, time, *place*, and society' and that 'in short, they are in the world, and hence worldly'. This attachment to place has been successfully explored by some of Byron's best critics. Aligning her study with the ground-breaking work of Diego Saglia (1996), Jane Stabler (2002; 2013), Stephen Cheeke (2003), Susan Oliver (2006), Maria Schoina (2009) and others, Gioia Angeletti casts fresh light on Byron's discourses of place, not by breaking new grounds or contesting previous findings, but by focusing close attention to the significance of 'otherness' in Byron's Italian and Scottish experiences.

In the Introduction, Angeletti declares her main intent to concentrate on 'Byron's complex relationship with Italian otherness – in terms of place, culture, and people (mainly female) – and his wavering position vis-à-vis the English and Scottish Self' (3). Chapter 1 offers a substantial analysis of Byron's Scottish literary heritage and highlights links and similarities with other writers such as Robert Burns and James Hogg. Scottish Enlightenment and Scottish Romanticism, Angeletti contends, made lasting contribution to Byron's intellectual and cultural life. The ensuing three chapters prioritise Byron's engagement with the Italian 'other'. In Chapter 2 Angeletti focuses, in particular, on the role of the *Improvisatore* [sic] Tommaso Sgricci, and shows how Byron, despite rebuffing such a role, can be considered in this light in his adoption of a digressive style and more informal mode of narration, as in *Beppo* (1818) and *Don Juan* (1819–24). In Chapter 3, Venice, which Angeletti rightly sees as a synecdoche for Italy, becomes a feminine entity and the centre of exoticism while remaining at the same time a place of disguise and sexual hybridity. Chapter 4 also situates Venice in relation to Venetian women, whose 'histrionic behaviour and sexual energy, can be regarded as masks of the author and projections of his chameleon personality' (10). Lastly, the prologue and the epilogue both focus on 'AnOther Byron' (15; 135) and demonstrate how the Romantic poet himself can become the object of otherness through different forms of 'translation'. Angeletti draws attention to Caroline Lamb's parodic rewriting of *Don Juan* and the nineteenth-century poet Andrea Maffei's Italian translations of Byron's work, which, were 'promoting a cosmopolitan idea of literature that could only benefit from the assimilation of foreign elements' (139) in their 'crucial contribution to the concept of *Weltliteratur*' (139) both during and after the Risorgimento. If Angeletti concludes her study by highlighting the relevance of translations to Byronic scholarship, then she could have offered a more considered rationale of Maffei's significance. To a predominantly English-reading audience his translations appear rather perplexing when compared to the flamboyantly eccentric representations of the poet offered by Caroline Lamb.

My only real reservation about *Lord Byron and Discourses of Otherness* has to do with the choice of its subtitle and therefore with what, on the one hand, one expects to see in the book and what, on the other hand, the book does not do. As Angeletti admits, 'three chapters of this book (from Ch. 2 to Ch. 4) look at Byron's manifold encounter with Italian otherness' (10) – as does the Epilogue – leaving therefore only a marginal space to Scotland (Chapter 1), thus disappointing the reader's expectations of representative coverage between the two countries. Stranger still is the association of her third category, femininity, with both Scotland and Italy, since it appears to be discussed only in relation to the latter rather than being a common theme for comparison between both countries. Although written consistently throughout in firm, clear, and elegant prose, at times repetitions of concepts (see references to the 'icon of the city', the 'protean city', and the 'chameleon city' in both Chapters 3 and 4) and typographical errors (including, notably, an insistence on Anne Radcliffe), undermine this

study's clarity of focus. Overall, in this well-researched monograph, Angeletti offers a compelling account of place in Byron's poetry; one which shows it to be simultaneously local and national and, by implication, vast and cosmopolitan – a world in which we are all Citizens.

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Alex Benchimol, Rhona Brown and David Shuttleton, eds., *Before* Blackwood's*: Scottish Journalism in the Age of Enlightenment.* London: Pickering & Chatto, 2015. Pp. 163. £95. ISBN 9781848935501.

The essays in this excellent collection constitute a major contribution to the study of periodical print culture in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Scotland. Originating in a symposium at the University of Glasgow in 2010, the book provides a series of detailed case studies rather than a comprehensive overview, but its nine essays speak to each other to a quite remarkable degree.

Pre-Union print culture provides its starting point in Karin Bowie's essay on the 1704–5 *Worcester* affair, when three sailors from this English East Indiaman were hanged for piracy. The Privy Council had good reason to believe them innocent, but a Scottish ship had been seized in England, the *Edinburgh Gazette* and *Edinburgh Courant* whipped up public feeling, and the statesmen felt unable to defy the public opinion of 'the natione' by ordering a stay of execution (17). After 1707, there was, of course, no national government on which the public sphere could have an effect. Stephen W. Brown points out that only the oppositional, anti-metropolitan stance of the Jacobite *Caledonian Mercury* guaranteed the survival of an indigenous periodical culture; yet this made possible the emergence and dominance of loyalist and anglophile publications like the *Edinburgh Evening Courant*. After 1745, partisanship was religious rather than political. Ralph McLean describes the origins of the first *Edinburgh Review* of 1755–6 in the Moderate (modernising, polite) Party in the Church of Scotland, whose leading lights included Hugh Blair and William Robertson. On McLean's account, their journal's attempt to judge every book published in Scotland by its own standards of literary 'taste' made its ambitions appear too obviously totalitarian for its survival. The 'paucity of quality Scottish literary production at this time' (45) available for review was part of the problem, and many of its personnel turned instead to the sponsorship of imaginative literature in the years that followed: of Home's *Douglas* (1757), Macpherson's Ossian (from 1760), and later of Robert Burns.

An illuminating counterpoint to Bowie's essay is provided by Rhona Brown's on the response of the Edinburgh *Weekly Magazine* to the Scotophobia of John Wilkes. This was a long way from the rabble-rousing of the *Worcester* case. Rather, Walter Ruddiman's *Weekly Magazine* responded variously with condescension and disdain, and in the name of Britain, rather than Scotland, revealing the 'Scots' growing confidence in their own public sphere' (60) in the 1760s. The two essays that follow chronicle the blow dealt to that confidence by the intensified political divisions of the 1790s. John Mee's account of James Anderson's *The Bee* (1790–94) charts the increasing difficulty of keeping a rhetoric of open debate and rational improvement free of the stigma of subversion, while Nigel Leask follows this up with a history of the short-lived reformist *Glasgow Magazine* of 1795. This was the first to publish a version of Burns's democratic hymn 'A man's a man for a' that', and an appendix usefully includes an accurate transcription of this version, not presently available in print elsewhere.

The last three essays turn to the early nineteenth-century scene. *Blackwood's Magazine* was the first to pay professional rates to contributors of imaginative work, and Gillian Hughes

describes the strategies James Hogg used to turn periodical publication to financial account before this innovation, first by establishing a poetic identity which could help sell books, and then by running his own periodical, *The Spy* (1810–11). Professionalization in another sense is at stake in Megan Coyer's study of the role of medical men in Edinburgh periodical culture. The basis of the (new) *Edinburgh Review*'s cultural authority in its identification with professionals as a social group proved unstable in the case of medicine, as the politicised nature of the profession's own structures made its contributions look factional and self-interested. This collection's last essay provides a particularly satisfying conclusion to the whole. David Stewart convincingly argues that periodicals themselves were instrumental in establishing the sense of periodicity by which we understand them. In doing so he invites us to be sceptical of *Blackwood's* claim to be founding a new era in periodical culture, a claim which this collection uses to delimit its period. The dialectical relationship that Stewart traces with the much older *Scots Magazine* suggest that the continuities between 'before *Blackwood's*' and 'after *Blackwood's*' may be as interesting as the differences.

The exploration of the important institutional context within which so much of the imaginative writing of the Scottish Enlightenment was produced and consumed will make this volume an essential reference point for future studies in this area and in British periodical culture more widely.

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University of Edinburgh

Corey E. Andrews, *The Genius of Scotland: The Cultural Production of Robert Burns, 1785-1834*. Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2015. Pp. 290. pb €72. ISBN 9789004294363.

Henry Mackenzie's description of Burns as a 'Heaven-taught ploughman' in his 1786 unsigned essay for the *Lounger*, is surely one of the most influential soundbites in the history of literary criticism. Building on Burns's own self-presentation as an untutored 'Rhymer', this label carried a weight of appeal that at times entirely swamped the reception of the Ayrshireman's complex poetics. The notion of Burns as 'Heaven-taught' went hand in hand with the widespread identification of him as an authentic expression of Scottishness. These co-dependent aspects of the Burns phenomenon are the immediate subject of Andrews's monograph, teased out via the central term 'genius'. This keyword, as he explicates, carried a significant range of meaning in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, including both the notion of a singular prodigy, and the spirit of a people or place.

Andrews offers an unusual and welcome approach to his subject, laying his emphasis on the 'cultural production' of Burns in reviews, criticism and poetic responses, rather than in the work of the poet himself. At its best this book provides a methodical survey of the literary-critical field in which the contested and idealised figure of Burns evolved during the poet's lifetime and across the nineteenth century. It is capable of real insight into the complexity and ideological freighting of the process of his establishment as such a major emblem of the Scottish nation. In juxtaposing the reflections of relatively well-known figures like John Keats, Anne Grant and Robert Tannahill against those of minor names like William Hamilton Drummond and James Graham, Andrews provides his book with a plurality of vision that nicely captures the intricacy and scale of Burns's impact.

Early in the work Andrews traces the progress of what he terms 'Genius Theory' in the thought of the Scottish Enlightenment, which is shown to have laid the foundations for Burns's particular celebrity. Studies then focus on different phases in the cultural production of Burns,

before turning to his posthumous influence on the landscape of Scottish poetry, including a concluding piece on James Hogg. The selections of material are generally well-handled, though there are slips in the quality of argumentation. These occur most frequently in moments of theoretical analysis, which do not always feel sufficiently well-integrated or unpacked. Andrews's extensive use of Bourdieu is a positive choice that yields leverage on the questions of cultural capital, class, commerce and aesthetics that shape Burns's experience, but more could be done within this framework. Equally, though this monograph draws on a good range of Burns scholarship, its insights could perhaps have been sharpened with closer attention to the work of Nigel Leask, whose *Robert Burns and Pastoral* is currently the critical benchmark on the 'Heaven-taught' dimension to Burns. The material on Hogg is in general less secure, though Andrews does achieve a rendering of the considerable presence of Burns in Hogg's career, as he negotiated his own success under the banner of the 'Ettrick Shepherd'. Passing mention is made of Hogg's other overarching influence, Walter Scott, a relationship about which Ian Duncan has written so effectively; and the contrasting yet parallel roles played by Burns and the 'Author of Waverley' in Hogg's career remain intriguing subjects.

For all its public impact, the 'Heaven-taught ploughman' label could be restrictive and patronising for Burns, refusing him the degree of sophistication clearly present in his works, limiting his relevance in the same breath as it praised his exceptionality. One of Andrews's most interesting contestations is that Burns's later career sees a transition, as the poet attempted to distance himself from this iteration towards the figure of a 'Scotch Bard'. Certainly Burns's turn to focus on song in the 1790s signalled a recalibration of sorts. Yet, perhaps partly due to Andrews's emphasis lying chiefly beyond Burns's own agency, this argument feels underexplored, with the poet's relationship to his persona(e) begging a more thorough mapping.

This is a worthy contribution to the field of Burns studies that will also be of interest to students and scholars of Scottish culture, Romanticism and cultural nationalism. Though not without imperfections, Andrews's book bears out its stated aim to 'interpret the various permutations of the poet's iconic identity as the "genius of Scotland"' (28). The image of Burns has played and continues to play a major role in Scottish culture and beyond, subjected to much ideological appropriation. William Wordsworth's elegiac responses are a telling example – as Andrews shows, they reveal considerably more about the mourner's performance of self than they do about the dead poet Burns. The body of collective imagining around the man and the poet is an unwieldly and often contradictory cultural phenomenon – one which Andrews succeeds in placing a spotlight upon.

Gerard Lee McKeever
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Murray Pittock, ed., *The Reception of Robert Burns in Europe*. London: Bloomsbury, 2014. Pp. 348. £175. ISBN 9781441170316.

This collection showcases Robert Burns' reception and (re)interpretation as a European literary/social/cultural model, while also dealing with translation studies. Language(s), home-culture, political involvement, class, metre, are all interconnected in Burns' poetry. Should a translator privilege source-author over target-reader; meaning over meter? Can one appreciate Burns' word-choices without sharing Scotland's linguistic background? These are some of the questions discussed by the authors selected by editor Murray Pittock.

As series editor of *The Reception of British and Irish Authors in Europe*, Elinor Shaffer explains that the project 'throws light on not only on specific strands of intellectual ideas and

cultural history but also on the processes involved in the dissemination of ideas and texts' (x). Hence, the book begins with Pauline Mackay's forty-four-page timeline of the European reception of Burns' works: from Ireland's publication of *Poems, chiefly in the Scottish Dialect* (1787) to Hungary's translations 'Wad ye dae that?' (2000).

The chapters illustrate, often through case-studies of specific poems, what Burns represented for countries Europe-wide: which traits were emphasised, discarded, or re-elaborated to suit political and cultural milieus. Eleoma Bodammer explains how, due to censorship, there was a lack of Burns anthologies in translation in Austria during Habsburg rule. Frauke Reitemeier discusses how after the Vienna Congress political disillusionment made Germans turn their backs on politics, and how music and poetry (including Burns') gained interest as a result (12). Natalia Kaloh Vid shows how in Russia the despotism of Nicholas I meant poets avoided revolutionary topics (hence Burns was essentially known through sentimental poetry), but that under the Soviet Union, Burns emerged as a 'Communist' poet. Francesca Saggini explains that in Italy Burns was paralleled to anti-dogmatic Giosuè Carducci, or used to draw morals about religion. Many, if not most countries condemned Burns' lifestyle, and either resorted to omitting details of his personal life, or extracted moralistic lessons from it.

Many nations identified 'Burns-figures', recognised as comparable icons for different reasons. Valentina Bold notes how Slovenia feels akin to Scotland for being a country identified by language, where cultural identity is transmitted though poetry and song (250). Silvia Mergenthal mentions the parallel between the Highlanders and Swiss mountaineers; she gives examples whereby, for instance, Burns' 'mountains' are not translated literally as 'Berge', but as Alps (61). This geographic specificity alienates Burns' Highlands, but involves Swiss readers with closer-to-home concepts.

Beyond the idea(l)s emerging from Burns' poems, parallel continental poet-figures appear. Veronika Ruttkay shows why Hungary's national poet Sándor Petőfi was initially accepted as a 'Hungarian Burns' for his humble origins and revolutionary ideas. Valentina Bold explains how Burns was equalled to France Prešeren in Slovenia; Hanna Dyka tells us how Burns was compared to Ukrainian bard Taras Shevchenko; Eleoma Bodammer discusses instead how Franz Stelzhamer in the 1840s was named 'the Burns of Austria' for his popular translations of Burns, and common rural background (39).

But the rural background sometimes ruled out Burns as a 'proper' poet. Such is the example of Spain: Andrew Monickendam acknowledges baffling silences about Burns from many Spanish scholars. If this is partly due to the linguistic obstacle Burns' poems posed outside Britain, he was also seen as irrelevant to Romanticism (152) according to conservative canons of literature, which deemed a 'ploughman-poet' unsuitable for the poetic profession. Instead, in Czech culture, as Martin Procházka notes, the appeal of Burns' folk tradition was mixed with his success as alternative popular culture (231).

Burns' dialect was often an obstacle. Not all countries have a linguistic scenario comparable to Scotland's: this renders translations difficult. As Mirosława Modrewska points out, Burns' genius is 'impossible to grasp without serious research into the relevant languages and cultures' (248). This is why Polish translator Jerzy Hebda provided commentaries to uncover Burns' original language. Silvia Mergenthal remarks that the first Swiss translator, Heinrich Leuthold, did not exploit his possibilities as a native speaker of Swiss German, thus missing a whole dimension of Burns' expression; while Bold notes how modern Slovenian translators have engaged with the potentials of dialect. These examples demonstrate the complexity of translating such a multifaceted author.

Dominique Delmaire shows how in France, the notion of 'last of the Scottish poets' was paralleled with Ossianic nostalgia, emphasising Burns' bardic role. Delmaire also explains how August Angellier crystallised often inaccurate notions about Burns, confining him to

popular culture through his songs. This is complicated by semantic differences between *chanson* and *song*, and their class implications. Bodammer notes that in Austria Burns was used to "reaffirm a Germanic cultural identity" (54); for Hanna Dyka he was seen as a "spiritual weapon to build the future of Ukraine" (183); for Veronika Ruttkay he was the 'natural ally' (200) in Hungary during the 1848 revolutions; for Jahn Holljen Burns is an icon of counter-culture of opposition in Norway. Burns provided scope for inspiration, internationally.

Concluding the collection is Kirsteen McCue and Marjorie Rycroft's chapter, dealing with a potentially 'universal language', music – but which again notes how Burns has been 'translated' through different 'international musical stimuli' (267) – from Beethoven's *Volkslieder* to James MacMillan's 'Lament of Mary, Queen of Scots'. The authors conclude that the musical creations ultimately reveal 'the universality of Burns' poetic and musical voice'. This book demonstrates this point most compellingly.

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Dale Townshend and Angela Wright, eds., *Ann Radcliffe, Romanticism, and the Gothic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. 274. £60. ISBN 9781107032835.

I have always felt that there was something odd about Ann Radcliffe's career. Her first novel, *The Castles of Athlin and Dunbayne* (1789) is a rather uneven work; but in her second, *A Sicilian Romance* (1790), she made a decisive shift, abandoning the masculine heroic narrative in order to focus, instead, on female subjectivity under pressure. Over the next seven years, in four novels of increasingly impressive sophistication, she explored the predicaments of young women cast adrift in threatening Gothic worlds which menaced them with exploitation and destruction, becoming the most popular and commercially successful author in Britain along the way. But then, at the age of 33, at the height of her powers, when her fame was just starting to grow on the continent and her popularity in Britain was so great that she was able to command unprecedented advances from her publishers, she seems to have simply given up the business of novel-writing. Her silence continued until her death, twenty-six years later.

What happened? This book proposes various possibilities, but the fact is that we can't be sure, because we know so little about Radcliffe: for an author of such fame, she kept an extremely low profile. Compared to the wealth of information we have about the lives of Scott, or Dickens, or the Brontës, Radcliffe is a shadow; and despite the heroic efforts of her biographers to wring as much meaning as possible from the scanty surviving sources, what she really thought about her art and her popularity is anyone's guess. The result is an ambiguity that repeatedly surfaces in the essays which compose this collection, whose fourteen authors have collectively attempted to situate Radcliffe firmly within the cultural and historical context of the 1790s. On Radcliffe's texts, her reception history, her sales figures, and her influence on contemporary literature, they write with fluency and authority; but when they attempt to discern her own beliefs and intentions, everything becomes a great deal more speculative.

Many of the authors of this collection will be familiar names to anyone working in the area of Gothic literature. Sue Chaplin, Diane Long Hoeveler, Jerrold Hogle, Edward Jacobs, Alison Milbank, Robert Miles, Dale Townshend, James Watt, and Angela Wright are all well-known within the field, and their collective expertise is clearly apparent in their essays here. (Diego Saglia, whose name will be familiar to Romanticists but not necessarily to Gothicists, also contributes an informative essay on the stage adaptations of Radcliffe's novels.) The short essay is a punishing form, but here it is for the most part used well, although the arguments of

some of the chapters clearly strain under the tight word limits placed upon them. Highlights of the collection include Watt's carefully measured assessment of what we can deduce of Radcliffe's politics from her works (to which the answer turns out to be 'very little'); Hoeveler's exploration of the factors contributing to the popularity of Radcliffe's break-out novel, *The Romance of the Forest*; Chaplin's comparison of Radcliffe's novels with those of some of her contemporary imitators; and Jacobs' persuasive analysis of the impact which Radcliffe's stylistic and textual innovations had upon Romantic-era print culture as a whole.

Anyone who teaches an undergraduate or MA-level course which features Radcliffe will want to add this book to their reading lists, because it functions as a very convenient one-stop shop for students looking for information about Radcliffe's life, works, reception, and influence. Townshend and Wright's useful summary of the critical responses to Radcliffe will be especially helpful to students encountering her works for the first time, and I expect to see it cited in many, many graduate essays in the years to come. To the academic reader, it offers a helpful cross-section of the current state of Radcliffe scholarship, showing how the field has progressed since the first wave of scholarly interest in Radcliffe in the 1980s. The last twenty-five years have added a great deal to our knowledge of the literary culture of the 1790s, and researchers in the field now have a much better understanding of how Gothic fiction was read, distributed, and published during these years; this, in turn, has made it possible to push past the long-standing caricature of the genre as mass-produced trash, churned out as fodder for ignorant patrons of circulating libraries. Many of the best essays in this collection make use of this new knowledge, offering new insights into Radcliffe's unique status within the literary landscape of her day, and the cultural impact of her immense popularity; others offer sensitive readings of her poetry and prose. Radcliffe herself, however, remains as elusive as one of her own spectres; and while her novels always took pains to provide rational explanations for such ghostly goings-on, her own literary vanishing act remains as unsettling as ever.

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Timothy C. Baker, *Contemporary Scottish Gothic: Mourning, Authenticity, and Tradition*. Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2014. Pp. 232. £60. ISBN 9781137457196.

Research on contemporary Gothic is a Janus-headed enterprise, looking ahead to the most recent cultural production and, simultaneously, behind to that past that haunts it. As Timothy C. Baker reminds us, 'Gothic is the spectre of the past continually intruding on the present' (10), and Scottish Gothic is no exception. Central to Baker's analysis is the notion of mourning, which, convincingly, he connects to the concept of nation. Following Marc Redfield's theorisation, Baker claims that '[n]ation and novel both foreground the process of mourning and resist it' (21). In doing so, Scottish Gothic is defined as the ambivalent space where textuality both underpins and erodes a discourse of authenticity and (national) identity.

Throughout the book's five chapters Baker faces the difficult task of attempting to define – and yet interrogate – the elusive category of Scottish Gothic, his intention being not to offer a prescriptive reading of what may be exclusively defined as Scottish Gothic, but investigate 'several non-exclusive criteria for inclusion' (15). Such broad thematic lines include the recurrent tropes of the 'found manuscript', 'fantastic islands', 'metamorphosis', and 'northern communities'.

Preceding these is a chapter dedicated to Scott 'as a haunting force' (25) on James Robertson's *The Fanatic* and *The Testament of Gideon Mack*. Underpinning Scott's

paradigmatic role within Scottish Gothic, this chapter reminds us of the ambiguous function played by the historical past in his novels: 'the past and present, the artificial and the authentic, and the active and passive are in constant dialogue' (30). From the spectral traces of Scott identifiable throughout Robertson's fiction emerges a sense in which '[b]oth [the self and the nation] are … formed through the experience of being haunted' (39).

Such textual haunting is amplified in the palimpsestual structure of many Scottish Gothic novels, and particularly those that engage with the motif of the found manuscript, which, in turn, also looks back to archetypal texts such as James Hogg's *Justified Sinner*. In these contemporary self-reflexive narratives – as in the original by Hogg – 'the discovery of such a manuscript does not provide solutions, but rather highlights the impossibility of definite interpretation' (56). Such is the case of Louise Welsh's *The Cutting Room*, where a sinister past is evoked in the form of a visual manuscript – a photographic portfolio of sadistic pornography – and A.L. Kennedy's *So I Am Glad*, where the disruptive appearance of the ghost of Cyrano de Bergerac in modern-day Glasgow supports the view that 'identity can only be known in relation to its textual manifestation' (86). Even then, however, such knowledge is inevitably fragmented, as 'texts can do no more, or less, than haunt' (87).

The peripheral quality of the ways in which Gothic addresses knowledge of the self and the past allows Baker to link the trope of the found manuscript to the locus of much Scottish Gothic writing, the haunted island, for, as Baker suggests, 'the manuscript can be seen as fundamentally insular', and '[i]slands, like texts, must be considered as a web of relation to other worlds' (90, 91). The exploration of the island as inherently liminal space brings about a very useful reading of texts as diverse as J.M. Barrie's *Mary Rose*, Alice Thompson's *Burnt Island* and Louise Welsh's *Naming The Bones*.

The thematic focus on the natural world bleeds into Chapter 4, dedicated to the complex – and relatively unexplored – relationship between the human and animal worlds. Understandably, such comparison leads to an interrogation of preconceived ideas about the human condition and the hierarchical structure of an anthropocentric view of the world, as 'the natural world invites a reconsideration of the very categories of self and other' (117). While drawing on texts from the past – Scott's *Redgauntlet* and Hogg's 'The Pongos: A Letter from South Africa' – this chapter focuses, more specifically, on Iain Banks's *The Wasp Factory*, Elspeth Barker's *O Caledonia*, and John Burnside's *The Locust Room* and *Glister*.

By way of conclusion to the study, Baker turns to the significance of northern landscapes. Noting how 'the North is used to foreground the instability of place, nation, and ultimately genre', Baker argues that 'with an isolated and unhomely North, it is possible … to articulate the interwoven tensions between life and death, past and present, and the individual community' (148, 152) in works such as Sarah Moss's *Cold Earth* and John Burnside's *A Summer of Drowning*.

It is a shame that, with few exclusions, *Contemporary Scottish Gothic* does not pay attention to genres other than fiction, as, undoubtedly, poetry and drama deserve more critical interest. This is, however, an understandable limitation justified by the already comprehensive scope of Baker's work, which constitutes an insightful and important addition to both Gothic and Scottish studies.

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Dewey W. Hall, *Romantic Naturalists, Early Environmentalists: An Ecocritical Study, 1789-1912*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2014. Pp. 232. ISBN 9781409422648.

Romantic Naturalists, Early Environmentalists presents ecocritical re-readings of British and American Romantic texts that emphasise materiality of environments over analysis of a discursive 'nature', and offers a new understanding of the role of the nature writer in the Romantic period. Hall's interdisciplinary book centres on the meeting point between the literary and the scientific, which it labels 'Romantic naturalist', stressing that the writing of Wordsworth and Romantic contemporaries, and that of Emerson later, might not be the product of scientists but is certainly fuelled by the 'metaphors' of the 'wonders' of science (19) discovered through an abiding interest in natural history. Hall's insightful comparative reading of poems by Wordsworth and Gilbert White, *An Evening's Walk* and *A Naturalist's Summer-Evening Walk*, convincingly illustrates this connection and reveals both writers' shared investment in noting habitat factors and observing interaction between human and nonhuman life. Hall argues that White's personal and affective style is what draws his writing in line with literary Romanticism, and finds in Wordsworth's poetry an interest in climate, geology and topography that encourages recognition of the poet's affinity with naturalists.

Hall posits that the affection for nature which 'Romantic naturalist' literature engenders encouraged a desire to safeguard sites from overdevelopment, providing inspiration which manifested in direct action to protect the environment. To support his thesis, Hall re-examines Wordsworth's letters of protest against rail incursions into Grasmere, and makes the interesting assertion that the recurring imagery of wreaths of smoke across Wordsworth's poetry may refer to a paper mill in the Wye Valley, persuasively arguing that this smoke was for Wordsworth a visual warning of the damage industrial advancement could cause; a spur, if one were needed, to action against steam trains to the Lakes. Over the course of *Romantic Naturalists, Early Environmentalists*, Hall demonstrates, firstly, how Wordsworth's 'anti-industrial sensibility' (91) left an impression on Emerson, especially over the issue of increased steam travel and, secondly, how Emerson's manifestos for living in harmony with nature then left a lasting mark upon John Muir's early environmentalism.

Hall lifts to surface the literary sources supporting Octavia Hill's and John Muir's early environmentalist campaigns. By returning to archival material, Hall is able to highlight Wordsworth's influence for Hill and identifies a personal link between them through Margaret Gillies, from whom Hill inherited a portrait of, and anecdotes about, the poet. *Romantic Naturalists* proceeds to remedy the scant critical attention paid to Muir's debt to literary Romanticism with an extended examination of Wordsworthian and Emersonian inspiration for the younger Muir.

Because Hall is tracing early environmentalism's family tree along particular branches, his focus settles upon a narrow selection of writers. However, Hall does occasionally diversify his text's understanding of Romanticism to include less canonical writers like Henry Crabb Robinson, and he acknowledges the collaborative work of Dorothy and William, noting important records of close natural observation in the *Alfoxden Journal* so that 'the Wordsworths' (12) are jointly credited in the early sections of his book. When turning attention to American early environmentalists, Hall in similar spirit redresses the imbalanced hierarchy traditionally perceived between Emerson, Marsh and Muir so that, in Hall's study, the 'Sierran naturalist' (23) no longer trails neglected at the bottom of that chain, and instead inspiration between them is shown to flow 'bidirectionally' (23).

In his examination of the intersections of literature and science, of cultural and natural-historical works, Hall necessarily encounters questions of 'nature' as a social construction built in the Romantic period. Hall engages William Cronon and Scott Hess's post-structuralist

arguments in energetic conversation, and his rejoinder is to advocate a critical approach that 'put[s] the stuff back into nature' (24). This methodology is at play not only in the book's analyses of texts which notice detail and interaction within a locale or habitat, but is also apparent in Hall's writing, as replete with natural-historical fact as it is rich with literary and cultural reference.

Hall's breadth of allusion frequently takes in current-day environmental campaigns in light of initial Romantic-period concerns. While always avoiding anachronism, subtle connections are drawn between, for example, White, Wordsworth and Emerson's observations about climate and recent ecocatastrophes. The implication is that Romantic naturalists and early environmentalists bequeathed a living legacy, more tangibly evident in the National Trust and National Parks' preservation of open spaces. Hall's book addresses 'Romantic naturalist' texts with a sense of urgency borne out of the climate crisis of our own time, and documents with fresh attention the role of Romantic literature in motivating environmentalism from its earliest inception.

Emma Curran
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Sarah Houghton-Walker, *Representations of the Gypsy in the Romantic Period.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 294. £60. ISBN 9780198719472.

The theme of identity and representation has in recent years become one of the most researched, written about and hotly contested areas of scholarly work on gypsies, and one which crosses many disciplinary boundaries. This study of literature and, to a lesser extent, art, from the period 1783 (the date of the repeal of the Egyptians Act and the first publication of Heinrich Grellmann's influential study of gypsies) to 1830, the date from which the effects of the 1824 Vagrancy Act were 'beginning to bite' (11), is the latest contribution to this distinctive sub genre concerned with literary and fictional representations of gypsies. While this study does consider the writings of some lesser-known writers, the main part is focussed on the more renowned works of William Cowper, John Clare, William Wordsworth and Jane Austen. A detailed analysis of representations of the gypsy and their use as a literary device to explore contemporary anxieties and concerns is also set within the wider historical context and the traditions and myths surrounding the group. Houghton-Walker consider works in which the gypsy is a relatively minor character who wanders into and out of a text as well as those where the gypsy is the primary subject.

Houghton-Walker sees the Romantic period as a turning point, a cusp, a time of transition when perceptions of gypsies 'altered profoundly' (12) and when the representations in literature marked a distinct change from what went before and from what came after. This is seen as a period when issues around law, morality, art, economic change and class 'coalesce into a pressure pushing on a single point, the figure of the gypsy' (2) and when gypsies were used as a device that enabled writers to articulate contemporary concerns about identity and Englishness. The gypsy in literature is identified as living within and outside conventional society, seen as fascinating and feared, familiar/indigenous and exotic. Houghton-Walker argues that this is the moment they became 'acclimatised' and 'at home' in the English landscape, stopped being foreign and became an accepted part of that landscape; this is the time from when they 'began to belong' (24) and came to represent a 'very particular type of Englishness' (181).

In many ways this comes across as a most convincing argument. Houghton-Walker provides a good sense of the period and the wider societal and economic changes occurring, and the interpretation and mediation of these in literature. Her detailed, textual analysis of a range of lesser and well-known sources is exemplary in its thoroughness. However, my reservations are flagged by the author herself when she writes of 'unavoidable generalisations and loose chronological boundaries' (12). While the start point of 1783 is justifiable, primarily because this marks the first publication of Grellmann's treatise, the end point lacks any distinctive marker and is less convincing. Periodisation aside, my second main reservation concerns the argument that this was a turning point which saw the emergence of the gypsy as acclimatised, indigenous and representing one form of Englishness. While acknowledging this was a key element in the texts analysed, and perhaps a dominant feature of this period, it is also the case that previous representations and (legal) definitions of the group also saw them as just one part of an indigenous nomadic group. Moreover, Grellmann's text and its reproduction in many later forms, established, albeit on the basis of prior scholarship, a distinctive racial definition of the group based on their foreign, Indian origins. So, rather than representing a particular type of Englishness, gypsies became a distinctive racial 'other'. In other words, if this period was a turning point, it was one which went in two directions: the direction identified by Houghton-Walker and also the second, racial path.

This is a well-written and engaging study based on extensive and careful research. Some readers not from a literature background may struggle with some of the close textual analysis, but overall this is a stimulating and provocative account. There could have been more on the complexities, ambiguities and contradictions, and I am not entirely convinced that the developments in representations of the gypsy were quite as compartmentalised or linear as is perhaps suggested here. But this is not to detract from what is a significant and important contribution to the growing literature on the topic of representation on gypsies.

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Harriet Guest, *Unbounded Attachment: Sentiment and Politics in the Age of the French Revolution*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013. Pp. 212. £50. ISBN 9780199686810.

Unbounded Attachment: Sentiment and Politics in the Age of the French Revolution, Harriet Guest's fine study of the language of sentiment in writers from Mary Wollstonecraft to Jane Austen, concludes with an analysis of the book's cover, a 1792 print published by Robert Sayer, *Warm Thoughts about Matrimony, on a Winter Evening*. Three women discuss their marriage prospects while reposing by a fire. Guest reads the image, first as a satire on women's restricted social options circa 1792, but then as a scene of middle-class 'independent women enjoying the private intimacy of conversational ease which was available to some women writers in the 1790s as a space from which to look outwards . . . ' (192). And then the book's moving final sentence: 'These women seem to possess a Room of their Own' (192). However, lest we get swept away by utopian dreams of female agency and community in the building of nation – as explored in Guest's previous book *Small Change: Women, Learning, Patriotism 1750-1810* (2000) – the words 'some' and 'seem' here alert us to Romantic women's present circumstances, the more circumscribed and in many ways more powerful focus of *Unbounded Attachment.*

The book takes its title from Godwin's account of his wife's capacity for 'unbounded attachment' to humanity. The phrase pulled its punch to vindicate her vision of women's place

in a greater public dialogue about the welfare of civil society in the turbulent 1790s. At the same time it marked in her an unbridled sensibility unfit for the disciplined 'men's' work of political thought and action. For women writers attempting to manage the fraught transfer between domestic and public spheres, sentiment granted them access to political sway as well as to cultural and commercial legitimacy. Yet it also gendered them in specific ways, a restriction that incited their desire to revise the social text. Put differently, to use the language of sentiment authentically and to lasting political ends, we might say that they learned how to 'perform' sentiment's capacity for 'authentic' candour. How they at once parsed, acceded to, and arbitrated this double bind, especially in Guest's compelling, detailed, and persuasive account, further compels our admiration for them and for the present author.

Chapter 1 examines Charlotte Smith's complex manoeuver between private domestic and public political sympathies in the context of Mary Robinson's effort to glean authorial legitimacy from Smith's reputation. Careful to sidestep the gendered charge of moral impropriety for her political allegiances, however, Smith was eager to avoid association with her scandalous contemporary. Chapter 2 then takes up how Robinson's writings on the fate of the French royal couple negotiate between the cosmopolitan politics of her aristocratic affiliations and a middle-class aspiration to commercial authorship, and in turn a tension between unpatriotic enthusiasm and a frank sociability that supposedly transcended politics. Chapter 3 anchors the book's narrative in responses by both amateur and professional women writers to Mary Wollstonecraft. This struggle to sublimate from Wollstonecraft's contentious life and work the exemplary moral force of sensibility by which they were driven indicates a social alchemy required of all the writers in Guest's study. Chapters 4 and 5 turn to Amelia Opie and Jane Austen respectively, who in different ways renegotiate 'the Wollstonecraftian ideals of benevolent sensibility' (161), and thus of women's sociopolitical authority, on the eve of a Victorian period that clearly delineates the separate spheres. Opie refines from the political body of 'policy and resolution' a 'spirit and declamatory fervour' (133) appropriate to women's enthusiasm for the domestic politics of family and 'the limited sphere which underwrites the projected universality of their maternal humanity' (161). Austen's heroines can imagine their role in community, but are otherwise isolated and adrift in the novels' social world, 'dispersed and fragmented, barely able to communicate with one another' (166). Guest's conclusion, discussed above, partly ameliorates this melancholy summation, yet it serves to remind us how easily Romantic women writers' vision of unbounded attachment, however carefully and thoughtfully negotiated in their present, could be easily compromised in future times.

Guest has an admirably keen eye for historical detail, nuance, and context, yet she is just comprehensive enough. One of this book's many assets is its conciseness. Interwoven by a governing historicist and cultural methodology, her case studies give the story ballast and coherence, but also enough slack to allow the ambivalence of 'some' and 'seem' to evoke not only our partial ability to parse history, but also how its protagonists understood their necessarily compromised access to their own histories. Guest's account of how they mapped within this fraught terrain a space, however limited, for the relaxed yet lively and benevolent conversation among future interlocutors on both sides of the gender divide, is a fine accomplishment, and reminds us how much Romanticism can still teach us about our own desire to belong.

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Georgina Green, *The Majesty of the People: Popular Sovereignty and the Role of the Writer in the 1790s.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 229. £60. ISBN 9780199689064.

In January 1798 a crowd of almost two thousand people assembled in the Crown and Anchor Tavern to celebrate Charles James Fox's birthday. The chairman was the Duke of Norfolk, who gave a speech celebrating Fox as a 'Friend of Freedom', culminating in an impassioned toast to 'our sovereign's health – the majesty of the people'. The toast provoked a significant kerfuffle in the newspapers, which argued whether a toast to the majesty of the people was treasonous – a debate which, in effect, worked through some of the theoretical underpinnings of modern democracy. What does it mean to suggest that the people can be sovereign? How do we define the will of the people? How can the will of the people be an ethical as well as merely a physical force? How can that will best be harnessed in order to form a government? The Duke of Norfolk's toast opens Georgina Green's book, introducing the study as an investigation into what it meant 'to "toast" the majesty of the people in the 1790s' (24), through an examination of writings by John Thelwall, Thomas Paine, Helen Maria Williams, William Godwin, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, and William Wordsworth.

As this might suggest, Green's book is as much a work of political theory as literary criticism. Among her most frequently cited critics are Giorgio Agamben, Hannah Arendt, Julia Kristeva, Emanuel Levinas, and Antonio Negri. The result is a theoretically sophisticated historicism that is invested in political as much as literary form. Green's attention is absorbed more by Thelwall's *Rights of Nature*, than by his poetry; more by Godwin's *Political Justice* than his novels and plays; more by Williams's *Letters Written in France*, than *Peru* or *Julia*. And yet it is one of the strengths of the study that Green addresses the interplay of political and literary representation. The concluding section of the Godwin chapter, for example, summarizes different authors' attitudes towards their audiences, suggesting how literary work can best serve political ends. Paine, Green tells us, 'cultivated a style of writing which made politics seem accessible to the masses' (137), while remaining skeptical of the possibility of accurate political representation. Thelwall assembled large crowds in order to make visible the physical force of the people's collectivity to both the people themselves and the government. Godwin, meanwhile was critical of Thelwall's strategies believing they risked rousing 'the force' of the people without rousing the 'mind'. Godwin thus 'aimed to cultivate [political] activity as a mental quality, an activity which could also be described as active reading' (137).

The suggestion that politics and literature were entwined in the 1790s is hardly new, but most often in literary studies this idea has led to investigations into the political viewpoints espoused in literary texts. What Green offers is something different: a political theory of writing in the 1790s. Political theorists and authors of what we would recognize as literary works – novels, plays, and poetry – were rarely distinguished in the period, so the book's focus on the 'role of the writer' helps us to see continuities between different modes of writing that might be blind spots in a more formally attuned scholarship. Nevertheless, the progression of Green's argument – from short discussions of Wilkes and Burke, to more in-depth analyses of the political theory of Paine, Godwin, and Thelwall, to a concluding section discussing the poets Coleridge and Wordsworth – implies that literary work emerges out of political controversy. We might quibble, however, that the reverse is equally true – the 'Preface' to the *Lyrical Ballads*, was written after the first edition of the poems had been published, after all.

Regardless, *The Majesty of the People* makes a significant contribution to debates in Romantic-period studies, nuancing our accounts of the relationship between authors and their audiences in productive ways. The book provides a robust theoretical underpinning to questions raised in Philip Connell and Nigel Leask's collection *Romanticism and Popular Culture in Britain and Ireland*, and offers illuminating perspectives on debates about the nature of popular

politics that have preoccupied Romanticists for several decades. Perhaps the greatest debt here, however, is to Raymond Williams's *Culture and Society*. Green begins and ends her discussion of popular sovereignty by invoking Wordsworth's essay supplementary to the 'Preface' in which he proclaims reverence for the 'people, philosophically characterized' and pointedly not to the clamorous, noisy 'Public'. For Williams this philosophical 'embodied spirit of the people' was equated with culture – art freed from the laws of the market place. For Green, Wordsworth's resistance to the utilitarian principles of the market in favour of a shared culture provides a critique of the 'reductive, biopolitical administration of society', in which politics are understood as 'merely a duty to protect the 'bare' or merely 'biological' existence of members of society' (205). These are salient insights given our current climate of austerity. Among many virtues, one of the most impressive achievements of *The Majesty of The People* is its revision of Williams's classic text, bringing it up to date while making clear how half a century later the political dimensions of Williams's discussion of the Romantic artist remain as relevant as ever.

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Stephen Burley, *Hazlitt the Dissenter: Religion, Philosophy, and Politics, 1766-1816*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Pp. 220. £60. ISBN 9781137364425.

Hazlitt's reputation has, as Stephen Burley observes, enjoyed something of a renaissance in recent years, and a once peripheral writer has become a major figure within Romantic studies. We might feel that we know Hazlitt by now but this impressive new study offers a strikingly original departure: instead of focusing on Hazlitt's post-1812 career as a journalist and critic, it offers a detailed account of his background, education and early writings to show how his work was steeped in the eighteenth-century culture of Rational Dissent.

While drawing on the recent rich body of writing about Hazlitt, Burley differentiates his own approach from accounts that have emphasized Hazlitt's role in the creation of English Romanticism and a recognisably modern form of criticism. In particular, he shows how literary historians have persistently used 'My First Acquaintance with Poets' to date the start of Hazlitt's career to his first meeting with Coleridge in 1798. For Burley, Hazlitt's intellectual life begins much earlier, within the transatlantic milieu of radical Protestant Dissent. As he acknowledges, citing the work of Tom Paulin, Duncan Wu and Jon Mee, the 'shaping influence of Dissent' (4) has not been entirely neglected by Hazlitt scholars, but by finishing his study in 1816 Burley presents a very different and deeply convincing portrait.

The first of the four chapters is devoted to William Hazlitt Senior (1737-1820) and reveals the extent to which his son's passionate belief in religious and political liberty was an inherited faith. Burley presents Hazlitt Sr as a leading Unitarian polemicist and prominent member of the Joseph Priestley circle, whose mission as 'the first Unitarian apostle' (5) to the United States from 1783 to 1787 pre-dated Priestley's better-known work. Hazlitt Sr helped to convert the King's Chapel in Boston to Unitarianism but his time in America was not a complete success; like his son, his adherence to the Dissenting virtues of candour and plain-speaking would often work against him. Burley situates his theological writings within the context of late-eighteenth-century religious controversy and shows how he educated his son in preparation for his training for the Unitarian ministry at New College, Hackney.

The second chapter gives a detailed history of this institution, the most radical Dissenting academy of its day. New College was founded in 1786 as an embodiment of 'the

buoyant spirits and high aspirations of late eighteenth-century Dissent' (52). By the time Hazlitt arrived in 1793, however, it was heavily in debt, the result of grandiose building schemes, and viewed by loyalists as a cradle of sedition. Burley presents new evidence on the connections between the academy and 1790s radicalism. He also gives a thorough account of the intellectual life of the academy, which continued to influence Hazlitt's intellectual development long after his decision in 1795 to abandon his ministerial training. The following chapter argues that Hazlitt's philosophical treatise on the disinterested imagination, *An Essay on the Principles of Human Action* (1805), was rooted in the New College curriculum and, specifically, in Hazlitt's growing dissatisfaction with what he saw as the mechanistic epistemology of his tutors Priestley and Thomas Belsham, while more positively engaging with Richard Price's idealist model of the creative mind and Thomas Reid's 'common sense' philosophy.

In the final chapter, Burley moves from philosophy to politics and Hazlitt's early polemics. Here, once more, there is a basic inheritance from the traditions of Rational Dissent, formulated around narratives of liberty, revolution and martyrdom. But the ties to Dissenting culture were also loosened as a result of new influences and alliances. It is well-known that Hazlitt's *Reply to Malthus* (1807) was part-serialized in William Cobbett's *Weekly Political Register*, but Burley presents the fascinating discovery that Hazlitt's obituary of William Pitt, from *Free Thoughts on Public Affairs*, was published in the pages of same newspaper the previous year. Here, in a pen portrait later re-printed in *Political Essays* (1819), Hazlitt condemns Pitt as an empty sophist: 'His reasoning is a technical arrangement of unmeaning common-places, his eloquence merely rhetorical, his style monotonous and artificial.' In his 'Character of Cobbett' (1821), Hazlitt wrote that he had only seen Cobbett on a single occasion (tantalisingly, 'I certainly did not think less favourably of him for seeing him') and we have no information on how Hazlitt's searing indictment of Pitt came to be published, under the pseudonym 'Verax', in Cobbett's *Political Register*. We can only conclude that it was sent, unsolicited, by an unknown writer to an editor always hungry for copy. There is a neat irony in the fact that Cobbett's own career had begun in Philadelphia in opposition to Priestley's religious and political views. By 1806, however, his views were aligned with Hazlitt's and directed against Pitt's legacy, Malthusian population theory and the conduct of the Foxite Whigs in parliament.

This is an important contribution to Hazlitt studies, written with great clarity and founded on rigorous scholarship. Burley's conclusion reflects on the potential for re-evaluating Hazlitt's later writings in the light of his research. Pointing to the 'rich interplay and co-existence of sacred and secular themes' (165), and joining with recent work by Kevin Gilmartin and John Whale, his thoughts suggest the limitations of our present conception of British Romanticism as a primarily secular formation. This can perhaps be detected in the scholarly preference for Rational Dissent over older or more enthusiastic forms of Dissent: not only was Unitarianism more closely connected to publishing and elite intellectual life, but liberal Dissent often formed the high road to atheism. This may have been true for Hazlitt, who left Hackney 'an avowed infidel', but Burley superbly demonstrates the continued relevance of his Dissenting heritage.

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Russ Castronovo, *Propaganda 1776: Secrets, Leaks, and Revolutionary Communications in Early America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 247. £22.99. ISBN 978019935490.

Through 'tracking the movements of stolen documents, satires, and published letters from the 1770s to 1790s' (4), *Propaganda 1776* persuasively argues that 'media dissemination created a vital but seldom acknowledged connection between propaganda and democracy' during the late eighteenth century that should make us rethink the later history of these systems. In its far from singular assumption that the nation's founding moment can be retrofitted to explain more recent historical events, however, the book also displays an analogical ambition that Castronovo sometimes fails to tread around lightly enough. As the title of his first chapter – 'States Secrets: Ben Franklin and WikiLeaks' – boldly announces, Castronovo is partly interested in delineating 'various steps in a temporal back-and-forth in order to provoke a discussion about communication and the limits of consent' (23). But while the two halves of this opening section – which argue that the WikiLeaks controversy saw an ironic substitution of liberal subjectivity for network anonymity, and that Franklin's involvement in the distribution of letters stolen from Governor Thomas Hutchinson relied on relinquishing his personal agency – are individually compelling, the juxtaposition of these cases proves problematic. Given the pervasive re-presentation of Founding Fatherdom in American culture since the Revolution, Castronovo is surely right that 'one might imagine *Time* magazine, if it existed in the eighteenth century, putting Ben Franklin on its cover as "person of the year" for 1773' (49), but claims for Franklin 'as a sort of hyperlink' or 'as much a rock star in his day as [Julian] Assange is in ours' (44) are more tenuous, and overall the connection between eighteenth-century information networks and twenty-first digital communications articulated here is both too hedged in by contrasts and too broad in its congruities to carry much analytical weight. 'Some readers may find my occasional engagement with modern media jarring' (24), Castronovo acknowledges in his Introduction and, indeed, for this reviewer, at least, the initial chapter raises far more questions than it answers.

Fortunately, the ensuing chapters treat the relation between data leaks past and present in a subtler and more integrated way, with the result that a much fuller picture of the Revolutionary-era's distinctive mode of 'media dissemination' is allowed to emerge. Finely detailed and sharply focused, each of the next three chapters very effectively locates the work of a prominent political writer – Mercy Otis Warren, Thomas Paine, and Benjamin Franklin Bache, respectively – within a 'sociology of texts that comprised the postal system, printshops, newspaper columns, and groups of readers that variously augmented, amplified, and disseminated [their] original meanings' (74). Perhaps most impressive, though, is the fifth and final chapter, which recuperates the political poetry of Philip Freneau (often dismissed as mere hackwork both upon publication and since), by probing the formal advantages late eighteenth-century verse rather than prose might have been considered to possess in conveying a social critique. Here, the close attention that Castronovo devotes to differences and shifts between genres throughout the book pays off in a wonderfully thought-provoking analysis of an unfairly neglected figure.

Although several other recent books on early American information flows offer a more thickly contextualized and richly theorized account of the infrastructure of Revolutionary-era communications – among them William B. Warner's *Protocols of Liberty: Communication Innovation and the American Revolution* (2013) and Lindsay O'Neill's *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (2014) – Castronovo's study is ultimately vital reading for its emphasis on two profoundly important conceptualizations of that communication: printscape and propaganda. The former is Castronovo's term for the decentralized, disorderly, genre-hopping nature of information distribution in late eighteenth-

century America – a model of textual flux that helps us to understand how the medium of Whig writing can sometimes be more significant, and more radical, than its material content. In this respect, as Castronovo puts it: 'Rather than parsing the single letter, pamphlet, or other document, the interpretative charge is to read its strange travels and look for the connections it creates' (41). Accordingly, then, a consideration of these travels and connections also helps us to read the exhortatory element of Whig literature in a new fashion, since the key characteristics of propaganda as identified by Castronovo (propagation, mobility, and emotion) align with the dynamics of the Revolutionary-era printscape in potentially radical ways. Indeed, in a powerful rebuttal of the twentieth-century tendency to see propaganda as an oppressive, top-down phenomenon, inflicted on passive consumers, *Propaganda 1776* argues that in its late eighteenth-century guise biased information was a variously-generated, horizontally-distributed mode of communication that had the potential – even when blatantly false – to broaden the parameters of political debate.

It may not always be clear enough where Revolutionary-era printscape and propaganda are at odds with each other, something a greater attention to the travels and travails of Loyalist propaganda would have helped to address, but in bringing the two concepts together Castronovo has forged a highly productive set of tools that a range of other scholars can put to work. In short, whether dislodging the well-established tendency to read Whig texts as avatars of enlightened rationality through its recognition that 'the path toward American independence required … the spread of unreliable intelligence' (4), or helping us to see a 'necessary yet disquieting relationship between propaganda and democracy' (28), this book commands notice.

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John Richard Moores, *Representations of France in English Satirical Prints 1740-1832*. New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. 261. ISBN 9781137380135.

British graphic satires and caricatures from the Romantic period have been getting more attention from scholars across the humanities; most notably, from the disciplines of Art History and English, see for instance Joseph Monteyne's *From Still Life to the Screen* (2013) and Ian Haywood's *Romanticism and Caricature* (2013). John Richard Moores offers a recent methodological case study within the discipline of History. *Representations of France in English Satirical Prints* examines graphic satires and caricatures as a body of historical evidence. Moores places these prints in the service of a longstanding debate about nationalism, asking: How strong was 'Francophobia' in Britain between 1740 and 1832? He specifically targets the conservative, loyalist nationalism that emerged in the eighteenth century as described by Linda Colley and Gerald Newman, and aims to soften the idea of British fear of the French. He instead stresses the humanizing aspects of the French ridiculed in British graphic satire during this period; these satires actually targeted English politics and society, he claims, more than the French themselves (although they did that too). Divided into six chapters, plus a short conclusion, the book engages several predictable themes within this framework: food and fashion, Kings and leaders, war and peace, revolution, and women.

Moores establishes two admirable aims: contributing an answer to a large historical debate about Anglo-French relations, while at the same time giving close readings of prints that sufficiently recognizes their complexity as cultural objects. While compelling, these aims often appear at odds in a survey format where the questions being asked, and the established categories, are too broad to accommodate detailed analysis of individual prints. The latter claim

especially, about the value of satirical prints, would have been much more impactful had he engaged more with other disciplines and expanded his visual analysis. In his discussion of the print *Billingsgate Triumphant* from 1775 in Chapter 2 (47-48), for instance, Moores eliminates discussion of its prominent scatological and homosexual themes, and thus reduces the image to issues of gender. While effeminacy and weakness are important for imagining the French fop, homosexuality is far from relegated 'to Victorian times' (38). This chapter rightly concludes that these satires of French food and fashion were comical and intimidating, and critical and sympathetic all at the same time.

Despite this weakness in visual analysis, each chapter offers several clever insights into the production of prints that are worth further thought, such as the connotations of beef in relation to the French, and the claim that prints at this time seem to take a collectively Rousseauian interpretation of Enlightenment culture. Other examples include how Napoleon in the guise of Gulliver could be considered a heroic role (92), how stereotypes of the monkey can be construed as positive (they are still more human-like than other animals) (120), how representations of the peace after the Treaty of Amiens deserve more attention (129), and how British soldiers rarely kill the French in satire (147).

Most importantly, Moores identifies a longstanding problem in scholarship discussing visual images: the use of art as merely an illustration of something else. Avoiding this problem has become standard in several fields (beyond Art History where the complaint originated), but Moores correctly states that the methodology used to analyze these prints, especially in the discipline of history it seems, is still developing despite more attention from historians (19). Some disciplines – and even scholars that regularly engage with graphic satire and print culture – still maintain an ambivalent relationship to it (Moores himself even wavers on the value of satire as an historical document in a criticism of Vic Gatrell (13-14)). As various academics grapple with methodological approaches to satirical prints, one thing remains clear: these satires demand that continued, and increasingly sophisticated, questions be asked about them. This remains particularly true of humor. The use of humor as 'evidence' presents challenges of interpretation that too easily dissuade scholars from engaging with it. Arguably, Moores's emphasis on the relief theory of humor (209, 212) does a disservice to other theories of humor – the superiority and incongruity theories – and might have led to the misinterpretation of certain prints, such as his claim that the *Apotheosis of Hoche* is 'largely humorless' (159). Gillray's gleeful parody of Catholic art may well have pleased many of its viewers and even directly incited laughter from those familiar with the Sistine Chapel.

Overall, the book offers a useful survey of prints from this period for students and the general reader. Hopefully it will persuade historians to give increased consideration to graphic satire, and encourage scholars to challenge the false dichotomy (that Moores occasionally reifies) at the heart of francophobia. After all, can fear and hatred ever be fully separated from desire and fascination?

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Adrian J. Wallbank, *Dialogue, Didacticism and the Genres of Dispute: Literary Dialogues in an Age of Revolution*. London: Pickering & Chatto, 2012. Pp. 287. £95. ISBN 9781848932791.

The dialogue, as a literary form, is inherently an act of bad faith: it presents polemic under the guise of debate. Adrian J. Wallbank's collection of close readings attempts to analyse how dialogists dealt with an audience increasingly aware of this fact.

Wallbank presents a progression of texts from quasi-catechetical conservative political dialogues written for the newly-literate non-landowning classes in an attempt to prevent them from having their heads turned by *The Rights of Man* to what he categorises as genuine attempts to present a variety of contradictory positions to the reader without coercion in the works of Thomas Love Peacock and Walter Savage Landor. He admits that these texts are highly selective, and that dialogues of the more didactic sort were still being written in the 1820s and beyond, but his selection does provide an interesting and, on the whole, persuasive narrative of the evolving priorities of dialogue writers and readers over the decades following the French Revolution.

Wallbank is very good at unearthing the complexities and paradoxes inherent to the form. For instance, conservative dialogues aimed at convincing the non-landowning classes that they should have no involvement in politics were, by their nature, self-negating; on the other hand, radicals found it difficult to employ the dialogue form for their own ends because of its coercive nature. On a more formal level, a recurring question in the book is that of the most effective way to write a dialogue. While the traditional two straw men against a blank background may appear unappealing, novelistic attempts to render the disputants fully-rounded characters may backfire: the writer does not want the reader to identify with the 'wrong' protagonist.

The relationship of the reader to the text is something that I would have liked Wallbank to have gone into a little more. For most of the texts examined in the first half of the book, aimed primarily at lower or rural middle class readers, there is no way to find out how effective they were in achieving their goals as the evidence simply doesn't exist. However, in Chapter 2, Wallbank mentions in an aside that some religious dialogues primarily aimed at the working class reader were also popular among the middle classes. Wallbank has characterised the reader as identifying with the 'protégé' figure in these dialogues, rather than the 'mentor', ideally undergoing a process of 'conversion' parallel to that of the protégé in the text. It seems likely, though, that middle class readers would, instead, identify with the mentor, and would likely enjoy these texts as confirmations of their existing prejudices and practices, rather than in their 'intended' manner.

The issue of audience also muddies Wallbank's narrative arc, somewhat. The book is presented as a story of ever-increasing textual ambiguity and sophistication over the 30–40 year period covered, but most chapters are distinct in subject and the texts analysed therein are clearly aimed at different readerships: the examples in later chapters are more complex than those in the earlier chapters, but they are also clearly aimed at a more highly educated readership.

The idea of progression from blunt-object coercion to even-handed presentation is also problematic. Wallbank's reading of Peacock as an anarchic force inviting the reader to question both conservative and liberal assumptions – not because he does not believe in anything himself, but because his broadly progressive agenda is best served by inculcating a spirit of non-acquiescence in his readers – is stimulating and, to my mind, convincing. His similar comments on Landor are intriguing but feel rather tacked on. However, the suggestion that Richard Phillips is somehow less coercive because he argues *against* a position rather than for one is questionable – the clear implication in Phillips's *Dialogues* is that the reader, should they find the doubts raised convincing, can seek for answers in Phillips's other work. The discussion of Southey's *Colloquies* as a genuine dialogue between two facets of an author divided against himself is more convincing, but it should be remembered that Southey's contemporaries, and Southey himself, in his recorded sentiments, were clear as to which 'self' had come out on top.

Wallbank occasionally seems to have contracted a certain circularity of style from his sources and the book could have done with being proof-read: there are a distracting number of

typos and occasional grammatical errors (*philosophes* is rendered '*philosophés*' throughout, voracious at one point becomes 'veracious', there is the odd phantom apostrophe, and so on). None of this is seriously detrimental to the work, but if academic publishers are going to charge exorbitant prices for their books, we might expect such errors to be eliminated.

That said, this is an engaging examination of a neglected form, shedding light on lesser-known texts and usefully re-examining better-known ones, and, as such, it should be of use to historians and literary scholars alike.

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Ben Hewitt, *Byron, Shelley, and Goethe's* Faust. *An Epic Connection.* Studies in Comparative Literature, 33. London: Legenda, 2015. Pp. 196. £55 (hb). ISBN 9781909662414.

As its title indicates, this study examines the relationship between Part One of Goethe's *Faust* (hereafter *Faust I*) and selected works of Byron (notably *Cain, The Deformed Transformed* and *Don Juan*) and Shelley (in particular *Prometheus Unbound*). Ben Hewitt is, however, not primarily concerned with 'influence' in the sense of logging specific cases of textual similarity and then worrying about possible causalities. Nor does he simply 'compare' different texts: he is concerned, rather, to locate these texts within a historical dynamic and to examine the way that they articulate responses to each other and to other texts and cultural developments. He uses the word 'triangulation' to describe his analysis of the shifting relationship between different approaches to literature and ideas adopted by these three authors, and this allows him to introduce into the discussion later texts, such as Part Two of Goethe's *Faust* (hereafter *Faust II*), which was only published after the deaths of Byron and Shelley, or the perspectives offered on the central themes of the study by, for example, Nietzsche and Freud.

These central themes revolve around the term 'epic', which appears in the title and is used in a rather special way to refer to the literary formulation of a philosophical attitude: whereas the tragic in principle reflects an engagement with insuperable contradictions in the human condition, often but not necessarily located within a religious framework, the epic is digressive and embraces a potentially unlimited experience of the world. The tragic is based on and reinforces acceptance of a framework, whereas the epic is less closed and can provoke activity, even political activity. The terms 'tragic' and 'epic' do not therefore refer primarily to questions of genre as such, and the modern epic (looking forward to Brecht's 'epic theatre') refers to an experimental, often difficult kind of literature, not merely the bloodless descendant of Homer and Virgil. Developing Franco Moretti's distinction, Hewitt argues that Goethe's original conception of *Faust*, as evidenced in the so-called 'Urfaust' draft of the play, was tragic, but that the relativising, ironising additions in the final version of *Faust I*, the prefaces, the 'Walpurgisnacht' scene and the last lines, represent a shift in the direction of the epic, one that was extended in *Faust II*. Goethe's *Faust* is therefore a staging-post in the emergence of the modern epic, playing a crucial role in the evolution of second-generation Romantic writing in England.

This fundamental shift in attitude was articulated and developed in different ways by Byron and Shelley, who were both responding to *Faust* through the figure who casts the longest shadow across this story, Mme de Staël. In *De l'Allemagne* she provided a formulation of the critical response to *Faust I* that helped to turn it into a site of contention over literary, moral and religious propriety. She could not deny her admiration for Goethe or the many beauties of the text, but she was disturbed by the irony, the lapses of taste and above all by the prominence

of Mephistopheles whose scepticism, she felt, undermined the kind of moderate post-Enlightenment, post-Bonapartist values she strove for, 'vertu, dignité de l'âme, religion, enthousiasme' (quoted, 48).

It seems that Byron's engagement with *Faust I* was first stimulated by *De l'Allemagne*, and his reading of Goethe's play was – to use that inadequate word – 'influenced' by Mme de Staël in the sense that he was provoked to embrace precisely the scepticism and the improprieties that she criticised. His Lucifer in *Cain* is a reworking of Goethe's Mephistopheles and embodies the same ambivalence towards rationality, but *Don Juan* in particular epitomises Byron's turn towards the epic, becoming gradually more digressive, the narrator becoming more distanced and the text becoming more political, drawing the reader into an active intervention in the world that even Goethe in *Faust II* cannot manage without the residual tragic overtones which echo through Act V.

Shelley's fundamental response to *Faust I* was similar to Byron's, but Shelley used a shift towards the epic not in order to dismantle myths, as Byron did, but to create myths – myths that would be socially transformative. His reservations about *Faust I* were not based on Staël's ideas of propriety and religious orthodoxy but by ideas he associated with Plato and Dante. Shelley thus deployed the idea of love in order to negate the tragic view of the world that he found still too intact in both Byron and in *Faust I*, and this is of course the conclusion that Goethe, too, reached (though not without a certain ambivalence) in the final Act of *Faust II*.

This is not the first study of the relationship of Goethe's *Faust* to English Romantic writing, but it is an original contribution in its own right by virtue of the particular texts it focuses on and the wide-ranging, complex picture that emerges. 'Triangulation' proceeds by constructing a web of interlinking perspectives, and the shifting ground of the argument does not always make for ease of reading, but the material is carefully assembled, and the twists and turns of the discussion are full of valuable insights.

David Hill
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Jack DeRochi and Daniel J. Ennis, eds., *Richard Brinsley Sheridan: The Impresario in Political and Cultural Context*. Lewisburg, PA: Bucknell University Press, 2013. Pp. 307. $90. ISBN 9781611484809.

The editors of this essay collection open with a disarming question: is their project 'worthwhile'? They quote Richard Brinsley Sheridan's 'Puff Direct' from his play, *The Critic*, which even now sounds disturbingly like a straight-faced recipe for an academic review ('strongly drawn – highly colored – funds of genuine insight – mines of invention – neat arguments' [1]). DeRochi and Ennis hope that their collection fully situates Sheridan in 'that rich intersection of language, gender, power, politics, and performance that was Georgian Britain' (4). Given the explosion in Georgian/Regency theatre studies over the past twenty years, it is a timely aim. The collection is broadly historicist, with its twelve essays working as discrete research articles rather than systematic analyses of Sheridan in particular contexts. As such this functions less as a comprehensive critical companion than as a snapshot of where studies of the author are and where they might go. Starting off with DeRochi's survey of biographical accounts of Sheridan sheds some light on the author's complicated status within the canon. Sheridan remained a mercurial figure for his biographers, scion of a gifted Irish theatrical family, a politician who wrote plays, or possibly 'simply a drunk profligate who possessed a large measure of wit' (19). DeRochi finds a common thread through nineteenth-

and twentieth-century accounts of Sheridan centring around Sheridan as a performer, an enigmatic figure who played a variety of roles with such élan that it feels impossible to recover a sincere individual from underneath the masks.

Here and elsewhere it might have been possible for the editors and authors to consider in more depth Sheridan's Irishness: it was certainly a major consideration for Thomas Moore, whose sense of the constant performance needed by the Irish émigré to England coloured how he dealt with his compatriot's life. John Vance's essay on 'Sheridan in the Age of Wilde and Shaw' might seem to promise something along these lines, but instead provides an account of *The School for Scandal*'s popular place in the late-Victorian/Edwardian theatrical repertoire. Some of the essays follow suit: meticulously researched from a historical point of view, they seem reticent to make deeper critical judgements or theoretical connections, but there are others which will appeal to the literary critic.

Daniel O'Quinn's essay on *Pizarro* manages to transcend cultural history to reveal the important political and literary dimension of Sheridan's writing, taking the aforementioned indecipherability of Sheridan the man to suggest 'that political and aesthetic inconsistency are the point of Sheridan's complex intervention' (215). Robert W. Jones' essay on Sheridan's early style considers the 'intrusive style' (42) of Sheridan's poetry pre-*The Rivals*, relating it not only to the young writer's often assertive and aggressive posturing but to the wider 'critical vacuum' (43) in theorising what 'early style' might look like. The citation of Derrida's simile of style to 'a stiletto of a rapier' (42) draws attention to Sheridan's rhetorical strategies, something that becomes even more evident in Glynis Ridley's account of the impeachment of Warren Hastings and the trial of the *Bounty* mutineers. The former may be the most well-known moment of eighteenth-century oratorical grandstanding, with Sheridan's Speech on the Begums of Oudh (1790) placed in the context of both an earlier dry run in the House of Commons (in 1787) and Edmund Burke's marathon four day performance at the Impeachment. Sheridan's speech became a public sensation, suitably for a playwright 'collapsing the cultural distance between England and India in a sentimental tableau' (183). It might have been useful to the reader to have some sense of the wider Sheridan family's role in the elocution movement of the 1780s to tease out the connections between the orator-playwright and his rhetorician father. Two essays, by Steven Gores (on the connections between the Sheridans and the theatrical family of the Lees) and Marianna D'Ezio (on Sheridan and women), sketch in the wider social, familial, and sexual networks that Sheridan negotiated in his career. The collection ends with David Francis Taylor's account of how Sheridan was caricatured throughout his career. As Taylor notes 'caricatures of Sheridan coalesce and collide the registers of drama and politics' (263), adding to the book's, and our, difficulty in locating a Sheridan behind the postures.

In fact, ending the book with an essay on caricature might be a brilliantly ironic move by the editors to admit that any project that attempts to cover the full breadth of Sheridan runs up against 'theatrical politics' (281), and underneath a suspect subject who dazzles but remains unknowable. Sheridan is a fascinating figure, and hopefully this book will encourage more critics and teachers to incorporate him into their accounts of the period. In answer to the question of whether a new book on him is worthwhile, the evidence of this one suggests a resounding 'Yes'.

James Kelly
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Susan Valladares, *Staging the Peninsular War: English Theatres 1807–1815*. Farnham: Ashgate, 2015. Pp. 459. £80. ISBN 9781472418630.

(Note: As Susan Valladares currently serves as Editor of The BARS Review, *this review was commissioned and edited independently by Ian Haywood, one of the General Editors).*

This richly documented and informative study accomplishes precisely what the title promises: a thorough examination of how Napoleon's invasion of Portugal led to Britain's military intervention in Spain and Portugal, and how back in Britain the Peninsular War excited a high degree of public interest reflected not only in newspapers and periodicals, but also in the theatres of the metropolis and the provinces.

For her first chapter, Valladares borrows her title, '*Pizarro*, "Political Proteus"', from William Cobbett's critique (1804) addressing the reinterpretations of Sheridan's play season after season as similar to the shifting alliances of Sheridan's politics. What for Cobbett was protean instability becomes for Valladares protean adaptability. In her introduction she announces her critical emphasis on the plurality of a play's meaning from one performance to the next, 'enabling possibilities of playing across seemingly demarcated lines' (3). Even at the time of its opening (Drury Lane, 24 May 1799), *Pizarro* was perceived to implicate a doubleness. Sheridan's Conquistadores may bear a Spanish standard but they could represent as well soldiers in Napoleon's army, while the Peruvian natives could be as English as the actors playing them. The audience would certainly share in the prevailing alarm that Napoleon was planning a full-scale invasion of England. Eight years later another protean change took place in the performance. Pizarro was still the ruthless conqueror, but it was now Spain that his armies had invaded. Portugal was a long-time ally, and its port in Lisbon was crucial to Britain's international trade. Spain was no such ally, and recollections of the Spanish Armada of 1588 continued to nurture suspicions of lurking hostility. But in May 1808 widespread resistance against French occupation rose up in opposition to Napoleon's attempt to place his brother, Joseph Bonaparte, on the Spanish throne. Allegiances shifted. Sheridan's play took on new political relevance.

In her second chapter, 'Performing Shakespeare', Valladares further develops her argument on the plurality of interpretations. She cites from *Biographia Literaria* (1817) Coleridge's argument that the war in Spain and Portugal 'made us all once more Englishmen'. She observes, too, a congruency between prevailing political sentiment and Coleridge's representation of the Spaniards in his *Remorse* (Drury Lane, 23 January 1813). Identifying Shakespeare as the national bard, Coleridge traces in his lectures an abiding ideological relevance of the plays. Contending that Shakespeare's plays were used to bolster nationalism and 'to (re)figure concerns about the British military action in the Iberian Peninsula' (59), Valladares examines *Henry V* and *Henry VIII* among her examples of plays of nationalism. The former achieved its success by ennobling the English and exposing the debased morality of the French; the latter suggested the wrongs to the Spanish people were represented in the role of Katherine of Spain. From the Roman plays she selects *Julius Caesar* and *Coriolanus*, emphasizing in each the divisive factions of authority and the exploitation of public feelings.

In Chapter 3 Valladares turns her attention to the 'Spectacular Stages', the unlicensed theatres of London. The Licensing Act (1737) required the Lord Chamberlain's approval of all plays. Traditional spoken drama was restricted to the three licensed theatres, Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and during the summer season the Haymarket. The unlicensed theatres were originally limited to song and pantomime. The very strictures of the Licensing Act prompted considerable innovation, so that older forms of dramatic performance (harlequinades, masques) were revised, new forms (burlesque, burletta, melodrama) gained popularity, circus-like spectacles (equestrian drama, aquatic drama) were introduced, and more and more dialogue

was permitted. Among her examples are two water spectacles by Charles Dibdin the Younger: *The Wild Man* (Sadler's Wells, 22 May 1809) and *The Battle of Salamanca*, (Sadler's Wells, 24 August 1812). The former adapts from *Don Quixote* 'an entertainment very much conversant with the Peninsular War' (114-115); the latter presents a carefully choreographed 'Bayonet Charge' (136-139). The flight to Brazil by the Prince Regent of Portugal was represented as *The Honest Criminal* (Royal Amphitheatre, 16 May 1808), a spectacle by Philip Astley (118-119).

In Chapter 4 Valladares turns her attention to the provinces, and most especially to Bristol's Theatre Royal and Regency Theatre. Noting that each of the provincial theatres had its own unique identity and performance history, she has chosen to avoid generalisations and offer instead a more detailed case study. For this purpose Bristol offers a more complex theatrical culture relevant to port activities engaged in war and trade, in smuggling and the revenue service. Many of the performances were bespoke by the military, and many featured the leading players of London on summer tour. In keeping with her thesis that a play is altered by the changing circumstances of performance, Valladares discusses the influence of troop movements on the theatre audiences. Like other provincial theatres, those of Bristol relied on a repertory of traditional plays, but they were also more responsive to the local involvement in the Anglo-Spanish alliance. Coleridge's Bristol lectures and the Bristol performances of Shakespeare provide her occasion to return to the arguments of her first chapter with new dimensions of alterity.

Valladares has framed her exposition with an Introduction and Afterward that cogently assert the relevance of her study in the larger context of the history of British drama. During the Napoleonic Wars, many plays acquired urgent new meanings. Her exposition of individual plays is richly informed by cross-referencing many other plays being performed at the same time. Having entered into an alliance with Spain against France, English theatres had to reconfigure many older plays as well develop reappraisals of the military action on the Continent.

The latter half of her book provides a major reference resource in the form of three appendices providing for the years 1807 to 1815 a comprehensive calendar of playbills for Covent Garden, Drury Lane, and Bristol Theatre Royal. She has printed in bold type those plays that may be relevant to further research on the wartime repertoire. As a reference resource, these appendices ought to be useful to all scholars working on the drama of the period.

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Sarah Tindal Kareem, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Reinvention of Wonder*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 228. £55. ISBN 9780199689101.

In recent years, there has been growing interest in re-examining the relationship between secularized modernity in the wake of the Enlightenment and the 'disenchantment of the world', most famously formulated by Max Weber. Countering the disenchantment thesis, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Reinvention of Wonder* contends that Enlightenment scientific and philosophical discourse mobilizes a secularized form of wonder, which is not dissolved by scepticism but is dependent upon it: 'Wonder's allure reside in its promise that one might consume marvels while maintaining one's critical faculties' (9). Drawing a strong analogy between wonder as a state of cognitive suspension and the rise of fictionality, Sarah Tindal

Kareem argues that 'fiction accommodates readers' skepticism while also asking that readers allow the possibility of the strange and surprising to infiltrate everyday life' (3).

The opening chapter explores what 'wonder and wonders mean to eighteenth-century writers and readers' (35). Wonder was valued in the discourse of natural philosophy as a mode of attentiveness that maintains the mind 'at the perfect tipping point between dullness and stupor' (41). The chapter traces the cultural history of wonder in travel and devotional literature, and focuses on the emerging conceptual category of fiction as providing 'the reader with a safe space in which to experience wonder's intense effects without falling into delusion' (53). The 'twofoldness' of fictionality (simultaneously engaging and disclosing its own artifice) enacts a shift in wonder from being merely a 'conduit of knowledge' to 'laying bare its own *modus operandi* as itself an object of wonder' (58).

Kareem's second chapter persuasively links some unlikely bedfellows: David Hume's critique of induction, miracles in Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, and the Protestant doctrine of special providence that 'blurs the line between coincidence and miracle' (94). Kareem places particular emphasis on the techniques of defamilarization that each produces, which '[jolt] awake' a 'jaded readership' (91). The resulting bewilderment at radical contingency is rescued by the sceptic's sense of wonder at everyday life, which is now viewed *as if* it were miraculous without necessitating belief in supernatural intervention: 'wonder is what happens on the way back to reality from estrangement' (85).

Chapter 3 uses Henry Fielding's *Tom Jones* and Horace Walpole's *The Castle of Otranto* to explore mid-century fictionality, which can 'no longer play on the indeterminacy of its truth status' (110). Drawing on a heterocosmic model developed by Alexander Baumgarten, Kareem argues that a formal standard of referentiality is replaced by one of internal consistency—'the work of fiction answerable only to its own laws' (122)—in which the work generates 'wonder and recognition simultaneously' (113). Rather than reflecting the lessons of the text back upon reality, 'fiction's internal intricacy of form as well as the skill of its creator come into focus' (117).

The penultimate chapter turns to *Baron Munchausen's Narrative of his Marvellous Travels*, written (in English) by Rudolph Raspe. Whereas the first version (published in 1785) was didactic, teaching its audience how to engage 'a provisional belief that is the baron's prescription for remedying credulity' (166), later installments of the *Narrative* shift 'its satiric target from readers, as the consumers of lies, to Munchausen, the producer' (173). Whereas the first lesson offers a 'method' to be applied and then reapplied in other situations (revealing the illusionism at work in credit economies and political rhetoric), the baron's subsequent telling of tall tales 'empowers his readers as autonomous thinkers and sows the seeds of his own destruction' (173).

The last chapter reads Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* alongside Mary Shelley's *Frankenstein* to suggest that both texts critique rational disenchantment (personified respectively in Henry Tilney and the Genevan magistrate) alongside their more widely recognized critiques of quixotic enthusiasm. Kareem's close readings deftly demonstrate the 'parallels between philosophical and romantic devotion' and suggest that the rational thinker who dismisses 'claims inconsistent with his own abstract principles as mere flights of romantic fancy' is actually vulnerable 'to a visceral, involuntary belief masquerading as rational, autonomous thought' (197, 198). Instead, both novels advocate 'a more thoroughgoing skepticism that is a source of, rather than the undoing of, wonder' (188).

Meticulously researched and cited, *Eighteenth-Century Fiction and the Reinvention of Wonder* will rewards the scholar interested in any of the broad disciplines that it engages. It moves quickly (at times vertiginously) between different fields as well as different methodologies, drawing from recent work in narratology, cognitive science, discussions of fictionality, and affect theory. The delightful ambitiousness of its scope, however, also means

that difficult questions of the compatibility of vastly different methodologies are elided, as the study focuses on the uncanny ways in which eighteenth century fiction pre-empts the conclusions reached by twentieth and twenty-first century disciplines. Kareem's characterization of wonder as positioning us on the cusp between recognition and estrangement serves as an apt summary of the experience of reading her book: 'at once destabilizing and exhilarating,' fostering 'a pleasure in the sensation of not knowing – of wondering – itself' (15-16).

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Charlotte Roberts, *Edward Gibbon and the Shape of History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014. Pp. 185. ISBN 9780198704836.

The dominant vision of a monumental, indeed monolithic, Gibbon, a model of Enlightenment rationality (a vision which owes much to Gibbon's friend and executor Lord Sheffield) has in recent years received significant qualification. David Womersley, Peter Ghosh and others have highlighted the developmental processes through which *Decline and Fall* was continuously transformed up to the publication of its final installment in 1788. Roberts' sinewy monograph takes a more radical approach, probing fissures in the polished surface of Gibbon's ironic prose. Tonal instability emerges as a dominant trait of the *Decline and Fall* and indeed of Gibbon's (multiply reworked) *Memoirs*. Negotiating a volatile position, shifting between detachment and sympathy, Roberts's Gibbon articulates the shifting complexity of his own – and his reader's – engagement with the past.

How the historian deals with character – both his own and that of those who feature in his history – is the concern of Roberts's Chapter 1. Gibbon's history and his memoirs, also, inflected by contemporary debates about epistemology and the nature of personal identity, are characterised both by a focus on the heroic, indeed transcendent, individual and an increasing concern with the social and cultural conditions by which individuals are shaped and constrained. Gibbon himself and many of those who figure in his history thus appear curiously discontinuous and provisional.

Roberts's sensitivity to the linguistic texture of Gibbon's narrative also informs her portrayal of its overall shape. She traces the operation of some key figures to convincing effect: 'equivalence' in Chapter 2's analysis of volume 1, 'inheritance' in Roberts's treatment of volumes 2 and 3 (the second installment of *Decline and Fall*, discussed in Chapter 3), and 'repetition', in her discussion of the final installment (volumes 4, 5 and 6, which constitute the focus of Chapter 4). Here Roberts tracks some of the ways in which Gibbon implicitly takes issue with the idea of history as teaching by example, an idea associated with ancient historians such as Livy but also, in a rather different way, with the eighteenth-century *philosophes*. Sensitive though he is to the variety of the specific, Gibbon equally distances himself from the position of the *érudits* (with their focus on antiquarian detail). His writing constantly renegotiates the balance between rationality, totalising explanation, grand pattern, on the one hand, and, on the other, the often puzzling or inexplicable irruption of the local, the particular, the personal. For Gibbon, on Roberts's reading, it is precisely the precarious nature of this balance, which gives drive both to societies (past and present) and to the historian's treatment of them. Increasingly, heroic character functions as a disruptive force in Gibbon's narrative. Yet such disruptions impart a welcome, indeed necessary, energy.

Roberts's analysis homes in particularly on those moments when Gibbon appears to revise or amend his position. As she trenchantly underlines, the reader of subsequent

installments is not the same as the reader of volume 1. Later volumes deliberately play on expectations set up in the first, subtly modulating the more sustained ironies of Gibbon's earlier chapters. Roberts highlights the disturbing degree of detachment expressed by the figure of the philosophic narrator in relation to the crimes of the Empress Irene in Volume 5. Such indifference is explicitly problematized in Chapter 10 of Volume 1. To the alert reader, recollecting this earlier passage, the contrast serves as a demonstration of the potentially damaging effect of the spectacle of the empire's decline and fall on the humanity of the historian-observer.

Roberts rightly notes Gibbon's suggestive ambivalence towards Virgil's *Aeneid* as a product of the Rome of Augustus but perhaps plays down the degree to which he engages with the writings of other classical authors, particularly Tacitus. Tacitus, of course, is a master of the ironic alternative, especially in relation to the motivation of individuals, a tactic so frequently deployed by Gibbon. If Gibbon's assessment of Julian's character is 'anti-classical in its ambivalence' (29), the same might be said of Tacitus' treatment of numerous key figures (notably Otho, Germanicus, Seneca).

Architectural metaphors, as Roberts emphasises in Chapter 5, are of critical importance in Gibbon's work. The tyranny of individual emperors is repeatedly assimilated to monumental construction. Though *Decline and Fall* seems at times to aspire to its own kind of monumentality, Gibbon, in aligning himself with Hannibal or sympathising with Alaric, whose intentions towards Rome are hostile and destructive, signals the ways in which the historian's creativity is necessarily implicated in Rome's destruction – like the glorious new structure of St Peter's, perhaps, built from the ruined monuments of antiquity. Fragmentation can serve, too, as a figure for personal liberation; the multiple and incomplete *Memoirs*, in yielding a fragmented version of the historian, disclose his resistance to the tyranny of paternal authority. Roberts's reading of Gibbon is a fine, subtle and largely compelling one, offering important new insights into the potent ambiguities of his writing.

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Andrea Timár, *A Modern Coleridge: Cultivation, Addiction, Habits*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015. Pp. 264. £55. ISBN 9781137531452.

Coleridge distinguished civilization from cultivation; a civilization of atheistic rationalism was for him the ultimate cause of the French Revolution, while cultivation or education is the means of nation building. The riddling title *A Modern Coleridge* neither points towards what other versions of Coleridge there may be nor advertises itself as a selective presentation of his writing*;* rather it asks the question of how much Coleridge may be merely symptomatic of a transition to modernity; or, alternatively, how much he may anticipate or represent that transition. The idea of agency – of Coleridge's Kantian 'Will' – is therefore crucial and is what is threatened by the 'addiction' of the sub- title; collectively as well as individually, addiction is prolonged interruption, and habit the faculty that mediates between wellbeing and disease.

The modern disease for Coleridge is a craving for immediate stimulation precisely with the element of volition removed; addiction to reading is the wrong kind of reading of the wrong kind of print. His modernity, then, is not a culture of proliferating print and other consumer items that stimulate and pander to appetite, since such a culture is not a product of the agency of the will. Not surprisingly, Coleridge is clearer about these negative aspects of modernity than he is about fielding a positive alternative; nevertheless, this book implies that a case for his modernity might rest, despite his denial of enlightened rationalism, on a claim that

enlightenment had not been tried. Coleridge attempted a 'political application of the concept of the imagination' (33) by adumbrating a state that would be reflective and religious, its society stratified and its laws organic.

Although paradoxically dependent on involuntary repetition, 'habit' is the positive counterpart of addiction – or rather 'habits' are its counterpart, since there can only be examples of how a positive modernity might look: so Sir Alexander Ball, the Governor of Malta for whom Coleridge worked, embodies a kind of ideal pedagogue. It is not the violence Ball inflicts as punishment that pains him but the fact that he is obliged to treat victims as beasts; or, 'this is going to hurt me more than it hurts you' (46). Coleridge enlists Ball on the side of Andrew Bell over Joseph Lancaster in the controversy over the monitorial or Madras schemes of education and recommends that the Governor read Wordsworth's poem 'Peter Bell' rather than 'The Ancient Mariner', as though in agreement with what he later recounts as the view of 'Mrs Barbauld' that his own poem had not enough moral.

These sorts of argument of course depend on a history larger than the individual's lifespan, and Coleridge's writings are not treated in anything like chronological order in this book, unless it be a reverse chronology: it begins with *Church and State* (1830) and ends with 'The Eolian Harp' and its earlier (1796) version. These texts are symptomatic and, like the stages upon which the book is structured, they act synchronically; progressive and regressive forces co-existing without being reconciled, as Coleridge famously writes 'opposite or discordant qualities' are reconciled when co-existing in a poem. The paradox of the intoxication of poetry is first discussed by Coleridge himself within the poems themselves, most obviously 'The Ancient Mariner' and 'Kubla Khan', for which passages on education and the essay on Luther and Rousseau from *The Friend* provide the respective contexts in this book. We can see why Andrea Timár employs a conceptual rather than developmental model, but part of the point in each case is that the passages from two decades later seek to repress the performative energies of the earlier daemonic poems: 'Kubla Khan' has lots of temporal layers (the ancestors, the revival, the epilogue, its later preface) but the book's conceptual structure can only juxtapose later prose with earlier poems. 'The Eolian Harp' and its earlier versions feature not to illustrate conflict between the Unitarian radical of the 1790s and the later Anglican philosopher but, showing a move from the private and domestic to a political community in 'a problematic display of *Bildung'* (138), leave the traces of an individual poetics within a wider 'politics of cultivation' (146).

Those later chapters can seem to reinstate a more familiar lapsarian view of Coleridge by which what delighted the radical poet shocked the virtuous philosopher. By then, however, it is clear that this book, imaginatively structured, energetically researched and lucidly written – although with more typos and small errors than used to occur when publishers could afford copy editors and proofreaders – is one with which readers of Coleridge are going to have to engage. For this reader, it is the most provocative and exciting book on Coleridge for decades.

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Seth Rudy, *Literature and Encyclopedism in Enlightenment Britain: The Pursuit of Complete Knowledge.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014. Pp. 253. £55. ISBN9781137411532.

In a world where the algorithms of Google and the trillions of megabytes of facts and data contained within the pages of Wikipedia can instantaneously supply (or even oversupply) the curious with whatever information they need, it is timely to revisit and investigate the geneses

of this phenomenon and the seemingly irresistible, yet vexed desire humanity has displayed over the centuries to collate and systematise knowledge. Seth Rudy traces precisely these origins and their literary manifestations through a detailed and erudite survey of encyclopedic impulses from the comprehensive knowledge and 'more-than-human capacities' (2) of epic writers such as Homer and Virgil through to the compendia of dictionaries and encyclopedias of the eighteenth century and their implications for our understanding of today's richly competitive online knowledge arena. Rudy also surveys an impressive assortment of canonical writers and texts such as Milton's *Paradise Lost*, Pope's *The Dunciad*, Fielding's *Tom Jones* and Sterne's *Tristram Shandy*, which are interspersed by way of illustrating the influence of the period's vogue for encyclopedism and the interconnectedness of such impulses across print culture and 'high' literature more widely.

Rudy's starting point is Bacon's insistence that 'nothing parcel of the world is denied to man's enquiry and invention', and that human knowledge 'may comprehend all the universal nature of things' (19). Such aspirations are returned to throughout the book, but Rudy weaves a course through, and aims to 'tell the story of', the intrinsic and often competing implications and problems associated with such aims, most notably in relation to the inherently challenging and seemingly contradictory drives towards encyclopedism, 'completeness' and universality. These terms, as Rudy ably explains, are in themselves contentious and hard to define, let alone compatible (despite becoming important motifs throughout Enlightenment Britain) and, as such, the core argument and recurring theme of the book is 'the persistent failure' of ambitions to unite them, their 'collapse in the third quarter of the eighteenth century, and the subsequent redefinition of completeness in modern literary and disciplinary terms' (1). This is an enormously ambitious task, but Rudy explains them by surveying a range of genres such as encyclopedias, essays, novels, histories, periodicals and poetry whilst consistently returning to the core tenets and ambitions articulated and to some extent exemplified within the epic.

Rudy's impressive and judiciously selected range of material certainly addresses the parameters of 'literature' and 'encyclopedism' outlined in the title and gives us perceptive insights into what Rudy calls 'the productive indeterminacy of completeness as a literary feature (31). But given such a broad scope, readers might be left wondering whether justice was done to encyclopedias themselves, or indeed the intriguing and slippery complexities of the intersections between encyclopedism and 'high' and 'low' literature, the 'ephemeral and eternal', and the 'useful and useless' promised by the title and the synopsis. Indeed, although Rudy's frame of reference is compelling and highly pertinent, in attempting to tell the 'story' of encyclopedism the book suffers from the same inherent problems associated with 'completeness', coherence, totality, collation and synthesis as those texts under examination – a 'paradox' and process of inescapable duplication that Rudy himself ably acknowledges (10). The 'story' of course, is not 'complete' in the sense that the leap from the 'third quarter' of eighteenth-century Britain to today's necessarily global phenomenon of Google is left largely unexplained; the range of encyclopedias themselves is decidedly incomplete and of course the 'stories' of their composition, with their myriad of associated implications relating to genre, authorship, originality, funding, collaboration, organisation, plagiarism and their underlying ideologies, nationalism and notions of man's 'perfectibility', are not examined (and perhaps rightly so given the length of the book). Encyclopedias, as Rudy rightly points out, 'did not exist in a vacuum' (137), yet these facets are largely relegated to what he calls 'background noise', despite being of considerable interest given recent accounts of eighteenth-century pedagogy and didacticism, genre (Curran, Wolfson and Duff), Romantic-era annotation / marginalia (Watson), sociability / association (Clark and Mee) and established theoretical frameworks associated with lists (Eco), heterogeneity (Bakhtin), the public sphere (Habermas) and even the highly pertinent issues raised in Philipp Blom's *Encyclopédie: The Triumph of Reason in an Unreasonable Age* (2004).

Much remains to be done in respect of future research into British encyclopedias, their fascinating and distinctive contribution to eighteenth-century intellectual history, and their influence upon the highly competitive and burgeoning arena of print culture, but in exploring 'encyclopedism', Rudy offers us an insightful and diligently examined 'story' of how such impulses fed into the literature of the period. Rudy thus offers an invaluable, if not foundational contribution to research in this area and his readers will be richly rewarded by the book's considerable originality and perceptiveness.

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Catherine Jones, *Literature and Music in the Atlantic World, 1767–1867*. Edinburgh Studies in Transatlantic Literatures. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014. Pp. 278. £70. ISBN 9780748684618 (hb), 9780748684625 (web-ready PDF).

It's possible to indicate here only a fraction of the riches contained in this impressive and attractive book. It represents prodigious reading in social and cultural history and politics, as well as music and literature, crossing over between America and Europe. Among its attractions are the illustrations, well chosen for the ration of two per chapter. Frontispieces and title-pages from original publications feature, among them William Billings's *New-England Psalm-Singer* (Boston, 1770: Figures I.1 and I.2) and Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (Figure 4.2, its date printed as 'Year 85 of The States – 1860–61') together with topical cartoons and ballads.

Given the book's extensive range of references, the lack of a bibliography seems regrettable and can be problematic. The endnotes total over 1,000. No list is given of bibliographical abbreviations. Unless one retains the information, where such abbreviations as *PTJ* for papers of Thomas Jefferson occur at a distance from their original citation, tracking down the details necessitates searching through the notes, perhaps supplemented by an index search, to find the abbreviation's first use. Presumably the apparatus reflects the design of the series. Hordes of politicians, society hosts and hostesses, writers and musicians are summoned throughout the text: within a single paragraph triggered by an account of Madame de Staël's acquaintance with Jefferson we meet de Staël herself, with her 'fervent defence of liberty in opposition to Napoleon' (68), followed by Francis Jeffrey and Sir James Mackintosh apropos favourable reviews of her work in the British press, together with the publisher John Murray, who reprinted it in 1813 – and Napoleon, whose troops pulped it in 1810; then Washington Irving as editor of the *Analectic Magazine* (which reprinted Jeffrey's and Mackintosh's reviews), followed by the Prussian Ambassador Baron von Humboldt, at whose house Irving 'had met the exiled de Staël' (69), and finally the American naval officer Oliver Hazard Perry, subject of a biographical memoir by Irving in 1813. (Jones sees Irving's views on friendship among nations as developed from 'de Staël's art of analysing "the spirit of nations … " by applying her theory and practice to the American condition' (69).) With so many figures populating the narrative, I would have welcomed a short biographical footnote on first mention, or an appendix list of names with biographical notes to instruct or remind us: information of this kind tends to come only at a later point in the text.

The book forms a complement to Fubini's *Music and Culture in Eighteenth-Century Europe: A Source Book* (Eng. transl. ed. B. Blackburn: see my review in *French Studies*, l (1996), 29). The balance in Jones's study is more equally divided between quoted extracts and commentary on the quoted extracts. The Introduction is characteristic of her method. It opens with the sale of Jefferson's personal library, containing some 13 books on music. A network

of connections and reflections sparked by his musical interests is then (re)constructed, drawing on sources including eighteenth-century treatises (Geminiani on the art of playing the violin) and historical and critical writings on music (Burney's *General History of Music* and *Present State of Music* volumes) alongside recent musicological studies, as well as early American sources and modern studies of transatlantic literature and politics. Five substantial chapters follow, some bearing evocative titles such as 'Magic Numbers and Persuasive Sound' (Chapter 1) and 'The Life in Music' (Chapter 3), while others are rather more revealing of their content, as Chapters 2 ('Cosmopolitanism and the Nation') and 4 ('Chants Democratic and Native American', foregrounding 'slave songs'); Chapter 5 reaches to the heights of 'The Musical Sublime' in foregrounding the aesthetics of music with special reference to the much discussed concept of musical sublimity (Mendelssohn and J.S. Bach, *St Matthew Passion* figure prominently).

Familiar landmarks of music history are viewed from less familiar angles. Thus Weber's *Freischütz* (herald of nineteenth-century Romantic German opera) appears in a case-study of Irving's involvement in Livius's English translation of the libretto (Chapter 2). Famous eighteenth-century operatic quarrels are evoked in their American dimension: Jones notes in her Introduction that '[Benjamin] Franklin's diplomatic mission to France coincided with the War of the Gluckists and Piccinnists'), although Franklin 'refused to take sides' (25). And Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with its celebrated choral setting of Schiller's 'Ode to Joy' figures in Chapter 4 in the context of American Transcendentalism. Notable writers on music (Burney in the late eighteenth century and E.T.A. Hoffmann in the early nineteenth, for example) appear in the context of their American resonances. In throwing light on the links between a fledgling States and Europe on the one hand, and on America's own musical tradition on the other, the book constitutes a model of interdisciplinary study.

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Elizabeth A. Bohls, *Slavery and the Politics of Place: Representing the Colonial Caribbean, 1770-1833*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp. 262. £60. ISBN 9781107079342.

In this insightful literary and historical study of the British Caribbean colonies in the era which spanned the entire process of the abolitionist struggle, Elizabeth A. Bohls argues that 'the politics of slavery … played out to a significant degree as a politics of place' (8). To strengthen their support amongst the British public, anti-slavery activists filled the public sphere with texts and images which depicted these highly lucrative imperial possessions as 'aberrant places in need of metropolitan intervention' (2), while planters worked to justify what they saw as the legitimacy of slavery through acts of 'discursive place-making' (1). Drawing upon both published and manuscript sources, Bohls depicts the slaveholders' attempts to convince metropolitan readers that these plantation colonies were simultaneously alluringly exotic and assimilable to British ideals of domesticity, while also foregrounding the strategies by which former slaves deployed ideas of place and mobility as strategies to escape the landscapes of slavery.

By the late eighteenth century, Jamaica was notorious throughout the Anglo-Atlantic world as the site of the greatest planter fortunes, but also as a place supposedly inimical to civilisation, home to the cruellest and most debauched slaveowners and the most rebellious and threatening slaves of any of the European plantation colonies. But, as Bohls argues, the island's planters did their utmost to convince themselves and metropolitan readers that the island was

no tropical hellhole, but instead could be assimilated into the fashionable discourse of the picturesque, with relation to both the environment and the inhabitants. Through the writings of Edward Long, William Beckford, and Matthew Lewis and the sketches of the architect and artist James Hakewill, the Jamaican landscape is rendered not wild but pastoral, the planters 'remake colonized territory in a metropolitan mold' (26), creating deer parks and artificial lakes on their estates, and the slaves are largely invisible. Yet, in Bohls's view, these georgic visions inevitably sound a false note, as when Lewis claims to find the Afro-Caribbean Jonkonnu carnival indicative of both the creativity and the childishness of his slaves, but in fact seems to find this ritual of inversion a disturbing indication of his potential loss of control over both his plantation and his bondspeople. Similarly, the narrative of the Scots mercenary John Gabriel Stedman regarding his experiences in the Dutch colony of Surinam, whence he travelled to assist in the subduing of the local Maroons, runaway slaves who had established settlements deep in the colony's tropical interior, offers 'a disturbingly incoherent glimpse into the human cost of Europe's imperial projects' (81), as his encounters with the Maroons constantly challenged his initial conviction of the supremacy of white Europeans and the legitimacy of slavery.

One might wonder if at this point there are new insights to be gleaned from Olaudah Equiano's narrative, so extensively has this text been analysed over the past two decades, but Bohls makes a valuable intervention by focussing not on Equiano's birth in Africa, his experience of the Middle Passage, or his life as a slave, but on his extensive travels across the Atlantic world, voyages which rendered this formerly enslaved man 'a black cosmopolitan—a citizen of the Atlantic world' (40), and argues for his autobiography's significance not only as a slave narrative but as a work of travel writing. But the most inventive sections of *Slavery and the Politics of Place* are its final two chapters, which examine ideals and practices of domestic life from the perspectives of both white and enslaved women. The Scotswoman Janet Schaw, who visited Antigua in 1775, and Maria Nugent, wife of the governor of Jamaica at the beginning of the nineteenth century, did their utmost to establish and maintain a recognisably British way of life in the tropics, and insisted that doing so was both possible and desirable, but their narratives depict them as repeatedly forcing themselves to ignore many 'unhomely' (163) aspects of life in a slave-based plantation colony. By contrast, Mary Prince, enslaved in the West Indies for decades, was never 'at home' on the plantation, in which 'the stones and the timber…were not so hard as the hearts' of her owners (171), but found a physical and emotional home for herself in London and depicted the Caribbean colonies as 'a wholly separate, degenerate world' (180), in line with the claims of the abolitionists.

Slavery and the Politics of Place is an important book for scholars both of the Caribbean and of Britain in the era of abolition. It draws new insights from canonical works such as those of Long, Equiano, and Schaw, as well as from the less familiar productions of Hakewill and Nugent. Weaving a web of connections between disparate locations and subject positions in the colonial Caribbean, it shows the crucial place of place, both physical and figurative, in the practice of slavery and its eventual end.

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Spotlight: Romantic Biographies

Nicholas Roe, *John Keats: A New Life.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012. Pp. 446. £25. ISBN: 9780300124651.

Since the slurs of nineteenth-century reviewers on the shortcomings of John Keats's style, social standing, politics, and masculinity, literary critics and biographers have reassessed these aspects of the poet's life and writing. If reassessment is the dominant practice of literary criticism, then it is no less essential to the art of literary biography. Nicholas Roe's treatment of the life and work of Keats in his new biography of the poet is a point in case. Roe's subtitle, 'A New Life', presses home a sense of urgency for a timely re-evaluation of the life, poetry, and the man. Akin to those biographies of Keats by Sidney Colvin, Walter Jackson Bate, Robert Gittings, Amy Lowell, Aileen Ward, and Andrew Motion, Roe's meticulous account of Keats's early years (1795–1814), challenges the myth of Keats as an ethereal poet, who is untried and untested against a world of actualities.

Confronted from an early age (and throughout his life) by death, economic uncertainty, and feelings of dislocation, Roe regards the birth of Keats's darkling imagination as inextricable from the hardships of everyday reality. Roe's meticulous research sheds light on many of the details of Keats's day-to-day habits in childhood and later medical training at St. Guy's Hospital. This fresh account of Keats's life gives little quarter to ideas of Keats's unworldliness or effeminacy, but finds in his life and work an earthy grounding, as well as a robust style and manner. What is most striking is, as Roe notes, '[t]he sheer physicality of Keats's enjoyment of poetry' (xix) as both a reader and writer. W.B. Yeats's image of Keats as an unmanly, sexually immature, socially inferior, bookish, fancifully ineffectual, and inexperienced 'schoolboy… / With face and nose pressed to a sweet-shop window' ('Ego Dominus Tuus', l. 56-7) is revised by Roe's scholarly, skilful, and sensitive biography.

Throughout Roe's biographical reassessment, there is an adroit handling of how the textures and contours of Keats's life and writing overlap with one another in a series of haunting echoes. The verbal and imagistic echoes of Keats's mature poetry comprise, for Roe, imaginative revisitings to earlier experiences and episodes in the poet's life. The topography of the closing scene of 'Ode to a Nightingale', with its 'still stream' and birdsong 'buried deep', is a 'brilliant reversal of his [Keats's] childish game at Craven Street' (326) with its environs of 'meadows beyond' (11) and 'borders and prospects' (13). Equally, the idyllic landscape of 'To Autumn' caught between the ideal and the real, existential meditation and political statement, action and inaction, living and dying, draws on Keats's formative years. The ode's occupation of a perfectly poised and balanced poetic space which, embodied in the steadied figure of the gleaner, reimagines, as Roe reminds us, 'Libra's scales' known to Keats from his 'schoolboy reading in Bonnycastle's *Introduction to Astronomy*' (356) and present at the time in the popular imagination through images of the Peterloo Massacre (16 August 1819).

Those political, social, and stylistic aspects of Keats's writing deigned to be defective and imperfect by his harshest nineteenth-century critics are championed by Roe as the very strengths and perfection of Keats's poetic achievement. As such Roe's 'New Life' of Keats, with its attention to the details of the poet's childhood and medical training in London, presents the reader with a much darker, edgier, and pugnacious Keats than the one we are familiar with. One of Keats's early childhood homes of 12 Craven Street, located on the 'suburban threshold' (13), at the every edge of a rapidly expanding London (where cityscape and landscape met one another), Roe argues, had a profound effect on shaping Keats's sense of distinctive yet commingled contrasts and those transitional and marginal poetic spaces that become the preferred haunts of his mature imagination.

Roe's biography conveys Keats's life as passionately lived; one that was inwardly and outwardly felt on the pulses. We are afforded glimpses of taking the evening air and strolling about the streets of London with Keats or dining out with Hunt and others in the circle. Alternatively, we can breathe in the crisp countryside as we roam with Keats through the Lake District or take in the prospect from Ben Nevis. Such snatched insights into how those outer sights and sounds moulded the inner life of Keats are often, as Roe admits, 'open to question' (xx). Such insights are valuable for reminding us of what remains unknown about a life even when it is one as well-documented as that of Keats's own. Ultimately, Roe's biography delights in the fact that Keats's life, like our own, is shrouded in 'uncertainties, Mysteries, doubts'.

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Randolph Vigne, *Thomas Pringle: South African Pioneer, Poet and Abolitionist*. Woodbridge and Rochester: James Currey, 2012. Pp. 270. $80. ISBN 9781847010520.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge's high estimation of Thomas Pringle's poem 'Afar in the Desert' is not one that critical opinion would share today. Its interest, therefore, lies in what it adds to our understanding of Coleridge's criticism, and in what it suggests about the interest to metropolitan Romanticism of the colonial encounter. 'Afar in the Desert' wobbles between a picturesque cosiness of address and an attempt at drawing a subject in a sublime landscape. Its traveller canters metrically through an African 'wilderness', amazed at the antic creation about him. He considers himself alone, despite the presence of 'the silent bushboy alone by my side', and is prompted to an epiphany with Biblical resonances. Now we would ask: what of the 'bushboy'; what of the project of the English traveller in that land; what of the schedule he makes of its resources; what of the language he binds it with to, or under the servitude in which the 'bushboy' now travels mutely alongside him? In many ways such problems characterise much of Pringle's short life, make it interesting, and exemplary of the challenges and contradictions of humanitarian engagement in the early decades of the nineteenth century.

Randolph Vigne comes to Pringle with the qualifications of a longstanding scholarly familiarity with his subject, as well as a shared politics in the 'liberal' legacy of Pringle's moment, at least as it is traced by that posterity in its self-imagining. His book is thorough, indispensable, fascinating and highly recommended. But it is not untroubled.

To sing the praises of the book is easy. Vigne's first task in coming to a man of parts, is to bring them into proximity, then order, then relation. He does this remarkably well, and for this reviewer (more familiar with the South African sojourn) most usefully. His coverage of the early years of entangled involvements in the cultural node of Edinburgh literary journalism is excellent. So, too, his handling of the later years of Pringle's Secretaryship to the Anti-Slavery Society, and as an editor of more than minor significance in the literary London of the late 1820s and early 1830s (a period Vigne rightly characterises as 'the least recorded, the most obscure'). Both stories place Pringle far closer to significant metropolitan initiatives than his otherwise 'role' as a colonial settler and versifier has formerly allowed. From the snakepit of Edinburgh journalism Pringle emerges as a resourceful and well-attuned literary broker; from the literary and humanitarian circles of a later London he emerges similarly, raised in stature. For a literary scholar this underscores the significance of Pringle's years as editor of *Friendship's Offering*, where he gave early publication to Tennyson and Ruskin, among others. It also raises questions about his own poetry, so full of potential and yet incapable of crossing

the threshold of true Romanticism. But Vigne's biography is not intended to be a strictly literary one: the author's interests and scholarship are much more historically inclined.

Still, we deserve a deeper treatment of the poetry built around the indigene, and Vigne urges it. J.M. Coetzee has written (off) the picturesque obfuscations of 'Evening Rambles', a rose-tinted landscape, whose rustic cot seems transplanted from Nether Stowey. This is one half of it, as Vigne points out. The other half is a suite of poems engaging very peculiarly with indigenous people and their history (and in some instances becoming that history, or part of it, or conjoining colonial representations with indigenous ones). One of the signal virtues of Vigne's book is the ground it beaks for literary scholars now to go over.

Of criticisms. At times long sentences succumb to the semantic burden placed upon them. We feel the pressure of the biographer here, to compass the data of a life in the information of a book. It will not bother scholars to read carefully, but one frets a little at the work which might deter the lay readers this books deserves. More serious is the intrusion of a kind of apologetics. The liberal cause has always been embattled in South Africa, since Pringle's time in the (very) brief heyday of the humanitarian ascendancy, down through the decades of conscience in the mid-twentieth century, through the endgame of apartheid, and on into the contemporary muddle. How Pringle would have sat with this posterity is hard to tell, but neither he nor history is well-served by some of Vigne's more slippery accommodations of Pringle's (and liberalism's) contradictions. A similar problem bedevils the word 'pioneer' in the book's title. It certainly applies to Pringle's political allegiances and engagements, and to his role as a poet in English. But most people are going to read that word 'pioneer' as a cipher of colonial settlement, and justly object to the priority it accords to that narrative in the constitution of a contested and conflictual South African history.

For all this, Vigne has thoroughly pressed the claim of Pringle to an array of important contributions, and raised his stature, in a commanding and fascinating biography. From this distance, however, it appears that Pringle might serve posterity best if liberated from the liberal claim to him.

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Tobias Churton, *Jerusalem!: The Real Life of William Blake*. London: Watkins, 2014. Pp. xxxix + 358. £25. ISBN9781780287508.

With *Jerusalem!: The Real Life of William Blake* Tobias Churton, Britain's leading scholar of Western Esotericism, has added to the great pile of Blake biographies. The question then is: Do we really need another biography of William Blake? Having read Churton's book, the answer must be yes. Churton's strategy is quite different from that of other Blake biographers and therefore the work has great value of its own. Instead of just recapitulating the well-known earlier biographies, Churton finds his own method by reading the life of Blake through his works. The usual anecdotes are there, of course, but always related to the art and poetry with considerable sophistication and originality.

Churton agrees with previous Blake scholars that there is 'little reliable first-hand biographical information' about Blake, which is a frustration when investigating him (27). However, by closely examining accounts by Benjamin Heath Malkin, Henry Crabb Robinson, John Thomas Smith, Allan Cunningham, Frederick Tatham, Alexander Gilchrist and others, Churton adroitly manages to question the truth of Blake's life and of several anecdotes. Taking as a telling example the familiar story of Blake having seen angels in some trees at an early

age, he shows that it is only a legend concocted by several sources, which Alexander Gilchrist picked up in his monumental Blake biography from 1865.

The book is much more than just a biography. It is a thorough scholarly investigation of Blake's *œuvre* that works well as an analytical text. It is ambitious in its scope and objective, and Churton shows great learning throughout the study. The sense of detail is extraordinary. Churton even draws upon his own family records. Archdeacon Ralph Churton was an almost exact contemporary of Blake's, and Churton therefore makes use of his ancestor's writings throughout the book in order to further illuminate Blake's life and works. Context is a key concern: as Churton argues, 'an historical understanding of William Blake is impossible without a good knowledge of the cultural forces prevailing in his lifetime' (xxxvi).

Churton is keen to acknowledge the achievements of other Blake scholars and shows an appropriately humble attitude towards these. For one thing, he makes clear the significance of the astonishing findings about the Moravian background of Blake's mother by Keri Davies and Marsha Keith Schuchard, and these inform Churton's biography throughout (xxxviii).

The biography surprisingly takes Blake's death as its starting-point. Hereby, Churton skilfully sets the scene by giving the general background to the year 1827, politically, socially and otherwise. By relating the particular circumstances of Blake's demise, Churton introduces readers to William Blake as a person. Then, in the next chapter he goes back to Blake's, by now more-or-less established, Moravian background, on his mother's side. It is Churton's view that Blake's mother had absorbed something of Count Zinzendorf's spiritual liberty. She taught Blake such basics as Moravian hymns, prayers and intimacies between mother and child. Churton expertly reads Blake's poetry in relation to fundamental Moravian ideas. He pertinently contextualises events in Blake's life with those of the Moravians, and with other world events that had a bearing on the Blake family.

The study then usefully takes us through Blake's career in twenty-four interesting and, for the most part, intriguing chapters. Almost all of Blake's works are dealt with at various lengths in illuminating discussions. Perhaps more space could have been devoted to the longer poems *The Four Zoas*, *Milton* and *Jerusalem*. But it should be said again, that the unfolding of Blake's life by way of his works is extremely constructive and a fuller picture of Blake emerges as a result.

Churton makes an important conclusion on the subject of Blake's religious orientation. After some debate, Churton infers in Chapter 7 that 'Blake shows no visible signs of being a radical Protestant in the political sense: all the evidence suggests a tolerant, ecumenical approach to Catholicism' (88). This is all in line with the latest findings of Blake criticism in the field, in works by, for instance, David Worrall, Susanne Sklar, and Schuchard and Davies, as already mentioned.

However, a negative aspect of the study is that Churton does not always provide references. This is a major drawback from a scholarly perspective and quite puzzling given Churton's ambitions for the book. More precise information would have been helpful to readers wishing to orientate themselves within Blake's voluminous writing.

All things considered, *Jerusalem!: The Real Life of William Blake* is a thorough and well-researched study. Even though it is somewhat dense and difficult, it ought to be consulted by all experts of William Blake and those historically inclined. Churton obviously demonstrates his expertise within a wide range of topics, which can be used to analyse Blake's *œuvre*.

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Daniel Grader, ed., *The Life of Sir Walter Scott by John Macrone*. Intro. Gillian Hughes. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2013. Pp. 168. £65. ISBN 9780748669912.

Daniel Grader's edition of John Macrone's *The Life of Sir Walter Scott* (2013) is an interesting – and in some ways indispensable – addition to the wealth of materials already written on the 'Wizard of the North', despite the peripheral nature of Macrone's incomplete manuscript and its chance discovery. The latter was unearthed by Grader as he was working on the Galt collection at the University of Guelph in Ontario, Canada. He came across a file described in the library catalogue as 'an unpublished manuscript concerning the life of Sir Walter Scott assumed to be written by J. Galt, 1837'. The researcher could nevertheless instantly testify that it was not in Galt's handwriting, and the existence of Macrone's manuscript was confirmed by Douglas S. Mack's edition of James Hogg's *Anecdotes of Sir W. Scott* (1983).

The rationale behind Grader's edition of Macrone's text is to provide the reader with a more subversive inbetween-the-line discourse on Scott's life. He modernised the writing and expanded the abbreviations to make the text readable, but he did not modify it. Macrone had indeed never met Scott: his sources are all secondary, gleaned through his discussions with Scott's friends (James Hogg) and acquaintances (Sir Egerton Brydges). The biography thus tends to be limited to a few anecdotes more or less happily strung together. And yet, Grader still deserves the gratitude of any Scott specialist for bringing this original manuscript to the public eye. Of course it does not replace the official biography written by Scott's son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart (1837–38) which remains the benchmark for any deep insight into the author's life, or the contemporary biography by William Hazlitt (1825), as well as more recent ones by Arthur Melville Clark (1969), David Daiches (1971), Carola Oman (1973), and John Sutherland (1995). However, Macrone's manuscript provides the reader with an alternative discourse through his more intimate and original anecdotes (114) that fills in the blanks left by the more canonical – and absolutely essential – biographies cited above. It brings out more private facets of Scott's life and his family thanks to Macrone's interviews of men who had known Scott since his schoolboy years in Edinburgh.

In terms of structure, the book starts with a short biography of publisher John Macrone (1–48), retracing his meteorite-like career from 1831 until his death in 1837 (he 'blazed comet-like for a mere six years and then disappeared', 49). He strikes the reader as being a skillful opportunist who felt at ease among the Scottish literati. He had always wanted to become famous through literature: Scott's death in 1832 provided him with a subject. Even though he had never met the author, he had become acquainted with Scott's close friend of twenty years, James Hogg. Yet, the latter already worked with Lockhart, Scott's legitimate biographer, and he also wanted to publish his own memoirs entitled *Familiar Anecdotes of Sir Walter Scott* (1834). Macrone had to give up his project, and in 1833 started a business partnership with Hogg's publisher, James Cochrane, before going into business of his own in 1834.

One may regret the choice of a thematic arrangement, rather than a chronological one, even though the shortness of the period studied certainly accounts for this decision. Yet, this structure leads to a lot of flashbacks and flashforwards which may confuse the reader following Macrone's partnerships (with Hogg, Cochrane, and then Sir Egerton Brydges) one after the other, even though some of these relationships happened simultaneously: 'having now exhausted our knowledge of Macrone's married life, we must return to his professional activities in St James' Square' (28). This structural choice also leads to a few repetitions, all the more so since Grader's rather lengthy introduction is then followed by Gillian Hughes's essay entitled 'The Afterglow of Abbotsford: John Macrone, Celebrity Culture, and Commemoration' (49-59). In this essay, Hughes takes up some of the details already mentioned by the editor – like the anecdote concerning Lady Scott's opium addiction (7; 53) – but she

very aptly and usefully puts Macrone's life in the context of the Victorian age of capitalism and celebrity culture, and provides us with a critical reading of Macrone's character that reinforces the image of the publisher as an illusionist, an opportunistic master trickster.

This unconventional biography brings to the fore interesting anecdotes which could interest Scott specialists or researchers focusing on John Macrone. It is not an essential read but a pleasant one, which has the merit of bringing two meteorites, Macrone and Scott, into the limelight again.

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