

**The Literary Clubs and Societies of Glasgow
during the Long Nineteenth Century:
A City's History of Reading through its
Communal Reading Practices and Productions**



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Abstract

This thesis uses the minute books and manuscript magazines of Glasgow's literary societies as evidence for my argument that the history of mutual improvement groups—including literary societies—needs to be re-written as a unique movement of 'improvement' during the long nineteenth century.

In foregrounding the surviving records, I examine what it meant to be literary to society members in Glasgow during this period. I discuss what their motivations were for becoming so, and reflect on the impact that gender, occupation and social class had on these. I demonstrate that these groups contributed to the education and literacy of people living in the city and to a larger culture of 'improvement'. Further, I argue that there is a case to be made for a particularly Scottish way of consuming texts in the long nineteenth century.

In Glasgow, there were at least 193 literary societies during this period, which I divide into four phases of development. I provide an in-depth examination of two societies which serve as case studies. In addition, I give an overview and comparison of the 652 issues of Scottish and English society magazines I discovered in the context of a larger, 'improving' culture.

I offer possible reasons why so many literary societies produced manuscript magazines, and show that this phenomenon was not unique to them. These magazines fostered a communal identity formed around a combination of religion, class, gender and local identity. I determine that societies in England produced similar types of magazines to those in Scotland possibly based upon the Scottish precedent.

These materials substantially contribute to the evidence for nineteenth-century mutual improvement societies and their magazines, and for working- and lower-middle class Scottish readers and writers during the long nineteenth century, social groups that are under-represented in the history of reading and in Victorian studies.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Not ‘a royal road to learning and wisdom’: Literary Societies, Reading and Their Uses

In the Christmas 1897 issue of *The Holyrood Magazine*, a manuscript magazine created by a literary society based in the West End of Glasgow, the editor, William C. Russell, wrote: ‘This is truly an age of Societies. We have societies literary, political, religious, philosophical, antiquarian, musical etc., etc. In fact, they are in number even as the sands of the sea shore [...]’.¹ By the late nineteenth century, literary societies in Glasgow were so prolific that they apparently had become a cliché and the butt of jokes which needed rectification:

[...] our object, we may say, is to combat some of the views frequently met with regarding the aims, methods, and influences of these valuable institutions.

We cannot in the first place, agree with those who think that there are only two qualities required in its members to ensure the complete success of any literary society, namely, perfect ignorance and perfect arrogance. Although these qualities are not infrequently found in combination, it is not clear to us that they find their proper sphere in the discussions of a literary society, where a little knowledge, even if it be a dangerous thing, is almost a necessity.

Neither can we accept the other view [...] which represents the literary society, contrary to the familiar maxim, as being a sort of royal road to learning and wisdom, whose gates are open to all on payment of the modest fee of half a crown or so per annum. We in this city have the reputation of being uncommonly keen for a bargain, but, for our own part, we never expect to get such value for two and six.²

He then turns to the ‘true’ purposes of societies:

¹ William C. Russell, ‘The Editor’s ‘Forward’’, *The Holyrood Magazine*, ed. by William C. Russell, Holyrood Club, Christmas 1897, p. 1 (Glasgow, Mitchell Library Special Collections (hereafter MLSC), 891047). The ‘Contents’ page of the magazine lists this article as ‘From the Editorial Judgment-seat’ (*Ibid*, [p. i]). Russell is not formally identified in the magazine, but his name along with his address is given at the end of a list of the magazine’s readers, which is tucked into the magazine. Underneath the title, this editorial has the following aside: ‘(vide ‘The New Pedantry’ edited by S.R. Crockett.)’ (*Ibid*, p. 1). S.R. Crockett, or Samuel Rutherford Crockett (1859-1914), was a prolific and popular Scottish novelist in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The connection between Crockett and the article’s message—that book learning should be supplemented with social and specifically society activities—might be a reference to the story, ‘The Biography of an Inefficient’, published in a collection of tales entitled, *Bog Myrtle and Peat* (1895). In the story, Ebenezer Skinner, an earnest young man who came from ‘poor but honest parents’, goes up to the University of Edinburgh with the intention of entering the church. Whilst there, he concentrates solely on his studies to the detriment of social activities with his colleagues, and he never reads anything but the required theological books. This neglect ultimately leads to a failure to connect with his parishioners (S. R. Crockett, ‘The Biography of an Inefficient’, in *Bog Myrtle and Peat* (London: Bliss, Sands and Foster, 1895), pp. 381-92).

² Russell, pp. 1-2.

No, the uses of the literary society are, it seems to us, strictly limited, but they are sufficient to justify its existence. Now, when it is asked, what are the uses of such a society, the answer, we think, is fairly obvious.

First and foremost we would place that free exchange of ideas which is a necessary factor in the making of a cultivated mind. If Festus' exclamation "Much learning doth make thee mad!" was untrue in its application to Paul it contains this much of truth that absorption in the study of books tends to make men one-sided, to produce an intellectual squint, if it be not supplemented by other, more directly human, influences. And where shall we find a better form of this supplement than the frank discussions of a literary society? Where have a better opportunity of discovering and correcting our intellectual angularities, if any such we have – and few of us can boast of having realised the condition of being, in the words of the poet 'teres atque rotundus'? Here, if anywhere, do we learn how limited is the range of our knowledge, and how much can be said for other opinions than our own.

Again, though it be true, as we have said, that literary papers and literary debates will not make us learned if we are ignorant, nor wise if we are foolish, nevertheless they are not wholly without power to increase our knowledge, and to educate our taste. Provided we have laid a sound foundation, they afford a valuable means, not, perhaps, of materially adding to our knowledge, but, at all events, of shewing us where in we are deficient, and how we can best remove that deficiency. That is not a negative, but a positive, result.³

Even having become seemingly a bit of a public joke, literary society members at the end of the nineteenth century nonetheless saw value in the social nature of societies and the educative flavour of the meetings as a means to acquiring a mutually constructed sense of culture and correct taste which would enhance their own personal development. Although the essay could be read as a defence as well as a public endorsement by a writer who, as editor, had a vested interest in the society's (and societies') continuation, its appearance in the sole copy of the society's manuscript magazine that was circulated between members and almost certainly non-members in this reading community nonetheless tells us something about their shared, collectively-held social and cultural norms. After almost a century since their development into a distinctly nineteenth-century Scottish phenomenon of 'improvement', the views expressed by Russell, and the 'objects' set out by earlier groups, had remained largely the same.

One example of these earlier accounts of the 'positive' results that could be achieved through literary society membership comes from another essay in a literary society magazine dating from about thirty years before. From this, we learn that on the evening of February 19th, 1864, Orkney-born James Louttit, a boot and shoemaker, attended the fortnightly meeting of the

³ *Ibid*, pp. 2-4.

Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, held at the Religious Institution Rooms in the centre of Glasgow. Afterwards, he went back to his lodgings nearby and sat down to write an essay for *The Pole Star*, the newly-founded manuscript magazine of the association.⁴ In his paper, entitled, ‘The Advantages of Criticism’, he wrote:

It is an observable fact that a person who can state his opinions, whether in speaking, or writing, without committing Grammatical, or Logical, errors, will be listened to or read with more attention [...] we are apt to think that he who uses correct language has given his subject more thought, or that having a better education, he is consequently more likely to have arrived at the true conclusion [...].⁵

Louttit’s observation reflects his own incentives for becoming a member of the association and for writing his first paper, which were to improve his rhetorical and compositional skills and thus to build upon his own education. These were commonly-expressed motivations in essays written for the magazines that were produced by similar societies not only in Glasgow, but across Scotland, England, and internationally.

A third example comes from a working-class group in Dennistoun, an area in the east end of Glasgow, where another type of young men’s literary society was running. Its members met in the session house of Wellpark Free Church. In their society’s magazine for 1887-88, there is an essay entitled, ‘Cultivation of the Mind’, written by ‘C.B.H.’, one of the listed readers of this magazine. In the essay, he provides instructions and encouragement to readers in the improvement of their own education, along with reasons why it was important for them to develop their minds through reading. He tells us:

⁴ James Louttit was one of the original members of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association when they formed in 1862 ([List of original members of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association], Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Minute Book, No. 1, 1862-67, [front endpaper] (Lerwick, Shetland Archives (SA), D58/1/1). The *Post Office Glasgow Directory* lists his occupation as ‘boot and shoemaker’, and his address as 56 George Street, which matches the address in the association’s first minute book. (‘Louttit, James’, ‘General Directory’, in *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1863, 1864...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1863), p. 179).

⁵ James Louttit, ‘The Advantages of Criticism’, *The Pole Star*, Part No. 1, May 1865, pp. 29-34 (p. 30) (SA, D58/2/2). Louttit gives the details surrounding the composition of his essay: ‘In conclusion, (without any desire to palliate criticism) I may state in explanation of some of the many defects of this paper, that it was all written on Friday night last (the 19th instant) after coming home about half past ten o’clock from the Society’s meeting, where the question whether there should be any criticism or not, was after a warm debate, decided in the affirmative, and a motion adopted, to the effect that, both verbal, and written, criticism, (but especially the former) should be, not only allowed, but encouraged’ (*Ibid*, pp. 33-34). The two errors (‘coming’, and ‘be be’) in the previous quotation are given as written in the original. This transcription, and all subsequent quotations used in this thesis, have been carefully proofed, and all errors therein are in the originals.

By Reading we can store many valuable thoughts and acquaint ourselves with many mighty minds that have passed away. “Reading”, says Bacon, “makes a full man, conversation a ready man, and writing an exact man” [...] In a few hours we can know what it has taken years aye and centuries to discover [...] Make good use of reading and for the obtaining of knowledge and you will soon be rich in intellectual wealth, and ever be making valuable additions to your stores.⁶

On the pages immediately following this essay, four readers wrote what they thought of it, for example:

A thoughtful and well written paper.

Gemini

It is a pity this paper is confined to members of our Literary Society, if some, who do not attend only read it, they might be induced to come [...].

Aliquis⁷

In this particular case, these readers’ responses—or ‘criticisms’, as they were called—were overwhelmingly positive, and suggest that these ideals were supported and shared by the community of readers of this literary magazine, which was comprised of mostly young men *and* women in Glasgow, and extended to (at least) the communities just north of the River Forth (see Chapter 4). The city has a long history of industrious readers drawn from all sections of society, including a particularly strong cohort of working-class readers, which was (and still is) evident in their establishment of formal and informal reading, writing, debating and discussion groups.

The minute books and manuscript magazines of Glasgow’s societies will serve as the evidence for my argument that the history of literary societies and mutual improvement groups across the English-speaking world more generally needs to be re-written as an identifiably unique movement of ‘improvement’ during the long nineteenth century, one related to but different from the widely-acknowledged ‘age of improvement’ that took place in the eighteenth century. While their roots lie in the earlier literary, philosophical and scientific groups of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, and their histories were connected with the history of Chartism, Mechanics’ Institutes and radicalism, their development and growth during the second half of the nineteenth

⁶ ‘C.B.H.’, ‘Cultivation of the Mind’, *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society Magazine*, 1887-88, pp. 127-136 (pp. 131-32) (MLSC, 428698).

⁷ ‘Gemini’, and ‘Aliquis’, [criticisms], *Ibid*, p. 136.

century was often separate from these politicised movements and organisations.⁸ While ‘improving’ societies are also connected to the history of adult education and of libraries, the groups themselves would have argued against this foreshortening of their aims. The records I discovered of their group reading and writing practices contribute substantially to the evidence for nineteenth-century working- and lower-middle class Scottish readers. These social groups are currently under-represented in the history of reading and in Victorian studies as I show below.

While the minute books and ephemera from Glasgow literary groups’ activities demonstrate the standard, uniform adherence to parliamentary procedures in their meetings that was a characteristic of these types of societies internationally⁹, as this thesis demonstrates, in Great Britain, the production of ‘improving’ manuscript magazines well into the twentieth century was a phenomenon practiced predominantly in Scotland. In addition, the oral and written ‘criticisms’ that were products of a quest to become ‘literary’ reveal a religiously-infused ethos of improvement developed within Scottish dissenting culture that was cultivated and supported through a powerful ‘legend of Scottish literacy’¹⁰ which I argue make up part of a particularly Scottish way of consuming texts; a major element of this was the Scottish propensity to form the clubs and societies in which these magazines were created (see Chapter 3).

Glasgow in the Age of Industrialisation and Urbanisation: A City’s Response

Glasgow during the long nineteenth century was a city steeply on the rise.¹¹ The city was expanding in its production of textiles, clothing, chemicals, and iron, among other goods. This

⁸ For work on eighteenth-century book groups, reading circles, and literary clubs and societies, see, for example: Corey Andrews, *Literary Nationalism in Eighteenth-century Scottish Club Poetry*, Series: Studies in British Literature, LXXXII (Lewiston, New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2004); Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2000); David D. McElroy, *Scotland’s Age of Improvement: A Survey of Eighteenth-century Literary Clubs and Societies* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1969); and Jon Mee, *Conversable Worlds: Literature, Contention, and Community 1762 to 1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). Recently, a special issue of the *Journal of Eighteenth-Century Studies*, ‘Networks of Improvement’, was devoted to this topic (*Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38 (December 2015) 475-626).

⁹ See n. 39 for a list of research on literary and mutual improvement societies internationally.

¹⁰ This issue is one of the central themes explored in Rab Houston’s work, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity* (R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹¹ Sections of this paragraph appeared previously in my article in *Library & Information History*, but is here expanded and developed in the broader context of the long nineteenth century. (Lauren Weiss, ‘All are instructive if read in a right spirit’: Reading, Religion and Instruction in a Victorian Reading Diary’, *Library & Information History*, 33 (2017), 97-122).

included the growth of its port and its shipbuilding industry, and its trade was international in scope. Glasgow's growth to become 'the industrial powerhouse of Scotland' on the strength of its manufacturing base brought large numbers of people into the city.¹² The city's population grew quickly: in 1801, the population was just over 77,000; in 1851, it grew to over 320,000; and in 1901 it was over three-quarters of a million.¹³ These figures also reflect the extension of the city's boundaries in 1891.¹⁴ The largest number of migrants came from other parts of Scotland, particularly from the western lowlands and the east central lowlands, and the majority of them were over 20 years of age.¹⁵ This was followed by migration from Ireland, and England and Wales combined. The migration was due to seasonal changes in the availability of work, but other migrants came for the increasing opportunities for more permanent work that the city's growing economy offered. Having moved to Glasgow, intra-urban mobility was common, as residents moved around the city according to changing conditions in their personal and socio-economic circumstances.¹⁶

One of the things that many people did after moving to or around the city was to join a club or society. In Glasgow during the long nineteenth century, there was a range of different types to choose from, and literary societies were just one type among other possible choices. There were a number of possible reasons why someone might have chosen a literary society, but immediate economic reasons might have been fairly high on the list: as shown in the case of county and clan associations discussed in Chapter 2, societies helped newcomers to network with people who were already living in the city, and they could potentially help those who just arrived to find jobs and accommodation.

¹² John Butt, 'The Industries of Glasgow', in *Glasgow*, ed. by W. Hamish Frasier and Irene Maver, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), II, pp. 96-140 (p. 96).

¹³ From *Census of Scotland, 1801-1951* as given in Table 10, 'Population of Glasgow—Census Enumerations', in *The Third Statistical Account of Scotland. Glasgow*, ed. by J Cunnison and J. B. S. Gilfillan (Glasgow: Collins, 1958), p. 799.

¹⁴ There is not space here to talk about Glasgow's substantial growth over the nineteenth century in the light of the 'urban crisis' that resulted. Glasgow's rise in industrial power brought with it unprecedented levels of overcrowding, poor sanitary conditions, frequent epidemics of infectious diseases, and high mortality rates. See T. M. Devine, 'The Urban Crisis', in *Glasgow*, ed. by W. Hamish Frasier and Irene Maver, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), I: *Beginnings to 1830*, pp. 402-16, and W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, 'The Social Problems of the City', in *Glasgow*, ed. by W. Hamish Frasier and Irene Maver, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), II: *1830 to 1912*, pp. 352-93, and R.E. Lees, 'Epidemic disease in Glasgow during the 19th century', *Scottish Medical Journal*, 41 (1996), 24-7.

¹⁵ From Table 4.6 (i), *The Birthplace of Migrants to Glasgow 1851-1911*, in Charles Withers, 'The Demographic History of the City, 1831-1911', in *Glasgow*, ed. by W. Hamish Frasier and Irene Maver, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), II: *1830 to 1912*, pp. 141-162, p. 149.

¹⁶ Withers, p. 151.

But another important reason that people joined literary societies was the prospect of ‘improvement’. In the nineteenth century, the eighteenth-century institution of a literary society was re-aligned and re-contextualised within the framework of self-help and mutual improvement. Through the hard work of intensive—as well as extensive—reading, in addition to the development of rhetorical and compositional skills, members would gain tangible benefits. In Scotland, literacy rates were arguably higher than in the rest of the country (see discussion in Chapter 6). But Bill Bell, in his ‘Introduction’ to *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, discusses some of the recent challenges to ‘the myth of Scottish literacy’.¹⁷ The crux of this is that literacy was by no means universal throughout Scotland, and depended very much upon who you were and where you lived at the time over the course of the century. Literacy levels across all the members of a literary society would have varied, sometimes quite substantially. Similarly to the ‘philosophy of collective improvement’ shared by members of reading associations in the eighteenth-century, society members felt that an improvement in their skills would have immediate, practical advantages, as well as long-term ones: it was commonly believed that the benefits that members gained would enhance and benefit the communities in which they lived.¹⁸ Over the course of the nineteenth century, the founding of literary societies would grow exponentially in Glasgow, and demonstrates a large-scale adoption of this ‘improving’ ethos across the city.

Yet despite the substantial amount of evidence for these societies in the archives across Scotland and England, particularly after 1850, they are vastly under-represented in the scholarly research, and Glasgow serves as a case in point. My own investigation has uncovered evidence for 193 literary societies in this city alone during the long nineteenth century (here defined as 1800 to 1914).¹⁹ Some of these societies produced their own magazines of the type that Russell, Louttit

¹⁷ Bill Bell, ‘Introduction’, in *The Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland*, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), III: *Ambition and Industry 1800-80*, pp. 1-14 (pp. 6-7).

¹⁸ Christy Ford discusses this aspect of eighteenth-century reading associations: ‘This philosophy of collective improvement was extrapolated to include the reading association’s locality, which they believed would also be improved by their presence. Their local environment was central to their self-identity, but also to their function’ (Christy Ford, ‘“An Honour to the Place”: Treading Associations and Improvement’, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 38 (2015), 555-68 (p. 555)).

¹⁹ The start of the First World War is used as the cut-off date for this study as, among other factors, the war changed the economics of the book trade as well as larger cultural conceptions of what constituted literary value (see Stephen Colclough and Alexis Weedon (eds.), ‘Introduction’, in *The History of the Book in the West: 1800-1914*, 5 vols (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010), IV, pp. xi-xxviii (p. xxv)). As I demonstrate, the cultural practices observable in voluntary associational groups like literary societies also changed, particularly as a sizeable number of their members would go off to serve.

and ‘C.B.H.’ contributed to. In Glasgow, there were at least 30 groups across the city during this period that produced a combined total of 101 extant issues. Across the rest of Scotland, there were a minimum of 34 groups that produced the 229 issues that have survived. There were at least 26 magazine-producing societies in England, and there are 322 issues housed in local libraries and archives, the products of their collective, creative efforts (see Appendices III-V).

From my experience, given the wealth of primary and secondary materials, it is surprising that there has been no previous research in the UK that focused on literary societies *per se* given the ubiquitous use of the term ‘literary’ in the material culture from the period (and needless to say well beyond). For example, as a coarse indicator of the use of the term during the long nineteenth century, a search of *ProQuest: British Periodicals* under ‘literary’ revealed that after the apex of usage between 1820 and 1829 (162,264 results), the term was steadily employed throughout the rest of the period. A second peak occurred during 1890 and 1899 (130,328), before there was a sharp decline between 1910 and 1919.²⁰ A search of *The British Newspaper Archive*, on the other hand, shows that the term’s usage increased steadily from the start of the nineteenth century, and with the exception of a slight dip in the 1870s, the greatest employment of the term was also in the 1890s. Historically and up to the present year, its greatest usage was between 1850 and 1899, being used most predominantly by the *London Morning Post* and *The Scotsman*.²¹ In sum, the term had remarkable cultural capital and served as an important social and cultural marker during the second half of the nineteenth century as I show in Chapter 2 using Glasgow as an example, and Scotland’s media not only employed it but promoted it.²² It is particularly striking considering that these search results accord with my own quantitative findings of literary society founding in Glasgow by year (see Chapter 2), and the evidence from these societies suggests that the need to become literary was axiomatic. Further, I would argue that literary society magazines can be found in many Scottish and English archives precisely because they were valued and carefully preserved well beyond the lifespan of the societies that created them. They were the products of the intense,

²⁰ This search result under ‘literary’ was produced for the period between 01/01/1800 and 31/12/1914 (*ProQuest: British Periodicals* Homepage < http://www.proquest.com/products-services/british_periodicals.html > [accessed 14/08/17]).

²¹ These results were produced for a search under ‘literary’ for the period between 01/01/1800 to 31/12/1914 (*The British Newspaper Archive* Homepage < <http://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/> > [accessed 14/08/17]).

²² My use of cultural capital here encompasses Pierre Bourdieu’s tripartite division of forms as an embodied state, an objectified state, and an institutionalized state. See Pierre Bourdieu, ‘The Forms of Capital’, in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. by John G. Richardson (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1986), pp. 241-58 (pp. 242-48).

arduous and sometimes long-term efforts of thousands of men and women across these countries to improve their literacy skills, and to move *beyond* the basic rudiments of reading and writing to extend their knowledge to include cultural literacy, to become *literary*. Yet the scholarship on these groups and the endeavours of these society men and women has been largely neglected, and their magazines appear to be unknown to both academic as well as lay audiences.

One of the aims of my doctoral project was to collect and organise the abundant evidence in the local and national archives from one Scottish city, and to assess any trends that arose. The discovery of magazines produced by these societies opened up a previously unknown wealth of information on nineteenth-century ‘common’, or non-professional (to use Jonathan Rose’s definition) readers and writers.²³ This provided me with the invaluable opportunity to investigate the first-hand responses of a large group of aspirational working-class and lower-middle class men and women to the materials they read—indeed, to study group *as well as* individual responses. Thus, this project is both quantitative as well as qualitative. As a quantitative study, it provides a survey of the broader communal reading practices of literary societies (and mutual improvement societies more generally) in Glasgow during the long nineteenth century. I collected both primary and secondary evidence for societies with the aim of establishing the extent of these practices and any commonalities between them. In this way, I aimed to investigate trends in one Scottish city’s dynamic and vigorous culture of ‘improvement’ through reading *and* writing, which could involve the creation of original poetry, prose, artwork, and music as well as design, that were produced for their groups to read and criticise.²⁴ Thereby the literary included the artistic.

It is also a qualitative study in that it includes case studies of two Glasgow literary societies, the Wellpark Free Church Young Men’s Association, and the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association. In the readers’ responses, or ‘criticisms’, written into their manuscript magazines, these groups provide two examples of communal reading and writing practices that were framed within their respective groups and shaped by their demographics and

²³ Detaching any class and/or negative connotations from the term, Jonathan Rose defines the ‘common reader’ as ‘any reader who did not read books for a living’ (Jonathan Rose, ‘Rereading the English Common Reader: A Preface to a History of Audiences’, *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 53 (Jan.-Mar. 1992), 47-70 (p. 51).

²⁴ I am grateful to Katie Halsey for pointing out one of Daniel Allington’s insightful articles on the use of anecdotal evidence of reading, which argues that anecdotes should be analysed as a piece of writing (particularly as a work of fiction), and that in essence, the history of reading is always a history of writing (Daniel Allington, ‘On the Use of Anecdotal Evidence in Reception Study and the History of Reading’, in *Reading in History: New Methodologies from the Anglo-American Tradition*, *The History of the Book* (6), ed. by Bonnie Gunzenhauser (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2010), pp. 11–28 (pp. 15-16).

historic backgrounds. Using evidence from their society meetings alongside their magazines, they provide examples of individual and group reading, silent reading and reading aloud, intensive and extensive, guided as well as self-directed, purposeful reading for self-education.

In foregrounding the surviving records, this study examines what it meant to be literary to the people who joined these societies in Glasgow during the long nineteenth century. I discuss what their motivations were for becoming so, and reflect on the ways that gender, occupation and social class had an impact. In addition, I argue that the formation and running of these groups contributed to the education and literacy of people living in the city and to a larger culture of ‘improvement’ across Glasgow. I use the evidence to begin to re-construct a history of reading—and writing—in Glasgow for this period, and reflect upon the ways in which this city is unique (or not) in Scotland. When considered alongside the evidence for English societies, I also demonstrate that there is a case to be made for a particularly Scottish way of consuming texts in the long nineteenth century.

In addition, I offer some possible reasons as to why so many literary societies produced manuscript magazines, and consider whether this phenomenon was unique to these societies. I show how these magazines fostered a communal identity, often formed around a combination of religion, class, gender and local identity. I also evaluate what society members said about the ways that readers’ criticisms in their literary societies’ magazines facilitated contributors’ ‘improvement’. Finally, despite the early stage in my research into English contexts, I attempt to determine if societies in Scotland produced similar types of magazines to those in England.

The study of these materials will change the fields of the history of reading and Victorian studies by offering a substantial amount of important evidence about historical readers and literary culture relevant to current studies of the history of reading and of the book, and nineteenth-century history, the history of education, literacy, cultural studies and literature. These materials transform our understanding of nineteenth-century working- and middle-class readers by offering first-hand evidence of reading experiences, in particular those of working-class groups that have been previously studied predominantly through autobiographies and memoirs.²⁵ Further, contemporary reading groups have received a great deal of study since Elizabeth Long’s and Janice Radway’s

²⁵ Cf. David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth-century Working Class Autobiography* (London: Europa Publications Limited, 1981), and Jonathan Rose, *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2001).

seminal works in the 1980s, and Jenny Hartley's in 2001.²⁶ Our knowledge of these groups has expanded with important edited collections such as *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*.²⁷ However, historic reading groups have not received the attention that they demand. In the history of reading, they offer crucial comparative evidence of group reading practices to individual case studies, which still predominate the field.

Historic Clubs and Societies: the 'Learned', Literary and Alimentary

'Learned', scientific and literary clubs and societies of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were a phenomenon that attracted the attention and interest of their contemporary observers. To assist in the seemingly overwhelming yet still insufficient amount of information about them, in 1847, Reverend Abraham Hume produced a type of guidebook that provided an overview of groups in England, Scotland and Ireland to assist men who were interested in joining them:

The references to the LEARNED SOCIETIES are so frequent, in our age, in books newspapers conversations, &c., that every man who claims to be educated is expected to possess some knowledge of the subject. Yet so far as I know, there has never been, hitherto, any means of obtaining that knowledge, except through documents privately printed; for which, even among the learned, not one man in a hundred knows how or where to apply.²⁸

Although Hume was seemingly addressing a wide audience, he had a specific public in mind: the list of societies he provides was restricted to many of the largest and often the most prestigious philosophical, scientific and literary societies whose membership predominantly consisted of the middle and upper classes.²⁹ In the 1840s, the older, eighteenth-century form of literary,

²⁶ See Elizabeth Long, *Book Clubs: Women and the Uses of Reading in Everyday Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), Janice A. Radway, *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature* (London: Verso, 1987), and Jenny Hartley, *Reading Groups* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

²⁷ *Reading Communities from Salons to Cyberspace*, ed. by DeNel Rehberg Sedo (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

²⁸ Abraham Hume, *The Learned Societies and Printing Clubs of the United Kingdom: Being an Account of their Respective Origin, History, Objects, and Constitution...* (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1847), p. vii. Hume (1814-1884), was an Anglican priest and antiquary, and was heavily involved in a number of societies (C. W. Sutton, rev. Eric Glasgow, 'Hume, Abraham (1814-1884)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), online edition ed. by David Cannadine (January 2008) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14132>> [accessed 08/06/17]). Among these was Liverpool's Literary and Philosophical Society (see n. 29), which he joined after moving to the city in 1843.

²⁹ To give two examples, among the details provided on the Royal Society (founded in London in 1660), is a list of its past presidents, which included Sir Isaac Newton, Sir Joseph Banks, and the Marquis of Northampton (Hume, pp.

philosophical and scientific societies was still running and continued to be founded, while the newer groups formed by the working classes were just starting to come into their own.³⁰ Hume would almost certainly not have seen this demographic as potential members.

Following the list of English groups, the list of Scottish societies he provides for aspiring, wealthier men include 11 ‘Metropolitan’, that is, Edinburgh groups, and nine ‘Provincial’ groups, in which Glasgow was included. Of these, only two Glasgow groups (Philosophical Society, Glasgow, founded in 1802, and Glasgow and Clydeside Statistical Society, founded in 1836) are given.³¹ Although Hume was an alumnus of the University of Glasgow and would thus have been somewhat familiar with the city and its groups, his list is a selective one, and does not include many that were then currently running (to compare, see Appendix I).

In Glasgow, we learn more about the city’s societies from a contemporary on the scene. John Strang (1795-1863) discusses some of these groups in his work entitled *Glasgow and its Clubs*, which was first published in 1856. Strang was born in Dowanhill, Glasgow, and was an editor, author, and statistician who became a City Chamberlain in 1834. His book is a colourful, anecdotal account of the city’s clubs and societies, and covers the second half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. He drew his material ‘from various public documents, and from the information of private individuals whose memories still preserved such fast-fading subjects’.³² A second edition appeared in 1857, with the third and final edition published in 1864. The later editions include additional groups, and some previously published information was amended.

67-8). Former officers of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool (founded in 1812) included eminent historians, academics, scientists and physicians (*Ibid*, pp. 138-39). Membership in these types of societies likewise consisted largely of eminent men in their respective fields. High membership fees would have put them out of reach for most of the working classes. For example, in 1847, fees for the Royal Society were ten pounds on admission, and four pounds yearly, while the Liverpool society charged half a guinea to join and half a guinea annually (*Ibid*, p. 70, p. 139).

³⁰ My definition of ‘working class’ here follows Emma Griffin as ‘those who had no income other than that which they earned, those working as manual labourers, and those sufficiently close to the margins of a comfortable existence that a stint of ill health or unemployment posed serious difficulties [...] [which includes [t]he skilled and unskilled; agricultural, urban and industrial workers; the reasonably comfortable and the desperately poor’ (Emma Griffin, *Liberty’s Dawn: A People’s History of the Industrial Revolution* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 2013), p. 6).

³¹ Hume, pp. xvii-xviii. Among other ‘Provincial’ cities and counties that were amalgamated in this category were: Perth; Aberdeen; Berwickshire (Berwickshire Naturalists’ Club, whose meeting place was ‘itinerating’); Kelso (Tweedside Physical and Antiquarian Society); Stromness, Orkney (Orkney Natural History Society); [Kirkwall?], Orkney (Orkney Antiquarian and Natural History Society); and the Borders (Border Medical Society, whose meetings rotated between towns in the region).

³² John Strang, *Glasgow and its Clubs; or Glimpses of the Condition, Manners, Characters, & Oddities of the City, During the Past & Present Century* (London and Glasgow: Richard Griffin and Company, 1856), p. vi.

Although some more formal, scholarly and ‘improving’ societies are included (for example, the Glasgow Literary Society, which will be discussed further in Chapter 2), Strang’s work is a record of what were mostly social and drinking or supper clubs. Nonetheless, in 1906, there was still a strong city pride in its literary roots: fifty years after the book’s first publication, an article in *The Glasgow Herald* lauds Strang’s work, and proudly uses the city’s historic ‘literary institutions’ as testimony to Glasgow’s superiority over Edinburgh in regards to its ‘old club life’, even if they did become more ‘convivial’:

Unlike Edinburgh, Glasgow did not indulge in the profane luxury of a Hell Fire or a Sulphur Club. Not a few of those in our city were literary institutions first and convivial clubs after. Probably Edinburgh itself in the heyday of its renown could not have brought together a more erudite or remarkable selection of men than those who, under the chairmanship of Professor Simson, of mathematic memory, sat down to hen-broth in John Sharpe’s hostelry at Anderston on Saturdays at two o’clock. Adam Smith was there, and James Moor, the Professor of Greek in the University in the High Street, and Dr Cullen, and Dr Joseph Black, and all that was most notable in the learning and commerce of the city, including “the brothers Foulis, the never-to-be-forgotten Elzivers of the Scottish press.”³³

Pride in the ‘erudite [and] remarkable selection of men’ who formed its institutions and shaped its literary history was still evident and had cultural currency in the beginning of the twentieth century. However, the omission of a substantial portion of the history of Glasgow’s literary clubs and societies, which had an arguably greater impact on the city’s development, is conspicuous from a twenty-first century perspective. Strang and *The Herald* leave off just at the point when a new generation of societies based on mutual cooperation was being founded. There were important differences between the eighteenth-century clubs and societies, and those founded later in the nineteenth century, particularly after 1850, as will be discussed further in Chapter 2. In the nineteenth-century, while the middle-classes continued to found societies of all types, the working-classes began to form their own groups in earnest based on an ideal of what it meant to be ‘literary’. In Glasgow, starting in the 1820s, this nascent movement involved the forming of a new type of voluntary society based on its members’ educational and cultural ‘improvement’.

³³ ‘Literary Gossip and Notes’, *The Glasgow Herald*, 24 November 1906, p. 3.

Mutual Improvement Societies: Previous Research

Perhaps given Scotland's prominent role in the Enlightenment and the spread of its ideals, and its largely Presbyterian population,³⁴ Jonathan Rose commented '[u]nsurprisingly, mutual improvement was Scottish in origin.'³⁵ The term itself was used by Allan Ramsay's Easy Club (founded 1712) in the introduction to their journal.³⁶ By 1723, the 'urge [...] had become so pronounced' that the word 'improvement' was widely adopted by clubs and societies across Scotland when naming their groups, and was used 'with convincing constancy' in the contemporary literature.³⁷ D. D. McElroy describes this as a manifestation of 'a deep desire among the Scottish people to improve their nation through voluntary co-operative effort', or what he says is 'best described as the "movement for national improvement"'.³⁸ Yet literary societies in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were predominantly composed of the middle and upper classes. Using Glasgow as an illustration, I argue that for the better part of the nineteenth-century in Britain, mutual improvement societies (including those that defined themselves as 'literary') were in fact mainly made up of aspirational working-class and lower-middle-class men. Towards the end of the century, while working-class groups continued to be founded, these groups became more middle-class institutions that allowed women as members as well as office-bearers. These groups could be even be found internationally, and were an influential socio-cultural and political force in the communities in which they formed.³⁹

³⁴ The 1851 census returns, albeit incomplete and in some cases the numbers mis-represented, nonetheless show that 77 per cent of the total number of churches in Scotland were Presbyterian (Andrew L. Drummond and James Bulloch, *The Church in Victorian Scotland 1843-1874* (Edinburgh: The Saint Andrew Press, 1975), pp. 111-12).

³⁵ Rose (2001), p. 59.

³⁶ The introduction to the *Journal of the Easy Club* begins as follows: 'The Gentlemen who Compose this Society Considering how much ye immaturity of years want of knowing ye world and Experience of living therein Exposes them to ye Danger of Being Drawn away by unprofitable Company To the waste of the most valuable part of their time Have Resolved at sometimes to Retire from all other Business and Company and Meet in a Society By themselves in order that by a Mutual improvement in Conversation they may become more adapted for fellowship with the politer part of mankind and Learn also from one another happy observations...' (as cited in D. D. McElroy, 'The Literary Clubs and Societies of Eighteenth Century Scotland, and Their Influence on the Literary Productions of the Period from 1700 to 1800' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1952), p. 36).

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ For research on Texas societies, see Elizabeth Long, *Book Clubs: Women and the Uses of Reading in Everyday Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), and Elizabeth Long, 'Literature as a Spur to Collective Action: The Diverse Perspectives of Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Reading Groups', *Poetics Today*, 25 (Summer 2004), 335-59. For research on African-American societies, see Elizabeth McHenry, *Forgotten Readers: Recovering the Lost History of African-American Literary Societies* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2002). For research on Mexican literary societies, see A. Perales Ojeda, *Asociaciones literarias mexicanas: siglo XIX* (México: Imprenta

Nevertheless, to date these societies are understudied, perhaps as the current consensus in the scholarship in book history and the history of reading at least is that their records are scarce and the evidence for them is thus limited. For example, Richard Altick states that due to the (supposed) lack of information available:

[w]e know little about those mutual-improvement clubs. No statistical society ever collected information about them – an impossible task, of course, since they were deliberately kept informal – and we cannot tell how numerous they were. But from the many allusions found in memoirs of working-class men, it appears that hardly a village was without at least one such group, and usually there were several; for they had various purposes. Some went in for theology, some for radical politics, some simply for general literature. In some the emphasis was on reading and discussion, in others it was on the writing of essays and verse, which were passed among the members for criticism.⁴⁰

Altick was discussing the small, informal groups that were formed in response to perceived deficiencies in mechanics' institutions. The evidence he is referring to is predominantly provided by the memoirs of working-class men, evidence which Jonathan Rose examines in *The Intellectual Life of the British Working Classes* (2001).

But both Rose and E. P. Thompson in their respective work found minimal primary evidence for these groups. Thompson's work includes a short discussion of 'mutuality' in artisan culture in the early nineteenth century, its continuation in the Victorian period, and '[a] cousin of this kind of group [which] was the mutual improvement society'.⁴¹ He cites J. F. C. Harrison's

Universitaria, 1951) and J. Sánchez, *Academias y sociedades literarias de Mexico* (Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina, 1951). For research on Canadian societies, see Heather Murray, *Come, Bright Improvement! The Literary Societies of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). For research on Finnish groups, see Kirsti Salmi-Niklander, 'Adventurers, Flâneurs and Agitators: Travel Stories as Means for Marking and Transgressing Boundaries in 19th and Early 20th Century Finland', *Culture Unbound*, 6 (2014), 1145–64, and Kirsti Salmi-Niklander, 'Bitter Memories and Burst Soap Bubbles: Irony, Parody, and Satire in the Oral-Literary Tradition of Finnish Working-Class Youth at the Beginning of the Twentieth Century', *International Review of Social History*, 52 (2007), 189–207. For South African scientific and literary societies, see L. D. Bregman, "'Snug little coteries": a history of scientific societies in early nineteenth century Cape Town, 1824–1835' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of London, University College London, 2004) <discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1446709/1/U602634.pdf> [accessed 06/06/17]). For research on Australian societies, see Derek Drinkwater, 'Federation Through the Eyes of a South Australian Model Parliament', Papers on Parliament No. 30, November 1997, <<http://www.aph.gov.au/binaries/senate/pubs/pops/pop30/c07.pdf>> [accessed 06/06/17]. In addition, see Elizabeth Webby, 'The beginnings of literature in colonial Australia', in *The Cambridge History of Australian Literature*, ed. by Peter Pierce (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 34–51, and Elizabeth Webby, 'Not Reading the Nation: Australian Readers of the 1890s', *Australian Literary Studies*, Vol. 22, No. 3 (May 2006), 308–18.

⁴⁰ Ricard Altick, *The English Common Reader: A Social History of the Mass Reading Public, 1800–1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 205.

⁴¹ E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (London: Victor Gollancz, Ltd., 1963), p. 743.

‘Chartism in Leicester’ in *Chartist Studies* (1959), but does not offer evidence from or cite any manuscript sources. Jonathan Rose cites Thompson’s along with Altick’s work as evidence of a lack of source material:

Richard Altick and E. P. Thompson appreciated the critical role [mutual improvement societies] played in adult education, but could locate very little information about them [...] Though they were ubiquitous in Victorian and Edwardian Britain, they left few surviving records. In most cases, they can only be reconstructed through the memoirs of their members.⁴²

From my research on Glasgow, I interpret scholars’ unsuccessful attempts in locating materials as being due to the fact that, when compared to the large number of societies founded after 1850, there were simply not as many of these societies extant during the first half of the nineteenth century. If we consider that only a fraction of any societies’ records in any period have survived and have managed to make their way somehow to an accessible archive (in every sense), the problem becomes clearer. Further, it was not always the case that societies used ‘mutual improvement’ in their self-designation, which makes searching for them in the records more difficult. Nonetheless, some records for a few societies in Glasgow have survived from this early period in the development of the movement (see Appendix I), which suggests that further archival research in other areas across Britain warrant further, more detailed examination. Work by other scholars in the last forty years has just begun to uncover their records across Scotland and England, and to address this gap in the research.

In the 1970s, Michael D. Stephens and Gordon W. Roderick investigated English mutual improvement societies, of which literary and philosophical societies were one type. Their research focused specifically on the societies’ impact on the provision of adult education.⁴³ In the 1980s, the work of C. J. Radcliffe, and M. I. Watson on the West Riding of Yorkshire and of Lancashire respectively shed new light on the membership, organisation, and motivations for establishing these essentially working-class societies, alongside an overview of their development over the

⁴² Rose (2001), p. 58.

⁴³ Michael D. Stephens and Gordon W. Roderick, ‘A Passing Fashion in Nineteenth Century English Adult Education: The Camborne Debating and Mutual Improvement Society’, *Paedagogica Historica: International Journal of the History of Education*, 10 (1970), 171-80; Michael D. Stephens and Gordon W. Roderick, ‘Nineteenth Century Education Finance: The Literary and Philosophical Societies’, *Annals of Science*, 31 (1974), 335-49.

course of the century.⁴⁴ In the 1990s, Christopher Radcliffe remarked that there was still ‘no full history of the mutual improvement society in existence’. This gap he begins to address by supplying one in brief, while his overriding argument is the political nature of the societies: ‘[i]t was the cardinal function of improvement societies and similar bodies to impress political axioms upon the pulses of the enquiring working class’.⁴⁵

Similarly, R. J. Morris, and later, Jonathan Rose, offer overviews of how these societies developed, changed and grew across Britain. While Morris stresses the importance and role of the middle classes, Rose argues through the use of memoirs of ‘common readers’ that these societies provided an important means of adult education: inclusive of the varied forms they took (e.g. schools for adults, reading circles, etc.), these societies ‘belonged to the mutual improvement tradition, in that they relied on working-class initiative rather than state provision or middle-class philanthropy’.⁴⁶ These societies were undoubtedly a means of providing and supplementing adult education, but radical politics was more commonly associated with mutual improvement societies that were founded in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁴⁷

In *The Rise of Mass Literacy*, David Vincent discusses participation in voluntary associational culture as a means of gaining (further) literacy skills. It was nonetheless a gendered means of acquiring education, voluntary associations being by and large the preserve of men.⁴⁸ The formation of ‘working men’s education clubs’ and their libraries is only briefly discussed under the theme of ‘Protest’, allying these early societies with political protest, particularly the Chartist movement.⁴⁹ Vincent thus concentrates almost entirely on the earliest period of

⁴⁴ C. J. Radcliffe, ‘Mutual Improvement Societies in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1835-1900’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 18 (1986), 1-16; M. I. Watson, ‘Mutual Improvement Societies in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire’, *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 21 (1989), 8-17.

⁴⁵ Christopher Radcliffe, ‘Mutual Improvement Societies and the Forging of Working-Class Political Consciousness in Nineteenth-Century England’, *International Journal of Lifelong Education*, 16 (1997), 141-55 (p. 141, p. 154).

⁴⁶ R. J. Morris, ‘Clubs, societies and associations’ in *The Cambridge Social History of Britain 1750-1950*, ed. by F. M. L. Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), III, pp. 395-443; Rose (2001), p. 58.

⁴⁷ To this list of previous studies published in the 1990s should be added G. Averley’s doctoral work on eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scientific societies in England. Among the societies he investigates, Averley includes various other types of voluntary groups including medical, agricultural and literary societies. In regards to literary societies, particularly in the case of the Manchester Literary and Philosophical Society, there is a small overlap with this previous study and mine. However, as his title makes clear, Averley’s focus is on ‘improving’ societies that included ‘philosophical or technical knowledge’, and thus has a narrower remit (G. Averley, ‘English scientific societies of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, Teeside Polytechnic, 1990).

⁴⁸ David Vincent, *The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000), pp. 117-8. This theme is also discussed in his earlier work, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* (1981), pp. 8-9, p. 129. See Vincent’s discussion of artisan groups and working-men’s education clubs (*Ibid*, pp. 134-37).

⁴⁹ Vincent (2000), p. 135.

nineteenth-century working-class mutual improvement societies. I define this period as beginning around the turn of the century, and continuing until circa 1850, coinciding roughly with the end of Chartism.

Some of these earlier societies *were* politically motivated in their formation and activities, but it was precisely when the activities of radical groups were on the decline that the mutual improvement movement entered its second phase. This is when they really began to take off. I define this second phase in their development as beginning around 1850 and lasting roughly until the 1870s. In addition, using the evidence for Glasgow, there were two additional periods, what I call the third and fourth phases, which lasted from c.1870 to around the turn of the century, and from 1900 until approximately 1914 respectively. To place this in a larger context, the two largest and most dynamic periods are surprisingly overlooked in the research on these groups (see Chapter 2 for further discussion). I contend that the previous work is too narrow in its scope *and* in its perceived scale of these societies' ambitions.

This also applies to Martyn Walker's recently published book. Walker's study includes literary and scientific societies—along with other mutual improvement groups—in the 'Mechanics' Institute Movement'. His emphasis is on these organisations' collective provision of working class adult education throughout the nineteenth century and beyond.⁵⁰ However, I argue that, similarly to those provided by Radcliffe, Morris, and Rose, Walker's history of mutual improvement societies needs amending. First, Walker also confines these groups mostly to the first half of the nineteenth-century, which the evidence from Glasgow alone clearly refutes. Secondly, while acknowledging that mutual improvement societies could be found across Britain, he cites studies focusing on nineteenth-century Lancashire and Yorkshire as evidence of particularly intense activity without consideration given to the fact that studies of other regions during this period (with the exception of my own) have yet to be undertaken. Finally, while many mutual improvement societies *did* become mechanics' institutes, many more were founded in the second half of the century, and with (at least) three exceptions (see below), it was often the case that they were completely independent of and separate from these institutes. Therefore, due to differences in their size, management, administration, and sometimes in their aims, mutual improvement

⁵⁰ Martyn Walker, *The Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Britain and Beyond: Supporting Further Education for the Adult Working Classes* (Routledge, 2017), [Bookshelf Online], [accessed 20/01/17] (*passim*). See in particular Walker's concluding discussion (Chapter 11, 'Conclusion and legacy of the Mechanics' Institute Movement', Introduction (para. 2)).

groups should not be considered synonymous with nor a *de facto* type of mechanics' institution. Further, In Anthony Cooke's otherwise excellent work on the history of adult education in Scotland, there are only three pages devoted to mutual improvement societies in his chapter on self-improvement.⁵¹ I argue that these societies should be considered as a separate campaign that was related to self-improvement and included adult education in their remit, but should not be restricted to a single-issue movement.

Given the large amount of material evidence for them, there are still only a handful of studies on mutual improvement societies in nineteenth-century Scotland. D. D. McElroy's doctoral work in 1952 focuses on literary clubs and societies in eighteenth-century Scotland more generally, and includes clubs in Glasgow that were running in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁵² Ian R. Carter's work investigates mutual improvement societies around Aberdeen, while Christine Lumsden provides an account of the history of the Bristo Place Mutual Improvement Society in Edinburgh.⁵³ John C. Crawford includes mutual improvement societies and associational life more generally as part of his larger study of libraries and reading in Paisley in the late-eighteenth and early nineteenth century.⁵⁴

In 2002, two important studies were published on literary societies. Elizabeth McHenry's monograph on African-American societies, and Heather Murray's on societies in Ontario in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, are significant in recognising the importance of these groups as agencies of change in the communities in which they formed. In addition, a distinguishing feature of their work is that they concentrate on the role of literature in mutual improvement societies whether or not such groups identified themselves as 'literary' groups.⁵⁵ While McHenry's study is an historical overview that contextualises societies in the socio-cultural and political milieu in which they existed, Murray's work is more of a literary study (i.e. a critical analysis and interpretation) of the materials that were read and studied by societies in one Canadian province.

⁵¹ Anthony Cooke, *From Popular Enlightenment to Lifelong Learning: A History of Adult Education in Scotland 1707-2005* (Leicester: National Institute of Adult Continuing Education, 2006), pp. 90-2.

⁵² McElroy (1952).

⁵³ Ian R. Carter, 'The Mutual Improvement Movement in North-East Scotland in the Nineteenth Century', *Aberdeen University Review*, 46 (Autumn 1976), 383-92; Christine Lumsden, 'Bristo Place Mutual Improvement Society: Victorian Self-help in Action', *The Baptist Quarterly*, 45 (2014), 356-68.

⁵⁴ John C. Crawford, 'The high state of culture to which this part of the country has attained': Libraries, Reading, and Society in Paisley, 1760-1830', *Library & Information History*, 30 (2014), 172-94.

⁵⁵ McHenry (2002); Murray (2002).

Mutual Improvement and Literary Society Magazines

The most distinct gap in the scholarship on mutual improvement and literary societies in Scotland and England is the evidence of literary society manuscript and published magazines, which were invariably miscellanies. Internationally, scholars have known for about 40 years (at least) that these types of societies produced their own magazines, and bibliographic evidence from around the world has been steadily accumulating. In Britain, David Vincent's *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom* discusses mutual improvement societies and the activities of their members (*passim*). The writing and criticising of essays is included as part of societies' activities, a good example of which is found in Charles Manby Smith's autobiography, *The Working-Man's Way in the World* (c. 1853).⁵⁶ Writing, more generally, is cited as an important skill, but it is mostly framed as an administrative necessity for producing oral or published materials for the society:

[...] the skills possessed by a self-educated working man were indispensable to almost any working class organization. In the course of his pursuit of knowledge the reader would add to his basic literacy a capacity to manage his slender resources so as to isolate the necessary surplus time and money, a familiarity with the various sources of books and with the distribution network of the radical press, an ability to follow sustained argument and debate abstract questions, experience as an organizer of mutual improvement societies, and finally, as was the case with all the autobiographers and most of the self-educators, the reader had to master the process of writing, whether in the form of lectures to gatherings of other self-educators, articles or letters for newspapers, poems for performance or publication, or, very occasionally, full-length books.⁵⁷

While highlighting the importance of writing for these various outlets, it downplays the creative element and use of writing as a means of self-expression for non-utilitarian purposes. William Donaldson's *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland* 'aims to extend our knowledge of popular

⁵⁶ Smith recounts the formation of a mutual improvement society in Bristol of which he was a member: 'The plan was, to hire a room for three-and-sixpence a week, and to stock it with books, papers, and drawing-materials, each one contributing what he could. Subjects were to be discussed, essays written and criticised, the best authors read aloud and their sentiments subjected to our common remark. I joined at once without hesitation [...] We got a good room [...] Here we met nearly three hundred nights in a year, and talked, read, disputed, and wrote *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*, until the clock struck eleven. We had fines for non-attendance, and prizes, paid out of the fines, for the best-written productions' (as quoted in David Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom*, p. 128).

⁵⁷ *Ibid*, p. 176.

culture during a period of revolutionary change by focusing on the medium which acted as its principal agency, the newspaper press'.⁵⁸ Yet Richard Altick reminds us that, more broadly:

[t]he men of nineteenth-century England often spoke of themselves as living in an “age of periodicals” [...] Periodicals were, indeed, the nineteenth century’s most characteristic products; they constitute a comprehensive symbol of the age.⁵⁹

Following Margaret Beetham, I also argue that periodicals—the genre encompassing a large range of (more) ephemeral materials—had no small role to play in this ‘revolutionary change’.⁶⁰ This should include both print *and* manuscript magazines.

In 1980, Roy Alden Atwood began a project entitled, *The Handwritten Newspapers Project: An Annotated Bibliography & Historical Research Guide to Handwritten Newspapers from Around the World*. On his website, Atwood discusses the difficulties involved in locating these materials internationally:

[...] finding handwritten periodicals is a bit like looking for a needle in a haystack. Most library catalogs (even today) give priority to printed materials. Most manuscript (manu=hand, script=written) materials are squirreled away in archives that are cataloged or indexed inconsistently from library to library and even from archivist to archivist. In other words, thousands of handwritten publications may be out there in archive collections that will remain unknown until some enterprising archivist or historian stumbles upon them by accident.⁶¹

Atwood ‘sent letters to nearly all the major (and many minor) archives and libraries in North America [...] [asking] if they knew of any handwritten periodicals in their collections’.⁶² Thus, the

⁵⁸ William Donaldson, *Popular Literature in Victorian Scotland: Language, Fiction and the Press* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986), p. ix.

⁵⁹ Richard D. Altick, ‘British Periodicals, 19th century, Nineteenth Century English Periodicals’, *The Newberry Library Bulletin*, 9 (1952), 255-64 <<https://www.newberry.org/british-periodicals-19th-century-altick-richard-d-nineteenth-century-english-periodicals-newberry>> [accessed 10 June 2017] (para. 1 of 15).

⁶⁰ See Margaret Beetham, *Open and Closed: The Periodical as a Publishing Genre, Victorian Periodicals Review*, 22 (1989), 96-100. In her article, Beetham argues that periodicals ‘play[ed] a central role not only in intellectual, literary and political history, but also in the formation of modern communication and information systems and the entertainment industry’ (*Ibid*, 96). This view chimes with Simon Eliot’s more recent and expansive view of the history of the book more generally, calling for an enlargement of the study into a history of communication (see below) (Simon Eliot, ‘Has Book History a Future?’, *Knygotyra*, 54 (2010), 9-18).

⁶¹ Roy Alden Atwood, ‘Methodology: Discovering the Publications in this Collection’, *The Handwritten Newspapers Project: An Annotated Bibliography & Historical Research Guide to Handwritten Newspapers from Around the World* <<https://handwrittennews.com/methodology/>> [accessed 15/01/17]).

⁶² *Ibid*.

site is non-representative (geographically or otherwise) of the extant materials, and required the voluntary co-operation of archivists and librarians who chose to respond to Atwood's letter.

Nonetheless, he describes the response as 'overwhelming, stunning', therefore proving that '[t]he entries in this collection reveal that manuscript periodicals were much more common than I or anyone, perhaps, might have imagined'.⁶³ However, *The Handwritten Newspapers Project* currently has a total of only seven listings for English newspapers, six of which are shipboard periodicals and one is a children's paper.⁶⁴ There are no listings of any kind for Scotland. I have found 322 extant issues of literary society magazines that were created by English groups, and 330 issues that were created by groups in Scotland.

Atwood's website also provides information on handwritten newspapers (and magazines) that were produced by individuals as well as groups in Africa, Australia, Hungary, India, Italy, Japan, Mexico, and New Zealand. Societies in Canada also produced their own magazines, and Atwood gives bibliographic information on 25 examples, of which one, or possibly two, were produced by 'literary' groups.⁶⁵ But while Heather Murray notes the production of literary magazines by some Ontario societies in her monograph, they are not discussed in detail even while informing and illustrating her analysis.⁶⁶

In 2006, L. D. Hadley completed doctoral work on poetry and fiction that was produced by English working-class friendly societies from 1860 to 1900.⁶⁷ This previous investigation comes closest to the present study in terms of its demographics, and focus on creative, communal groups that included writing amongst their activities, while the focus here is on Scotland and Scottish

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Roy Alden Atwood, [Index: England], *The Handwritten Newspapers Project* <<https://handwrittennews.com/category/england/>> [accessed 15/01/17].

⁶⁵ Roy Alden Atwood, [Index: Canada], *The Handwritten Newspapers Project* <<https://handwrittennews.com/category/england/>> [accessed 10/06/17]. In the list of Canadian societies are a number of newspapers and magazines that were produced by individuals and groups from a wide variety of backgrounds. One group that can with certainty be identified as a literary society was the Literary Association, which was based in Nova Scotia and produced *The Night Blooming Cereus* (1869-1871) (Roy Alden Atwood, 'The Night Blooming Cereus (NS, 1869-1871)' <<https://handwrittennews.com/2011/07/16/the-night-blooming-cereus-ns-1869-1871/>> [accessed 10/06/17]). The website does not provide enough information to state definitively, but a second group that might have been a literary society was a group either named the Temperance Colony or was a group associated with them. In 1884, the Colony produced a short-lived paper called *The Saskatoon Sentinel* (Roy Alden Atwood, 'The Saskatoon Sentinel (SK, 1884)', *The Handwritten Newspapers Project* (<<https://handwrittennews.com/2011/07/24/the-saskatoon-sentinel-sk-1884/>> [accessed 10/06/17]).

⁶⁶ Murray, p. 15, n. 34.

⁶⁷ L. D. Hadley, 'Poetry and fiction from the friendly societies 1860-1900' (unpublished doctoral thesis, De Montfort University, 2006). Friendly societies in the nineteenth century were distinctly different from literary societies in that they acted as a type of insurance club wherein a member could set money aside which could be used should s/he become sick and/or unable to work.

groups. Interestingly, the time period covered by Hadley coincides with this study's findings that the greatest amount of society activity—in the formation of clubs and societies, and the production of manuscript magazines—occurred during the second half of the nineteenth century (see discussion below in Chapter 2). Hadley's findings and my own research on aspirational working-class and artisan communities challenges one of the premises of Elizabeth Carolyn Miller's book, *Slow Print*. Miller identifies the late nineteenth century as a 'key moment in literary, print, and media history' which concurrently saw a 'surge' in 'anticapitalist print and literary countercultures': 'the final decades of the nineteenth century witnessed not only a flood of print production aimed at mass audiences but also a corresponding surge in small-scale radical periodicals, or "slow print."' ⁶⁸ She overlooks the previously-established tradition of small-scale, locally-produced periodicals created by communities of artisans and labourers particularly from the mid-nineteenth century onwards that I discuss here.

Last year, Andrew King *et al.* published *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, which was followed up this year by a companion book entitled, *Researching the Nineteenth-Century Periodical Press: Case Studies*. Both of these volumes provide important new resources for the study of these materials and give essential contextual information regarding the type and range of materials that were being produced and consumed by audiences that stretched across the world. Among the resources that act as 'maps of the field by directing scholars to paper periodicals and archives', King, *et al.*, list *The Waterloo Directory of English Periodicals and Newspapers, 1800-1900* as 'that essential map of the nineteenth-century British press'. ⁶⁹ This is particularly true now as Series 3 (2009) includes a list of 'Manuscript publications'. ⁷⁰ But the same could also be said of the *Scottish Directory*, as it offers the most comprehensive reference guide we have to date.

However, one of the 'maps of the field' they list, *The Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism*, omits manuscript magazines. I propose that 'mutual improvement society manuscript periodicals' should be considered as a new genre that appropriates (in the positive sense) elements

⁶⁸ Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, *Slow Print: Literary Radicalism and Late Victorian Print Culture* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2013), p. 2.

⁶⁹ Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton, 'Introduction', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (London and New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016), pp. 1-13 (p. 3, p. 1).

⁷⁰ *The Waterloo Directory of English Periodicals and Newspapers, 1800-1900*, ed. by John S. North, Series 3 (Waterloo: North Waterloo Academic Press, 2009) <<http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series3/index.asp>> [accessed 09/06/17].

from (to use *Routledge Handbook*'s taxonomies) family, children's, sporting, comic/satiric, social purpose, temperance, religious, theatre, art, and musical periodicals.

Further, *The Waterloo Directory of Scottish Newspapers and Periodicals*, while having a separate category for 'Manuscripts', is incomplete. In researching the manuscript magazines produced by 'literary' groups, I discovered a number of magazines that are not listed in the *Directory*, and Glasgow offers one example in particular where this was the case for a number of magazines. The *Directory*'s listing is based on a shelf check of the major libraries across Scotland. Without a doubt, a more concerted search of the smaller, local libraries and archives in Scotland and England—a search I only began two-and-a-half-years ago—will produce further examples.

To date, from my archival visits across the country, I have discovered a total of 652 extant issues (including Glasgow's magazines) produced by a range of different groups whose stated objects, with very few exceptions, included 'improvement'. Of these, 551 (85%) were produced by what I categorise as 'mutual improvement/literary/young men's association magazines' or mixed-gender magazines (see Chapter 6). In consequence, my research significantly expands the scholarship of mutual improvement societies, their magazines and working-class authorship during the long nineteenth century.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 is an overview of Glasgow literary clubs and societies using primary and secondary evidence. I define the terminology (e.g. 'literary', 'literary society', etc.) and discuss the nature of the available evidence. In addition, I assess the development and expansion of societies over the century, and analyse the trends that have emerged. Burns Clubs are the focus of Chapter 3 and are treated separately from other literary societies in Glasgow as many Burns clubs were formed with the object of studying the works of Robert Burns exclusively. However, as I will show, their syllabi demonstrate that this was far from the case, particularly at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century, when there was a surprising variety of subjects read and discussed outwith Scottish literature at the clubs' regular meetings.

Chapter 4 is the first of two case studies in this thesis, and includes an evaluation of the records and magazines of the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Association (1883-88). The

Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association (1862-present) is the focus of Chapter 5 and is the second case study. In both cases, I begin with a history of the association. Next, I move into an examination of readers' responses to the texts that were read aloud at the meetings through the evidence provided in society annual reports and minute books. Against this background, I then discuss the manuscript magazines that were produced by this society, which includes a history of their production, their materiality and manufacture. Next, I focus on the magazines' readers, contributors and contributions, with a particular focus on readers' 'criticisms' that were written into the magazines. In Chapter 6, I provide an overview of society magazines produced by other groups across Scotland and England during the long nineteenth century. My aim was to try to contextualise societies in Glasgow and their productions within the national trend for producing 'improving' periodicals as part of a larger mutual improvement movement during this period. Finally, Chapter 7 concludes the thesis. I offer some initial overarching results along with suggestions and directions for future work on literary societies and mutual improvement during the long nineteenth century more generally, and on manuscript magazines as an important new genre that offers enormous potential for future research.

Chapter 2: **Quantitative Data: Glasgow Literary Clubs and Societies, 1800-1914**

Definitions: Mapping the Literal Literary

Glasgow's city boundary expanded 12 times from 1800 to 1912 from its original area in the heart of the city centre. In this study, I define Glasgow as the areas included within the last boundary change that was made to the city in 1912 (see *Figure 2.1*),⁷¹ and I excluded societies that were found to be outside this geographical area.⁷² Next, I needed to understand what societies meant when they used the term 'literary', and what it meant when they applied it to themselves; understanding the common parlance would help structure my searches for these groups. Previous studies of historic literary societies illustrate that definitions of the terms 'literature' and 'literary' are historically contingent. Murray's monograph on literary societies in nineteenth-century Ontario sets out what 'literature' meant to historic Canadians:

[t]he term 'literature' in nineteenth-century Canada did not denote (as in its more restricted use today) the genres of poetry, fiction, and drama alone, but included a broad range of non-fictional – but still 'imaginative' and belles-lettristic – writing: essays, history, biography and autobiography, and 'prose of thought' work could well be considered more worthily 'literary' than a novel [...].⁷³

⁷¹ For a brief history of Glasgow's boundary changes, see Irene Maver, 'Second City of the Empire: 1830s to 1914. Neighbourhoods', *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/story/?id=TGSDG>> [accessed 22/07/17].

⁷² These included: Broomknoll Young Men's Improvement Society; Chryston Mutual Improvement Society; Cambuslang Literary Association; and Rosebank Church Literary Society (Cambuslang).

⁷³ Murray, p. 10.

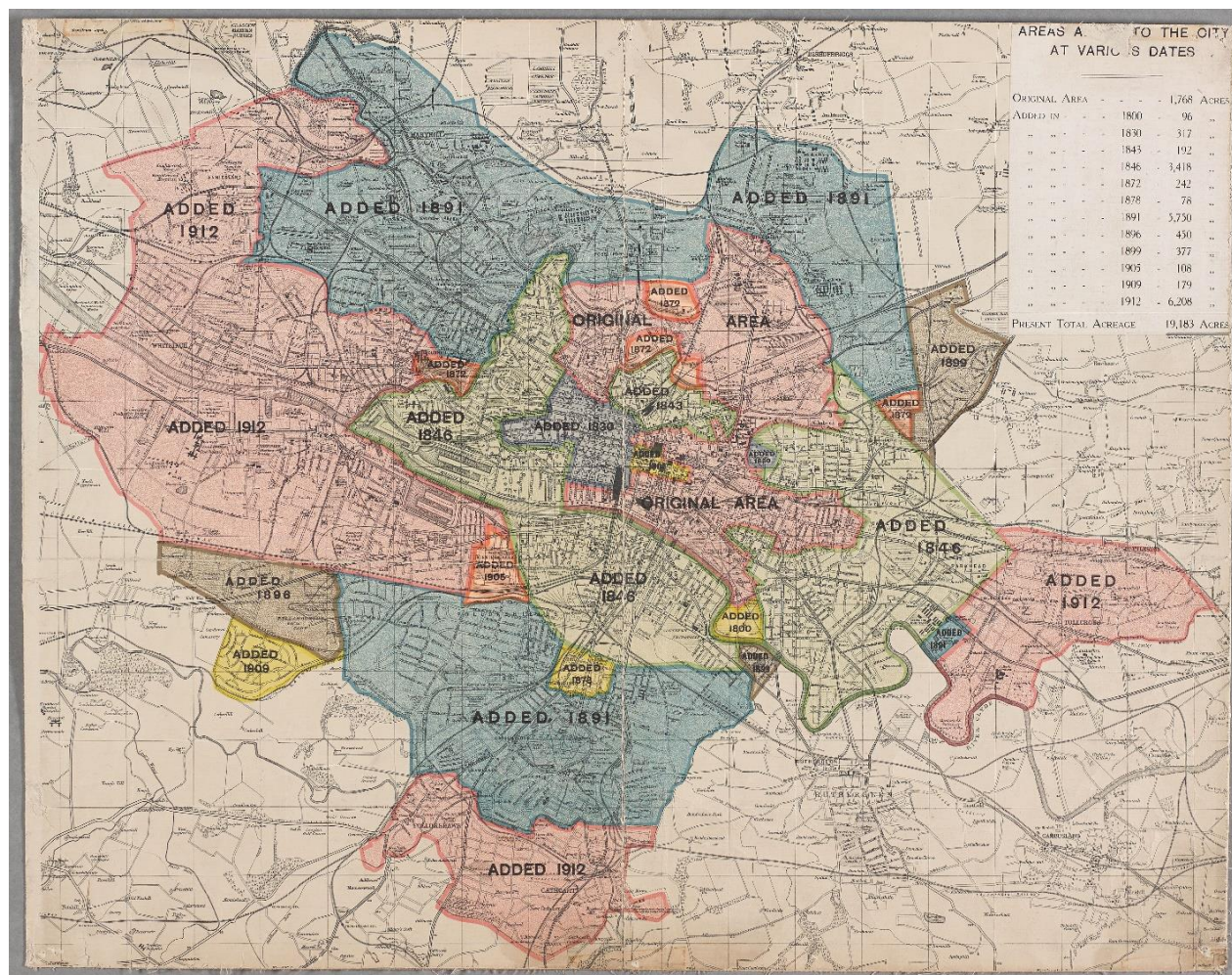


Figure 2.1: 'Areas Added to the City at Various Dates'.⁷⁴

Elizabeth McHenry, in her study of African-American literary societies from 1830 to 1940, however, does not formally define the term 'literary' in her book, but uses it in a broad sense as the acquisition and utilisation of literacy, particularly as a means of acquiring some form of autonomy, and includes oral literacy in terms of 'oral, or vernacular, culture'.⁷⁵ McHenry also uses the term 'literary' in the sense that it includes the study of literature, with 'literature' covering a range of materials: 'although fiction and poetry were included in early African Americans' definition of literature, so too were treatises, declarations, letters, appeals, and, perhaps most significantly, journalism of every variety'.⁷⁶ These definitions of literature frame how the term is

⁷⁴ Glasgow City Archives (GCA), Mitchell Library, Glasgow, 'Areas Added to the City at Various Dates', 1800-1912 (Annexed Burghs Map).

⁷⁵ McHenry, pp. 5-6.

⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 12.

employed in the present study, as the broad range of materials that both Murray and McHenry outline roughly corresponds with the way it was applied by nineteenth-century readers in Glasgow, and, significantly, includes oral culture: reading texts aloud and the suitability of texts for this practice was a vital element of book culture, and was also considered an important stylistic convention when evaluating texts in the nineteenth century.⁷⁷ Using evidence from Glaswegian literary clubs and societies, ‘literature’ used here will be defined as fictional and non-fictional writing—which includes poetry, essays, novels and drama—as well as newspapers and periodicals more selectively.

The use of the term ‘literary’ in historical sources to describe writings, a person or a society demonstrates that the word had various, fluid definitions depending upon its context. Murray articulates the way it was used by nineteenth-century Ontarian society:

‘literary’ study did not mean reading only, but could include the now lesser practiced rhetorical arts of composition, memory work, recitation, debate, and elocution [...] The adjective ‘literary’ could operate even more broadly than the term ‘literature’ itself. It could be used to signal the study of writings in the vernacular – that is, non-classical – or of writings that were secular rather than religious [...] While these vernacular or secular writings could include the scientific [...] in a somewhat later use, the term ‘literary’ delineated non-scientific writings and could function as a rough synonym for the liberal arts. More broadly still, it could sometimes be equated with ‘culture’, in the sense that a ‘literary’ man was one who was widely read or erudite. As a result, the term was often deployed for its prestige value [...] Thus while the generic boundaries of the ‘literary’ were broader than in our day, and while the term could be stretched to cover a variety of activities and endeavours, ‘literary’ was also an evaluative term that could function restrictively to assess what was polite, polished, or worthy.⁷⁸

Murray goes on to elucidate the use of the term by an historic society: ‘[a] literary society, then, had at its core a variety of ‘literary’ activities according to the nineteenth-century sense of that term. In other words, it dealt with the rhetorical arts in and of themselves and in relationship to a variety of other cultural or civic pursuits’.⁷⁹ Given the differences accorded to the historic use of the term ‘literature’ and even ‘literary’, from the evidence I examined to date, it appears that the term ‘literary society’ was used generally the same way in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries

⁷⁷ For further information regarding stylistic conventions in the nineteenth century, see Katie Halsey, ‘Folk Stylistics’ and the History of Reading: A Discussion of Method’, *Language and Literature*, 18 (2009), 231-46.

⁷⁸ Murray, pp. 10-11.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 15.

in Britain and in parts of North America, bearing in mind the composition of those groups would vary significantly according to gender, the socio-economic group(s) which founded them, and the historically-contingent parameters surrounding their assembling. In reference to eighteenth-century Scotland, D. D. McElroy defines literary societies as:

an organization of learned men who combined for the purpose of exchanging ideas on any subject which was of interest to themselves, to the other members, or to mankind at large [...] [which] was composed of historians, scientists, political economists, agriculturalists, medical men, artists, orators, philosophers, and any other individuals whose interests were intellectual [...] [T]he most striking thing about the eighteenth-century literary organization was its inclusiveness, and the most remarkable characteristic of the members of such organizations was the patience with which they sat through lengthy discussions of biology, geology, chemistry, economics, poetry, surgery, botany, history, philosophy, physics, and so on [...] A typical eighteenth-century literary society, therefore, provided a forum for the free discussion of a limitless variety of subjects, and in these discussions, matters of fact were not as important as matters of form.⁸⁰

Eighteenth-century literary societies in Scotland, then, were largely composed of middle- and upper-class, often highly-educated men whose multifarious discussions encompassed the range of knowledge that was to be expected in a ‘literary man’ during this period.

Nineteenth-century Glaswegians continued using the freighted term ‘literary’ to describe their societies, but, importantly, they also developed and expanded the range and composition of groups to which it was applied. Indeed, their convention resembles that of Ontarians during the same period. The similarity in such widely separated groups is not surprising, as many of the people that were engaged with the literary societies that Murray studied in Canada had recently emigrated from Scotland.⁸¹ Thus, I use McElroy’s and Murray’s broad definitions of ‘literary’ and ‘literary societies’—as involving the act of reading, rhetoric, debate, and composition by men, and increasingly women, who studied a wide range of materials under the comprehensive term ‘literature’ through the medium of a variety of public, social groups—in this study. This includes some groups that did not use ‘literary’ in their appellation, but can be defined as such through their activities.

The terms ‘association’, ‘society’, and ‘club’ are also historically dependent. McElroy offers the following guidelines for the study of organisations in the eighteenth century:

⁸⁰ McElroy, pp. 1-7.

⁸¹ Murray, p. 156.

an association was usually a more businesslike affair than either a club or a society; and there was probably a further inclination to regard a society as being a slightly more sedate and purposeful organization than those which one familiarly referred to as a “club” [...] the clubs, literary and otherwise, generally met in taverns, and they were characterized by a convivial disregard for formality [...] By way of contrast, most of the organizations which bore the title of “society” or “association” had a more sober purpose, a more businesslike procedure, and a more formal method of choosing candidates for admission [...] These distinctions, however, should not be taken as rigid and mutually exclusive, for informality was a characteristic of nearly all types of organizations.⁸²

For the most part, this differentiation was also in currency in the subsequent period, and helps in illuminating aspects and features of groups where there is little extant information. Yet in some cases, as McElroy notes, differences between societies and clubs in the nineteenth century appear to be negligible, therefore the two terms are used here interchangeably. However, unlike earlier organisations, a particular characteristic of most nineteenth-century groups regardless of their designation is their *formality*: it was generally seen as important to establish an official ‘object’ for their formation and activities, to lay out a constitution, to elect officers, and to hold regular meetings involving strict protocol.

Data Collection: Laden with Literature, or Lost in the Lacunae

Information on Glasgow literary societies is available in various manuscript and published records (e.g. society minute books, syllabi, annual reports, manuscript and published magazines, along with various ephemera) in archives, special collections and libraries across the city, and indeed can even be found in some collections internationally. References to these literary groups can also be found in a range of contemporary periodicals and books. From these sources, I set out to collect the following information:

- society’s name
- date(s) of existence (i.e. some societies disbanded and reformed at a later date)
- names of the society’s officers
- occupations of its officers
- society’s members

⁸² McElroy, pp. 8-9.

- information on whether women were allowed to join
- charges levied to join the society (e.g. an entry fee)
- subscription charges or annual fees
- society's objects (i.e. the motivations they gave for forming)
- days and times of the meetings
- place(s) where they met
- whether the society had a reading room and/or a library
- details on the opening and running of their reading room and/or library
- business of their meetings (i.e. the protocols that were followed)
- general subjects or topics of their meetings and/or debates
- specific date of discussions that involved books or reading more generally
- details of those discussions (i.e. what they thought about what they read)
- whether there were any society publications
- details regarding those publications, including the date(s) and their contents.

The heterogeneous—and needless to say often sketchy, unsystematic, scattered and/or scarce—archival materials and published information did not allow for all this information to be collected on each group, and this was to be expected: lacunae are inherent in archival records.

Yet for some groups, the records are not only more numerous but more detailed. Where there was an abundance of information on a particular club, I found it more expedient to record the source's bibliographic information and to briefly note the scope of the materials to facilitate returning to the source in future. This was particularly the case for minute books and manuscript magazines, as they could include very detailed records covering a number of years, or even decades. Thus, in these latter cases, complete lists of the society's officers, members, and detailed notes with transcriptions were not taken. Even given the gaps in the records, and the methodological (temporary) exclusion of some categories in the collected dataset, I collected more than enough information for a survey of the materials, and for some preliminary trends to be established.

Glasgow Literary Societies: An Overview, and Four Phases of Development

From the evidence I collected to date, in the long nineteenth century in Glasgow, there were at least 193 literary clubs and societies, as well as informal groups and reading circles. However, this figure is probably quite conservative. In fact, as the evidence from just two literary societies suggests, it was almost certainly much higher. For example, there were 25 branches of the Glasgow

Foundry Boys' Religious Society represented at their 'Annual Conversazione of Workers and Friends' on 15th November 1900.⁸³ The Wellington Palace Branch was—at least in the 1880s—part of this larger society and had founded their own literary society.⁸⁴ It is possible that this was not the only branch that had one, but for this study, only the Wellington Palace Branch is included in the quantitative assessment.

The second example comes from the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association. The exact number of literary societies that were formed through the auspices of the G.U.Y.M.C.A. is currently unknown. The Association's annual report for 1877 states that there were 176 branches at the close of that year, with 149 of these running in Glasgow and its suburbs.⁸⁵ A review of the Annual Reports for the years prior to and subsequent to this report reveal that there were literary societies running in various branches. Even if a fraction of the 149 associations in Glasgow had a literary society, the number of (known) clubs in the nineteenth century might increase substantially. A future, more in-depth look at the G.U.Y.M.C.A.'s materials may help to clarify this.

Further, James A. Kilpatrick, in his *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow* (1898), reports that there were 19 Burns clubs in existence at the time of the book's publication.⁸⁶ The number is given as a grand total of societies in the city. As Kilpatrick does not give a list of their names, there is a possibility that there will be a few Burns clubs that I may unknowingly have counted twice. It is unlikely that there will ever be a definitive number of societies established for the nineteenth century in Glasgow due to the nature of the evidence, thus the small potential overlap will not demonstrably change the overall results and conclusions of the present study.

As the archival and historic information on them is often incomplete, there is only a small percentage of groups where it is possible to determine the exact dates when they were founded.⁸⁷

⁸³ Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society, Souvenir Programme: Annual Conversazione of Workers and Friends, 15 November 1900, in Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 212 (MLSC, G941.435).

⁸⁴ Of note is that the Wellington Palace Branch was not represented at the Annual Conversazione in November 1900: without any further evidence found to the contrary, it might be that their (extant) literary magazines, which consist of 11 issues that were produced in 1886, represent the final year of existence for this branch of the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society (Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, *The Foundry Boy*, Vols. 1-11, January-November 1886 (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 206 98783).

⁸⁵ Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association, *Annual Report of the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association. 1877* (Glasgow: [?], 1878), p. 11 (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 267.3 43136).

⁸⁶ James A. Kilpatrick, *Literary Landmarks of Glasgow* (Glasgow: Saint Mungo Press, 1898), p. 76.

⁸⁷ Another example of where it was not possible to determine the year for the club's founding was due to the uncertainty that the author of the account expressed in regards to its beginnings. The Literary and Commercial Society was founded 'about the commencement of the present century [1800]', with (supposedly) no records being held by

Nevertheless, by using the founding dates where available, along with the earliest recorded date in the sources, I charted the development of Glasgow societies over the course of the long nineteenth century (see *Figure 2.2*).

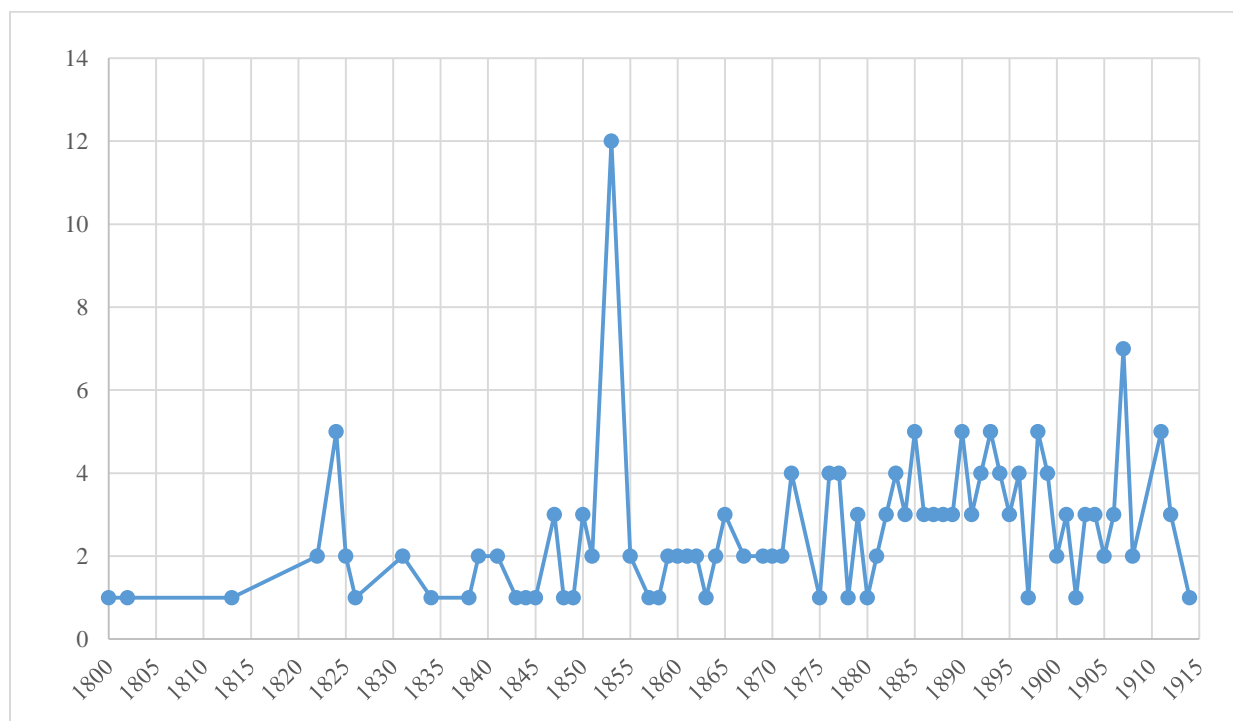


Figure 2.2: Glasgow Literary Clubs and Societies, 1800-1914, by Founding Year or Earliest Evidence

This graph shows a clear division in society-founding activity between the first and second halves of the nineteenth century. The first half—or what I call the first stage in the development of literary societies (see further discussion below)—shows a slow but steady increase in the number of clubs, with 12 clubs founded between 1800 and 1825, and 20 clubs between 1826 and 1850. The increase in the number of clubs in 1824 is of note: in this year there were five clubs founded as opposed to the average of a little more than one club every two years (or 0.6% per year) between 1800 and 1850. In 1824, there are three clubs whose records are complete enough to establish this as their founding year (see Appendix I).

the society for the years prior to 1806 (Thomas Atkinson, *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow, with a Proposal and Plans for the Publication of a Portion of its Transactions; Being the Substance of an Essay Read Before it in January, 1831* (Glasgow: [?], 1831), pp. 3-4) (University of Glasgow Special Collections (UGSC), Sp Coll Mu22-b.25). In this case, the year 1800 was used as the founding date for the purpose of analysis.

This rise should be viewed within the context of an active period in Glasgow's history: the 1820s saw significant changes in its infrastructure brought about by the Town Council, and included civic improvements to its roads, the building of a new bridge at Saltmarket, the rebuilding of several of its churches, and changes to the curriculum of the city's Grammar School that were made to make the classes more 'suitable for the requirements of a large commercial city'⁸⁸. There were also changes made in the provision of adult education, particularly for the working classes: in 1823, the Mechanics' Class seceded from Anderson's Institution and founded the Mechanics' Institute. Further, it is of note that the first issue of the periodical that includes articles on four of these five societies (excluding the Bridgeton Association), *The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary and Scientific Gazette*, was on 3 January 1825.⁸⁹ The inclusion of four literary societies in this newly published literary magazine suggests that there was an active reading and writing, indeed a literary culture that accompanied these larger civic and educational changes in the city which was being supported and encouraged in the local press during the mid-1820s. Thus, in general, the first phase in the development of Glasgow literary societies is characterised by a slow start at the beginning of the nineteenth century, with the number of groups growing more rapidly from about the mid-1820s until mid-century.

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a very pronounced increase in the evidence for the number of clubs during this period, totalling 129 clubs, over a fourfold increase. There is a spike in the number of groups founded in 1853. This is due to the fact that the evidence for 11 societies of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union comes from a single source, the *Glasgow Post-Office Annual Directory for 1853-1854*.⁹⁰ The Union was formed in 1850, seven years after the Disruption, when the Presbyterian church split in two, and occurred during a period of active church building—and apparently society founding—by the newly-established Free Church.⁹¹

More generally, there appears to be a division between the number of clubs founded or running from the 1850s through the 1870s, and the clubs from the 1870s until the end of the century (the second and third phases respectively described in Chapter 1), with the number of clubs increasing markedly during this latter period (see *Figure 2.3*). The second phase in the

⁸⁸ *History of Glasgow*, 3 vols (Glasgow: Jackson, Wylie & Co., 1934), III: *From the Revolution to the Passing of the Reform Acts 1832-33*, by George Eyre-Todd, pp. 465-77 (p. 471).

⁸⁹ *The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette...*, Vol. I, No. 1, Saturday, 3 January 1825.

⁹⁰ 'Local Institutions—Religious', 'Glasgow Free Church Literary Union', *Glasgow Post-Office Annual Directory for 1853-1854...* (Glasgow: William Mackenzie, 1853), p. 79.

⁹¹ J. H. S. Burleigh, *A Church History of Scotland* (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), pp. 355-56.

development of literary societies might be characterised then, in Glasgow at least, as a period when society founding begins to take hold. There was a sharp increase in the founding of Free Church and other Presbyterian societies at this time, which can be attributed to the Disruption. In addition, there was a rise in the number of county or clan associations being established. This occurred during a time when approximately one-third of Glasgow's population was made up of migrants to the city from other parts of Scotland.⁹² The next, or third period, in society development saw the greatest growth in Glasgow's societies, particularly those not associated with a local church. While church and county societies continued to be founded, the largest growth was in the number of Burns clubs in the city (see Chapter 3 for further discussion).

There is another spike in the number of clubs founded in Glasgow after the start of the twentieth century, occurring in 1907. This is due to the increase in evidence for reading groups associated with educational institutions (e.g. two public schools, one university, and one educational-cum-social work group) for this year. This coincides with a period of increased society formation in schools, colleges and universities more generally at the start of the twentieth century when compared to all previous periods. This phase lasts until approximately 1914. It is one of the defining characteristics of what I call the fourth phase of literary society development in the city (see discussion below).

⁹² From census figures for 1851, 1861 and 1871 from Table 4.6 (i), *The Birthplace of Migrants to Glasgow 1851-1911*, in Withers, 'The Demographic History of the City, 1831-1911', pp. 141-162 (p. 149).

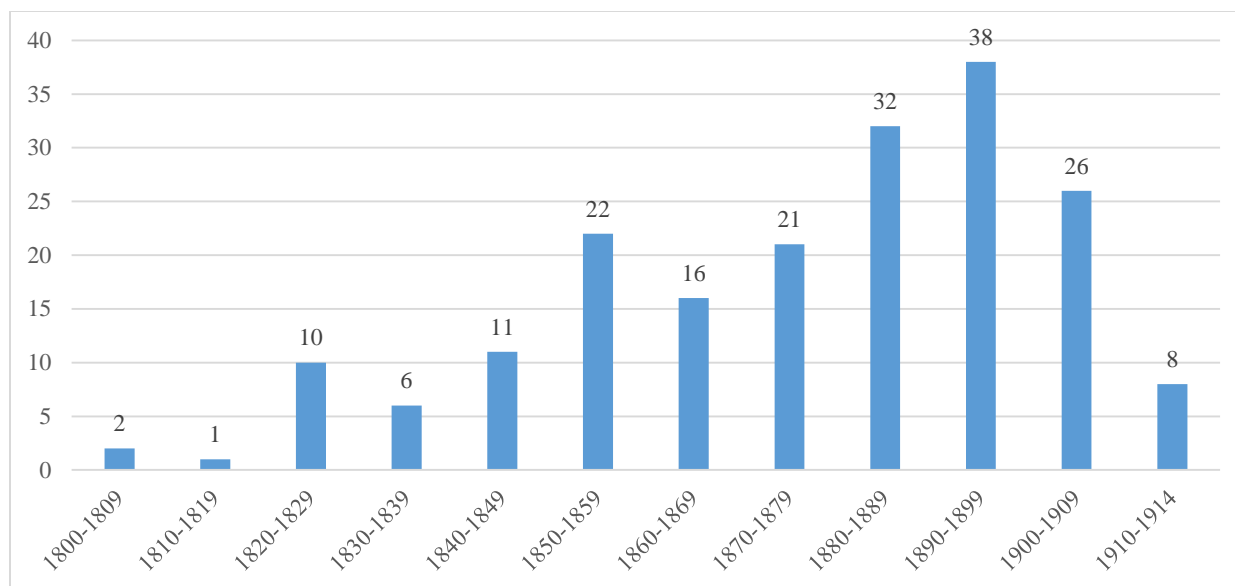


Figure 2.3: *Literary Clubs and Societies in Glasgow, 1800-1914, by Decade Using Founding Year or Earliest Evidence*

Literary Clubs 1800-1825: Traits and Trends

In general, with some notable exceptions, the literary clubs and societies in the first quarter of the nineteenth century do not appear to differ a great deal from those of the last half of the eighteenth century. Similarly to clubs of the previous century, members of most of the groups in this period were men. The exception to this is the Glasgow Literary Forum (aka the Glasgow Public Literary Forum): in the lists of ‘Names of Subscribers for Season Tickets’ in the 1822-1825 Minute Book, between 1822 and 1828 (the years covered by the subscription lists) there are a total of five women listed under their own name.⁹³ The public lectures for this organisation were attended by men and women presumably of varied social standing and/or class, but preference was given to those who could afford the more expensive tickets, as in 1823, the prices of seats within the Forum changed according to how close the seats were to the front.⁹⁴

⁹³ The following is a breakdown of the number of women in the subscription lists by years: [1822-23?], 3; [1824-25?], 0; [1825-26?], 2; and 1827-28, 0 (MLSC, Glasgow Literary Forum Minutes, 1822-25, 56245, GC378.24 GLA).

⁹⁴ The entry for 9 June 1823 in the 1822-25 Minute Book includes the following statement: ‘After one deliberation it was resolved that the Public Forum for the next season would be opened on the following grounds viz That the front seats of the Forum shall be one shilling per Night or Ten Shillings for the Season That the Back Seats of the Forum shall be sixpence per Night or Five Shillings for the Season That those who purchase Tickets for the Season will have their Tickets transferrable That every Gentleman will have the privilage of introducing a Lady.’ (*Ibid*).

The clubs continued to meet in taverns, the Black Bull Inn in particular being used by both the Literary Society (later becoming the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow circa 1800) and the New Literary and Philosophical Society. The place of meeting, however, could be altered due to changes in the club's circumstances. For example, in the case of the Glasgow Literary Forum, their diminishing finances meant that while in 1822 they met in the spacious Trades' Hall, a couple of years later they had to move to the Lyceum, and in 1838, they moved their meetings to the Thistle Tavern on Glassford Street.⁹⁵

The Literary Society of Glasgow offers an excellent example of the ways in which societies during this period maintained some of the traditions and ethos of societies from the previous century, but also changed to reflect the shifting changes in the population and nature of the city of Glasgow itself. The society, founded in 1752, changed its name around the beginning of the nineteenth century to the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow. They changed premises as well, moving from 'within the walls of the University, where they had long been held, to an apartment in the heart of the city'.⁹⁶ In a lecture given to the society in January 1831, Thomas Atkinson gives a 'sketch' of the history of the society and explains these changes, and is worth quoting at some length:

The Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow has long been considered by the general body of the middle and upper classes of the City as one of the most respectable associations which it contains – for whatever purpose; and admission to it has been held to be a desirable distinction, independently of the information or improvement an attendance on its meetings was calculated to procure [...]

There are no records in the possession of the present office-bearers of the date anterior to the year 1806, when it is obvious from these, however, that the Association was at maturity, and in full and facile operation in its work of mutual instruction and improvement.

The recollection of one of its most valued, and able members, while it furnishes nothing like precision in dates, serves, however, pleasantly to recall, that at the period of

⁹⁵ The Forum moved several times over the years as noted in their minute books. This was largely a measure to cut costs and the moves were to premises with cheaper rates that would help to cover the costs for lectures that were becoming 'so unpropitious': 'Profiting from experience, and finding their meetings in the Trades' Hall so unpropitious, they determined to lessen their expenditure; and accordingly, came to the Lyceum, where they still continue to assemble' (William Houston, *Account of the Origin, Progress and Present State of the Glasgow Public Literary Forum...* (Glasgow: John Graham & Co., 1824), p. 8). Four years later, it seems the fortunes of the Forum had not improved, as in the minutes for 20 March 1838, it was recorded that 'The Society met in Begg & Stenhouse's Tavern' [Hutcheson Street]', and a few months later, the minute for 3 August 1838 records that they moved again: 'The members of the Society assembled in the Thistle Tavern Glassford Street' (MLSC, Minute Book of the Glasgow Literary Forum, 1837-40, 327348).

⁹⁶ Atkinson, p. 4.

his first connexion with it, it was more decidedly scholastic than it soon after became. It was about the commencement of the present century, in fact much more a University than a City Association, and was resuscitated from a lethargic slumber into which, whether from a plethora of talent or other cause, College Societies exhibit a tendency to decline [...] that among its earlier members, and in a period of greater activity, it boasted of ranking the immortal names of Adam Smith and Edmund Burke among their number.

Whether through indifference or jealousy on the part of the older members it was soon found proper to remove its place of meeting from within the walls of the University, where they had long been held, to an apartment in the heart of the city. It is probable, that before this was done, it had assumed both its present aspect and title, by associating in its membership men engaged in commercial pursuits. Previously, it had merely been called a Literary Society, and it was chiefly composed of Professors and Students, or individuals of the learned professions. It then, however, while it in no degree departed from the dignity which the title Literary may be supposed to convey, extended greatly its sphere of usefulness, as well as the significancy of its name [...]

[T]hose members of the Society who sought to solace the labours of their commercial pursuits with the occasional enjoyment of intellectual intercourse, or the pleasures of literary composition [...] in their own person, maintained and demonstrated the truth of that opinion which regards intellectual superiority and cultivation as one of the chief elements of a solid commercial success – a superiority which it is not surely too fanciful to suppose, prompted them to join such a society [...].⁹⁷

Atkinson's account reveals not only the shifting nature of the club, but he also remarks on how and why its membership changed from an almost exclusively academic one, to one composed by men who were involved in Glasgow's rapidly growing industries. The implication seems to be that while mutual improvement was worthy in and of itself, the men of the present society were engaged in the difficult and demanding business of running the city's industries. The society offered pleasure along with prestige in its former association with the club's famous members from the upper and middle classes (e.g. Adam Smith and Edmund Burke), and admission to the present club was still a 'desirable distinction'. Commercial success then depended on superior men who cultivated the intellect through discussion and essay writing—the pleasures of improvement were a requirement as well as a counter-measure to the hard work of business.

The changing nature of the Literary and Commercial Society membership and the emphasis on business was directly reflected in the scope and content of the essays and discussions, but literature was also included. The subject areas of the essays read between 1806 and 1830 feature social history, politics, economics, and medicine, with literature among the minority of other subjects discussed (e.g. 'On the structure and tendency of the writings of Lord Byron' on 7 January

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, pp. 3-5.

1819).⁹⁸ However, the subject of education featured with some frequency, and included essays ‘On the education of the middle and lower ranks’ (8 January 1807; also ‘On the Education of the Lower Ranks’, 14 March 1816), and ‘On the propriety of giving a more liberal education to the female sex (12 March 1807; also ‘On Female Education’, 16 March 1815).⁹⁹ The subject of education for the middle and particularly the lower classes would have been of interest to this society, which was formerly based at and associated with the University of Glasgow. They would have been aware of the practices of John Anderson, whose bequest would found the Andersonian Institution, and later George Birkbeck of offering lectures to working classes which both men and women attended (see discussion in Chapter 6).

The range of subjects that the Literary and Commercial Society discussed does not appear to have changed in the subsequent decades, as the *Post-Office Glasgow Directory for 1856, 1857* states that ‘[t]he members read essays in rotation, on subjects connected with Commerce, Political Economy, Philosophy, and General Literature’.¹⁰⁰ These subjects were similar to those discussed by the Glasgow Literary Forum,¹⁰¹ but differed from the Royal Philosophical Society (formerly the Philosophical Society of Glasgow), which was formed ‘[f]or discussing subjects connected with the arts and sciences, and the exhibition of models and new inventions’.¹⁰² Science was also the focus of the lectures given to the University Printing Office Literary and Scientific Institution,

⁹⁸ *List of Essays Read by the Members of the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow, From Session 1806 to Session 1830* (Glasgow: Atkinson & Co., 1831), pp. 1-17 (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu22-a.8).

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁰ ‘Educational and Literary Institutions’, ‘Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society’, *Post-Office Glasgow Directory for 1856, 1857...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1856), p. 85.

¹⁰¹ The Glasgow Literary Forum was primarily a debating society that posed one question at each meeting which its members then discussed, which might be resumed again at the next meeting with the same question, or a new question would be posed. In the 1822-1825 minute book, ‘A List of Questions for the Literary Forum’ is included. Examples of these questions include: ‘Is Knowledge and Happiness one the increase through the World?’ (Question No. 1, 22 November 1822); ‘Will a period ever arrive when War shall cease and peace become permanent of the Earth?’ (Question No. 2, 29 November 1822). They also discussed current events, for example, the Bourbon deployment of troops to Spain (Question No. 9 on 3, 10 and 15 March 1823), the pros and cons of English and Scottish poor laws (Question No. 34, February 1824), the profanation of the Sabbath (Question No. 35, February 1824), and the emancipation of slaves in the West Indies (Question No. 36, February 1824) (Minute Book of the Glasgow Literary Forum, 1822-25).

¹⁰² ‘Literary and Scientific Societies’, ‘Philosophical Society of Glasgow’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1863, 1864...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1863), p. 88. The Royal Philosophical Society is presently included in this study, but it is arguable whether its members would have thought of themselves as a ‘literary society’ (I have still to examine all of this society’s materials). Although literature is not specifically listed as one of the subjects they discussed, it is not certain whether it might be taken as assumed that it came under the category of ‘the arts’ in the directory’s description.

which were of a scientific, mechanical and chemical nature.¹⁰³ Of the societies where information was available, half of them included literature in their discussions and debates,¹⁰⁴ with the majority of them discussing the ‘moral character’ of the writings.¹⁰⁵

There were at least three, or possibly four, societies that had libraries during this period. From the very beginning, The Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, founded in 1802, saw the formation of a library as one of the fundamental elements in establishing their society.¹⁰⁶ Their collection grew such that in 1856, they had 2200 volumes, and 3400 volumes in 1863.¹⁰⁷ The Speculative Society possibly had one as well, or rather it was optimistically reported that ‘[a] large library is likely to be formed from their contributions’.¹⁰⁸ The Gas Workmen’s Institution, and the University Printing Office Literary and Scientific Institution also had libraries that served their members. These organisations differed from other institutions in that they were working-class groups that were formed through the companies at which they were employed with the

¹⁰³ James M’Conechy, *An Introductory Address Delivered on the 19th of March, 1825, on the Formation of a Literary and Scientific Institution Among the Workmen of the University Printing Office, Glasgow; with an Account of the Institution and Some Preliminary Remarks on Popular Education* (Glasgow: University Press, 1825), p. 7.

¹⁰⁴ These five societies include: the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow; St Rollox Debating Society; Glasgow Literary Forum; Royal Society of Literature; and Speculative Society. This figure, however, does not include the Anderston Social Club, whose members composed original poetry and songs (John K. M’Dowall, *The People’s History of Glasgow: An Encyclopedic Record of the City From the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, 2nd edn (Glasgow: Hay Nisbet, 1899).

¹⁰⁵ For example, the Glasgow Literary Forum recorded in their minute book on 24 February 1838 that ‘[t]he question selected for consideration on Saturday, 10th March was the “Winter’s tale” of Shakspeare’. On 10 March 1838 they discussed it: ‘Messrs D. Stewart, J. Stewart, Gartly, Birkmyre & Gow engaged in an animated discussion of its literary and moral character’ (Minute entry, 24 February 1838; minute entry, 10 March 1838, Minute Book of the Glasgow Literary Forum, 1837-40). The details of this discussion are not mentioned. Similarly, at the first meeting of the Speculative Society, the first question for discussion was ‘Have the writings of Lord Byron been more beneficial than prejudicial to Society?’. The vote determined that he was more prejudicial than beneficial to society (‘Glasgow Societies’, *The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette*, 1, 7 February 1824, p. 42). This is perhaps not surprising considering that this society’s ‘chief objects [were] the acquisition of knowledge, the advancement of truth, and the mental and moral exaltation of mankind’ (*Ibid*). This view of Byron would suggest that the society’s members were perhaps middle class, as Byron was one of the poets lauded by the working class, particularly later by Chartists. Byron, along with Shelley, were ‘in a sense, honorary members of the working class’ as they were seen to have ‘embraced the causes of the working class’ (Paul Thomas Murphy, *Towards a Working-Class Canon: Literary Criticism in British Working Class Periodicals, 1816-1858* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1994), p. 140).

¹⁰⁶ David Primrose, ‘The Foundation and Development of The Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow’, in *No Mean Society: 200 Years of The Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow* (Glasgow: The Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow, 2003, 2008), pp. 9-45 (p. 9).

¹⁰⁷ ‘Educational and Literary Institutions’, ‘Philosophical’, *Post-Office Glasgow Directory for 1856, 1857...*, p. 85; ‘Literary and Scientific Societies’, ‘Philosophical Society of Glasgow’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1863, 1864...*, p. 88.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Glasgow Societies’, *The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette*, 1, 14 February 1824, p. 54. This article reports on the second meeting of the society.

encouragement of their respective employers.¹⁰⁹ '[O]n the suggestion of Mr. Neilson the manager' of the Gas Light Company, the Gas Workmen's Institution was formed for the purpose of 'mutual instruction', and had between 60 and 70 members in 1825.¹¹⁰ A short article in *The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine* gives a brief account of their then current state:

[...] laying by a small sum monthly, they have collected about 300 volumes, and the Company giving them a library room, which they light and heat, the men meet every other evening, to converse upon literary and scientific subjects, and once a week to lecture; any one who chooses, giving a fortnight's notice that he will treat on some subject which he has been studying. The books are of all kinds, with the exception of theology, which, from the various sects the men belong to, is of necessity excluded.¹¹¹

The University Printing Office's society followed the Gas Workmen's model in setting up their own institution. A library was formed first and began with a donation of books by John M. Duncan, a co-partner in the printing office, in 1822.¹¹² In 1825, it had 210 volumes 'consisting principally of historical works, travels, romances, and poems'.¹¹³ Between 90 and 95 men and boys were employed at the printing office in that year.¹¹⁴ Figures for the year before state that 54 workers subscribed to the library, and entry money was based on income.¹¹⁵ The majority of those who subscribed were apprentices aged between 14 and 21, with only 17 of the more senior journeymen

¹⁰⁹ There is possibly a third society that may be added to this list of working-class groups: the St. Rollox Debating Society was formed prior to 1822 and met 'within Mr Kemps school room' (GCA, St Rollox Debating Society, Minute book, 27 September 1822-2 December 1823, p. 11, GB243 TD1943). In 1800, a large chemical factory was built in St. Rollox by Charles Tennant and his partners. Between 1800 and 1827, there were at least a couple of schools running in the area (Hugh Aitken Dow, *History of St. Rollox School, Glasgow, Together with Memorabilia of Same, and a Poetical Sketch of the old School and its Notabilities* (Edinburgh: Murray and Gibb, 1876), p. 30). It is possible that the society was composed of employees and/or their children. Further investigation of the biographical details of the members for the debating society would confirm this. It was only in 1827 that Tennant built the St. Rollox School to provide education for his employee's children ('St Rollox School', GCA, Department of Education, *The Glasgow Story* <www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=TGSA02010> [accessed 15/06/17]). Interestingly, 'C J Tennant', or Charles James Tennant, one of Tennant's nine children, was listed as a member of this society in 1822, but his name at some point was scored out (see 'List of Members', St Rollox Debating Society, Minute Book, 27 September 1822-2 December 1823 (GB243 TD1943), p. 1).

¹¹⁰ 'History of Mechanics' Institutions. Glasgow. The Gas Workmen's Institution', *The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine; and Annals of Philosophy*, 72, 7 May 1825, pp. 216-17 (p. 216) (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu24-d.24).

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² M'Conechy, 'Preliminary Remarks', p. 5. John M. Duncan's father, Andrew, became printer for the University of Glasgow in 1811 until resigning in 1826 ('In Aedibus Academicis, The Glasgow University Press', *19th Century, University of Glasgow, Special Collections* <special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/gupress/gupress19century.html> [accessed 28/06/17]). John joined his father's business and together they ran a successful printing company in the city during the early part of the century.

¹¹³ M'Conechy, p. 5.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

making up the rest as ‘many of the men read steadily in other libraries, unconnected with their own establishment, as the Mechanics’ Library, Anderson’s Institution Library, and the North Quarter Library, where they have a greater choice of books’.¹¹⁶ Duncan suggested that a literary and scientific institution be formed based on the same principles as the Gas Works, and the library and institution were joined shortly after the institution’s founding. The committee, made up of some of the more senior staff, were requested to provide the lectures, the subjects being on scientific, mechanical, and chemical principles.¹¹⁷ The speaker who provided the introductory address, the surgeon, James M’Conechy—described by the *Mechanics’ Magazine* as a person ‘(who appears to have interested himself considerably in the originating of this Institution,)’¹¹⁸—concludes his speech with what amounted to a manifesto in support of ‘Popular Education’:

The sketch which I have given of the proceedings of the workmen at the printing office, will serve effectually, I should hope, to remove all doubt about the propriety of encouraging the formation of similar institutions in other large establishments. As an evidence of their usefulness, I may remark, that one of the men who delivered a lecture on Hydrostatics, a subject which was prescribed to him by this associates in the committee, did not know, when it was proposed to him, what the *word meant!* yet he delivered an interesting and respectable lecture, and went through his experiments with very considerable ease and accuracy. This fact, so creditable to the individual himself, I have great pleasure in recording, and I think it may be successfully opposed to any given number of speculative objections on the advantages of encouraging scientific inquires among the most ignorant of the operatives. The majority of the committee who lectured are intelligent and well informed men, and had, with a few exceptions, given more or less attention to philosophical subjects. Most of them had attended several sessions at Anderson’s or the Mechanics’ Institution, and were, consequently, aware of the importance of scientific knowledge ; yet they with one voice agree in declaring, that the advantages which they derived from being obliged to prepare written lectures, were very great, and such as they could hardly have anticipated.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

¹¹⁷ The list of ‘Lecturers’ included: ‘James A. Begg, Pressman, President of the Institution. Adam Aitchison, Overseer of the Press Room. Thomas Orr, Corroctor of the Press. George Brookman, Corroctor of the Press. Malcolm Wright, Corroctor of the Press. Alexander Whitelaw, Corroctor of the Press. Alexander Spears, Corroctor of the Press. Robert B. Townshend, Compositor. Daniel M’Donald, Pressman. David Mowat, Pressman.’ (*Ibid.*, p. 8). From the list of lectures, the first three consisted of talks on ‘Mechanical Properties of Matter, Extension, Impenetrability, Divisibility, Elasticity, Mobility, Weight, Inertia, Attraction, and Repulsion’, and Chemical Properties of matter, Chemical Affinity, Caloric, its nature, effects, Expansion, Fluidity, Instruments for measuring Heat, Thermometers, Pyrometers.’ (*Ibid.*, p. 7).

¹¹⁸ ‘Literary and Scientific Institution at the University Printing Office, Glasgow’, *The Glasgow Mechanics’ Magazine; and Annals of Philosophy*, 3, 1825, pp. 341-44 (p. 343).

¹¹⁹ M’Conechy, p. 8.

The implication here is that the concept of ‘literary’ for these two working-class institutions involved a few inter-related components. To be literary yourself might involve joining a society. Ideally, the group should have talks given and ideas discussed using a pre-established structure which included the election of officers, and regular business conducted through an ordered agenda, thus have all the rituals and paraphernalia of a formal institution. The literary was often linked to the scientific. Another major component was for the society to have a library: it was seen as important for a society to have its own that you utilised and supported through your subscription, which did not preclude subscribing to other libraries as well. Finally, agency was the key: not only did you read the library’s books (among other materials), but you attended society meetings, ‘converse[d] upon literary and scientific subjects’, and crucially, you wrote essays, ‘the advantages which [you] derived [...] were very great, and such as [you] could hardly have anticipated’.

Literary Aspirations, 1826-1850: Society Founding Gathers Momentum

In some respects, the clubs of the second quarter of the century appear to be similar to those of the first. The members of the 20 clubs in this period were all men, or for the Western Scientific Association, *young men*, being ‘open to lads between 15 and 18’.¹²⁰ In the case of two societies, the subscription charges may be indicative of the social class of their members. The ‘Constitution and Rules of the [Glasgow] Young Men’s Christian Association’ state ‘[t]hat the payment of Two Shillings and Sixpence, or such sum as may be agreed upon, shall constitute the Contributor a Member of the Association for One Year; and that a payment of Two Guineas or upwards shall constitute the Contributor a Member for Life’.¹²¹ The flexible subscription charges strongly suggests the wish to particularly encourage working class men of limited means to join. This was in line with the object of the charitable, religious aims of their association, which was ‘to afford facilities for the Intellectual, Moral, and Religious Improvement of the Young Men of Glasgow’.¹²² In contrast, the City of Glasgow Literary Society had subscription charges that potentially had no

¹²⁰ The Western Scientific Association, while predominantly as debating society, is included in this survey of literary societies as they included the composition of original essays and poetry among their group’s activities. These were collected and written into their society’s ‘yearbook’, which has not survived. Details of their 1849 volume, are the subject of a newspaper article in *The Evening Times* ([Thomas Lugton], ‘An Old Glasgow MS. Magazine, Lucubrations of the “Western Scientific Association”’, *The Evening Times*, 3 May 1907, p. 4.

¹²¹ ‘Constitution and Rules of the Young Men’s Christian Association’, *Annual Report of the Glasgow Young Men’s Christian Association. For 1865-66*. (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1866), p. 4.

¹²² *Ibid.*

upward limit: although their subscription was the same as the G.Y.M.C.A., the cost of being a member could run much higher. The rules for this society state that:

‘[e]ach member shall be bound to pay an equal share of all expenses incurred by the Society. A levy of two shillings and sixpence per member shall be made at the commencement of each session, and from new members on their admission. Additional levies to be made when found necessary.’¹²³

The incorporation of open-ended subscription charges into its rules may have been a deliberate means by which to discourage working-class men from joining. This society also had the ‘Intellectual Improvement of its Members’ as their object, but unlike the G.Y.M.C.A., ‘[s]ubjects involving doctrinal points of Religion [were] to be excluded’.¹²⁴

The subjects of the discussions and debates of the societies in this period are similar to those in the early part of the century, with some clubs focusing on particular areas according to the nature of their club. For example, the Glasgow Clerical Literary Society discussed science, current events, and read essays on religious topics. For example, along with talks ‘On the general state of Geology & on earthquakes’ (10 October 1827), and ‘On the Organic remains of a former world’ (14 February 1827), they listened to and discussed a paper entitled ‘The connection between prayer and ministerial duty and usefulness’ (9 May 1827).¹²⁵ The essays were largely on religious matters and issues of religious doctrine, and it appears that they did not include literature. The Juridical Society had as its object the ‘discussion and elucidation of disputed and undecided questions in law, with which is combined the preparation of essays on subjects of a legal and literary character’, which, without any further evidence, may or may not have included literature.¹²⁶ The Palaver Society, on the other hand, met to discuss ‘all philosophical subjects, including literature politics history and science generally, excepting always Controversial Theology’.¹²⁷ The City of Glasgow Literary Society included literature frequently in its essays and discussions. Their minute book

¹²³ The rules for this Society are listed on the first page of their minute book and are dated 19 October 1853 (MLSC, City of Glasgow Literary Society, Minute book, Oct. 1853-Dec. 1863, 436004).

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*

¹²⁵ MLSC, Glasgow Clerical Literary Society, Minute Book 1826-39, Baillie's Collection 35790, G 206 CLE.

¹²⁶ ‘Educational and Scientific Institutions’, ‘Juridical’, *Glasgow Post-Office Annual Directory for 1854-1855...* (Glasgow, William MacKenzie, 1854), p. 133.

¹²⁷ The rules for the Palaver Society are located at the very front of the minute book, and were approved at a meeting on 28 May 1831. The object of this society was ‘the promotion among its members of a spirit of enlightened investigation, – the acquisition of useful knowledge – and excellence and fluency in public and extemporaneous speaking’ (MLSC, Palaver Society, Minute Book, Glasgow, 1831-34, 891491).

records that extracts from various authors were read aloud which were followed by group discussions. Some of these authors included: Leigh Hunt ('Jar of Honey', 23 November 1853); Victor Hugo ('Napoleon the Little, 18 January 1854); Thomas Hood (a paper was read on this author on 15 February 1854); and Cervantes (a paper entitled the 'Life and Writings of Cervantes' was read on 15 March 1854). There was also one meeting where a member read an original translation of Nicolas Gogol's 'Tarass Boulba' from the French (1 March 1854).¹²⁸

However, an important difference between societies in the first and second quarters of the century was an increase in the number of groups associated with local churches. Of the 12 groups founded or running between 1800 and 1825 for which evidence has survived, none of them were associated with a church. In the second quarter of the century, however, seven of the twenty groups (35%) were founded through local churches, or in the case of the Glasgow Clerical Literary Society, focused on religious issues.

To be considered a literary society in the second quarter of the nineteenth century may have meant something slightly different than in the previous period. Joining a society was still an important socio-cultural marker, and the term literary usually signified debate and discussion that took place within groups that were usually class-specific, but not necessarily gender-specific, as we've seen in the case of the Glasgow Literary Forum, to which women could subscribe under their own names. But it was a flexible concept that could just as well incorporate the sacred and the juridical. It could directly refer to literature, particularly *belles lettres*, but didn't have to. Churches could be sites of literary engagement, particularly dissenting churches. You didn't necessarily have a library exclusively for your members. As with earlier groups, agency was the key. Yet from the available evidence, it was during this period that the writing of original compositions by group members in Glasgow began to feature as a more important society activity: starting in 1828, 5 societies (25%) began to collect their members' original compositions in society magazines (see Appendix III).

¹²⁸ Minute entries, 23 November 1853, 18 January 1854, 15 February 1854, 1 March 1854, 15 March 1854, City of Glasgow Literary Society, Minute Book, Oct. 1853-Dec. 1863.

Literary Societies of the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century

Societies from 1850-1859: Phase 2 Begins¹²⁹

As the second half of the century was a particularly dynamic period in Glasgow for literary societies, I decided to examine groups in this period by decade. This was to try to narrow down any particular times when more societies were being founded and/or active, and to assess if there were any changes in society activity that could be attributed to a particular historic moment. On paper, 1853 looks like it was a good year for literary club founding, with a total of 23 societies either founded or making their first appearance in the records (see *Figure 2.2* above). Most of the societies in this decade were part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union. In this year, the Union was made up of twelve literary societies from across Glasgow formed through the local Free Churches, with each society having one representative within the Union.¹³⁰ There is little or no extant material on most of these church groups, the primary reference being the *Glasgow Post-Office Annual Directory* for this year. If societies in this Union were similar to other groups associated with local churches, most likely they would have read and discussed essays, held debates and almost certainly discussed religion as part of their remit.

As was the case for almost all the societies up to this point, clubs in the 1850s consisted entirely of men. Their objects, with subtle differences, also appear to be fairly homogeneous. For example, the City of Glasgow Literary Society's object was the 'Intellectual Improvement' of its members. Similarly, in 1855, upon its formation, the St. Columba Literary Association stated its object as being 'the mutual improvement of its Members'. In 1862, the group changed its name to the St. Columba Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, which might be read as their embracing of this core concept, while, arguably, taking the literary aspect as a given.¹³¹

¹²⁹ The City of Glasgow Literary Society (founded 14 November 1850) was considered in the previous section, but will also be considered with societies in this decade, particularly as over half the societies in this decade are part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union inclusively.

¹³⁰ These societies included: Free Tron Literary Society; Free St. John's; Free St. George's; Free St Peter's, Free St. Matthew's; Free Anderston; Free St. Mark's; Free Gobals; Free Renfield; Free St. David's; Free St. Luke's; and Free East Campbell ('Local Institutions – Religious', 'Glasgow Free Church Literary Union', *Glasgow Post-Office Annual Directory for 1853-1854...*, p. 79.

¹³¹ The 'Rules and Regulations of The St. Columba Literary Association' were adopted at a meeting on 16 August 1855 (GCA, Glasgow, St. Columba's Gaelic Chapel, Literary Association Minute Book, 1855-62, p. 6, CH2/1519/7/4). At a meeting on 6 November 1862, the society agreed to change their name to the St. Columba Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association. In addition, the rules were amended, which included a change to the object

Although most clubs and societies specified in their constitutions and/or rules the subjects that they would include in their discussions and debates, the St. Columba Literary Association's Directors alone set this society's agenda. At each of their meetings, an essay would be read aloud followed by discussion. Alternatively, the meeting might involve a debate on a set topic. However, it was recorded in the association's minute book that the essays were on 'such subjects as general interest, as shall have been selected or approved of by the Directors'.¹³² While other societies might have also been subject to similar restrictions by directors or church elders, particularly in the case of societies formed through churches, this is the first indication that the debates and discussions were more tightly controlled than the minute books record. Alternatively, this association might be the exception. What this does seem to suggest is that reading (aloud or otherwise), writing and discussion was thought by at least this one church's directors to need controlling and restriction. Examples of 'approved' subjects of 'general interest' include 'The Utility and pleasures of mental Science', 'The Mormons', 'The Feudal System', 'The Gaelic Language', 'The Revolution in France', and 'Roman Literature'.¹³³

One other club of note in this decade is the Literary and Artistic Society. To date, the sole evidence for this society is an article published in *The Bailie* on the 18th of May 1892:

Messrs Smith's premises at the corner of Gordon and Union Streets, presently being altered, stand upon a site, which, although not historic, has some interesting associations. "Hannah's Back Room" was there, the howf perhaps fully a-quarter-of-a-century ago, of poets, painters, players, many journalists, some architects and sculptors, one or two wood-engravers and die-sinkers, several pattern-designers, and one or two men of science. The meetings were held in the evenings of every "lawful day"; there was no membership, except by introduction, and by being a "clubbable" man; and the entertainment was generally conversation on the topics of the day – a great variety of subjects – religion and politics being excluded. In one or two winters "papers" were read on the evenings of Saturdays. When about to bestow its patronage on an actor's benefit, this House of Hannahver designated itself on the play-bills as "The Literary and Artistic Society", and by this name it became generally known afterwards. It was kindly and genial, and did little benefices to other than its members. Perhaps its chief public celebration was on the occasion of the Burns' Centenary [1859], when members and friends to the number of two hundred dined under the presidency of Hugh Macdonald, the croupier being Mr Scott ("Dandie Dinmont"). I remember meeting at one of the annual excursions a gentleman who now

of the society to the 'intellectual Improvement of its members' (GCA, Glasgow, St. Columba's Gaelic Chapel, Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association Minute Book, 1862-69, p. 3, CH2/1519/7/5).

¹³² St. Columba's Gaelic Chapel, Literary Association Minute Book, 1855-62, p. 7.

¹³³ These topics are all from the 'Syllabus – 1855-6', which was recorded in the Association's minute book (*Ibid*, p. 12).

occupies the highest position in the theatrical profession, and when on one of his recent visits to Glasgow I spoke to him of our outing, he gave me his recollections of several of the incidents. The L. and A. S. lived fifteen years or more, and of its forty or fifty comers and goers perhaps fewer than a dozen survive. Thomas Gildard.¹³⁴

This article was written from the memory of its author, Thomas Gildard (1822-1895) at least twenty-five years after the society had ceased to exist, and may represent a reconstruction from memory.¹³⁵ The society he describes appears to be an informal group with a favourite meeting place or pub, as suggested by the use of the Scottish term, ‘howf’.¹³⁶ This article can perhaps provide some other historic facts regarding this society (e.g. general information regarding its (middle-class?) members,¹³⁷ organisation and purpose), but it also offers some idea of what people in 1890s Glasgow thought about literary societies.

At the end of the century, associational life in the city was still going strong with many clubs and societies running, with new ones being formed even up to the close of the century (and beyond). However, the nature of those clubs had changed from the previous decades. Rather than clubs meeting primarily for reading, discussion and debate, with some exceptions, clubs towards the end of the century started to incorporate more social activities into their syllabi (see below). By including the more social elements of the Literary and Artistic Society’s activities along with its more ‘literary’ activities, Gildard is pointing out the tradition as well as the continuities of this

¹³⁴ ‘Monday Gossip’, *The Bailie*, 1022, 18 May 1892, p. 12 (UGSC, Sp Coll Bh12-d.1-30). The article in *The Bailie* is unsigned. However, this article was transcribed and placed into William Young’s Scrapbooks (Vol. 10, p. 50, G941.435). The transcription appears to have been done by Thomas Gildard, as his name is typed at the very bottom of the article. However, it is unclear if he is also the author of the article (see n. 135 for more information on Gildard), or if it was transcribed by William Young himself.

¹³⁵ Thomas Gildard was an architect in Glasgow in the nineteenth century. He published articles on architects and their work, and he also ‘contributed to the literary columns of the daily press’, which included *The Bailie*. He was a member of several professional societies (e.g. the Architectural Institute of Scotland, and the Glasgow Architectural Society) (Gordon Urquhart, ‘Thomas Gildard’, ‘DSA [Dictionary of Scottish Architects] Biography Report’, <http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=200163> [accessed 18 June 2016]). In addition, he was a member of The Literary and Artistic Society, as well as a member of the Lord Bacon Society (see MLSC, Thomas Gildard, [Two essays delivered to the Lord Bacon Society for Mutual Improvement], Mitchell (GC) 214971). An article in the *Evening News* reporting his death in 1896 states that he was almost certainly a member of several literary societies, and was an authority on literary clubs in general in the city (‘The Late Mr Thomas Gildard. Memorial in the Necropolis’, *Glasgow Evening News*, 7 December 1896, p. 7).

¹³⁶ The term ‘howf’ (alternatively, ‘howff’) is defined by *English Oxford Living Dictionaries* as a Scottish term meaning ‘[a] favourite meeting place or haunt, especially a pub’ (‘howff’, *English Oxford Living Dictionaries* <<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/howff>> [accessed 21/07/17]).

¹³⁷ In this article, Gildard does not give members’ names. One of the few exceptions to this rule is Gildard’s naming of the club’s 1859 President, Hugh Macdonald (1817-1860), a radical artisan who supported the Chartist movement. Macdonald later became a newspaper poet, journalist and editor of the *Glasgow Times*. His most famous work was *Rambles Around Glasgow* (1854). I am grateful to Kirstie Blair for pointing out this connection.

society's activities with societies of the 1890s. In the same way that Glasgow was undergoing continual alterations and growth, the premises in which the society met were also 'presently being altered', and perhaps much like the author's recollections, the site itself was symbolic in having 'interesting associations'.

Literary Clubs in the 1860s: The Secular and Social, and the County and Clan

The clubs and societies in this decade also appear to be composed entirely of men.¹³⁸ These groups met in various premises, which, in the absence of other evidence, may help to provide some clues as to the nature of the club. For example, some met in hotels (e.g. the Waverly Burns Club, later to become the Western Burns Club, and the Macaulay Literary Club¹³⁹), others in church halls (e.g. Eglinton Young Men's Literary Association), and there were even some that met in private homes (e.g. Brougham Literary Club). The clubs that met in hotels seem to be those whose activities were secular as well as social. The Waverly Burns Club met once a month at the Waverly Hotel on George Square in the very heart of the city. This was a more up-market place to meet than the pubs and taverns that were chosen by clubs in previous centuries. This club was more of a supper club, with members enjoying dinner at the hotel first with the meeting proper taking place afterwards. During the meetings, Burns's work was read aloud along with original poetry written by the club's members, and included singing. Similarly, the Macaulay Literary Club met up every fortnight at 6.30 on Saturday evenings in the south of the city, across the river at Buchanan's Hotel.¹⁴⁰ Again, the place and earlier time of its meetings as compared to other clubs suggest that the Macaulay Club was similar to the Waverly in being a supper and social club.

The Brougham Literary Club, however, appears to have met in a private home: the *Post Office Glasgow Directory* lists their meeting place as being 38 Hutcheson Street, the address given

¹³⁸ As the century came to a close, it was not unusual for literary societies to change their rules in regards to the admission of females, the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society being a case in point. By 1886, they allowed boys and girls to join, with '[e]very lad and girl joining the Branch [being] entitled to the full priveleges of the Society' (Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, 'Directory', *G.F.B.R.S.* [Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society]. *The Foundry Boy. The Monthly Magazine of the Wellington Palace Branch*, 1, January 1886, p. 3.

¹³⁹ It is currently unknown if this club was named for Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800-1859), possibly as a tribute to him and his influential writing on British history, his death occurring only five years prior to the club's formation. To date, the only mention I have come across is found in the *Post Office Glasgow Directory* for 1864 to 1865.

¹⁴⁰ 'Literary and Scientific Societies', 'Macaulay Literary Club', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1864, 1865 ...*, p. 90.

in the same directory for 'Patton, John spirit merchant'.¹⁴¹ The club seems to have been named for Henry Brougham, whose utilitarian philosophy behind his Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge would have been at stark odds with John Patton's choice of employment as the SDUK was pro-temperance. Whether or not there is any connection between the meeting place and the literary society itself other than as a place to hold their meetings is currently unknown. In total, three clubs during this period took their names from eminent men: a canonical author (Robert Burns); a highly influential advocate of social reform (Henry Brougham); and an historian and politician whose prolific writings, particularly in history, were also greatly influential (Thomas Babington Macaulay).

Of the societies during this period whose materials I have examined, two, or possibly three had libraries: the Waverly Burns Club, the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, and the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society. The Waverly Club's library, established three years after the club's foundation, unsurprisingly, contained works by Robert Burns.¹⁴² The library of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland association was started in 1862, the same year of their founding, and a large part of their collection is now housed in the Shetland Archives.¹⁴³ *The Foundry Boy*, the monthly magazine produced by the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society's Wellington Palace Branch, founded in 1867, mentions the library's opening hours in its July 1886 issue. Whether it had a library prior to this is currently unknown.

Four societies produced magazines during the 1860s, although their aims were quite different.¹⁴⁴ *The Albion Literary Journal* makes it clear that the idea of a society magazine and

¹⁴¹ 'Literary and Scientific Societies', 'Brougham Literary Club', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1863, 1864...*, p. 88; 'Street Directory', 'Hutcheson Street...38' (*Ibid*, p. 384).

¹⁴² I have yet to make a complete list of the titles in the club's library and subsequent acquisitions after its initial founding early in 1863. The entry for 24 Feb 1863 in the club's minute book mentions the library was beginning to be formed. (MLSC, Waverly Burns Club, Sederunt Book, 1860-72, Mitchell (AL) 391557).

¹⁴³ An article in the Shetland community newsletter announces the donation of the club's materials to the local archives. In the article, the library and its founding is mentioned, and the collection contains other materials donated since: '[t]he Shetland novelist Jessie Saxby donated her novels, and Gilbert Goudie, another Shetlander, bound up and presented a volume of his antiquarian papers' (Brian Smith, 'Significant archive donation', *Unkans, The newsletter of the Shetland Heritage and Culture Community*, 48 (February 2015), 2 <http://www.shetland-museum.org.uk/downloads/data/unkans/Unkans_no48.pdf> [accessed 7 May 2015]).

¹⁴⁴ These societies included: Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society (*The Literary Bond of Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society*); Albion Mutual Improvement Union (*The Albion Literary Journal: A Quarterly Magazine of Instructive and Recreative Literature Journal*); Barony Mutual Improvement Society, later the Barony Young Men's Association (*Barony MS Magazines*); and the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association (*Ultima Thule*, later changed to *The Manuscript Magazines of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association* and even later to *The Pole Star*) (see Appendix III).

what it entailed was by no means common knowledge during this period: the editorial, or ‘Prefatory’ to their second number relates the story of their magazine’s founding and recent development with pride:

Fellow-members [...] Six months ago had any one predicted that the members of the “Albion” could have brought out such a Magazine as the present, they would have been set down as false prophets – “yea, the falsest in all Israel.” When the Magazine scheme came first into existence, the members seem to have had but an indistinct idea of what was meant. However, three months ago a commencement was made – half the victory was won, according to the proverb. After the first number was perused, the members at once understood its drift, entered into the spirit of the thing, and the consequence is, that we are now enabled to lay before you this – compared with the first – handsome number.¹⁴⁵

It would be another twenty years before magazine culture in Glasgow would become a (more) customary practice (see below).

One important trend *was* established during this decade: county and clan societies that included a ‘literary’ element to their meetings began to become more common in the city. In the stricter sense, county associations were groups whose members (or whose parents) were former residents of counties across Scotland who had moved to Glasgow. The Buchanan Society, however, was (and is) an example of yet another type of group common in Glasgow during this time, a clan society, which in this case supported members of the Buchanan clan and its approved septs. Both these groups incorporated elements of a benevolent society in that they could offer a combination of accommodation, advice, referrals, and general assistance to newcomers in the city when they arrived, while also offering aid to widows, unemployed members, or members undergoing financial hardship. In addition, they might offer to provide for the education of their members’ children, or money to support their higher education.

By the 1860s, Glasgow already had a number of well-established societies which operated in a similar way. For example, the Glasgow Highland Society was founded in 1727, and the Buchanan Society was even older (founded in 1725).¹⁴⁶ County and clan societies could also be

¹⁴⁵ ‘Prefatory’, *The Albion Literary Journal: A Quarterly Magazine of Instructive and Recreative Literature, Conducted by the Members of the Albion Mutual Improvement Union*, 2, April 1862, pp. 1-3 (p. 1) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 891260).

¹⁴⁶ For a history of the Buchanan Society, see ‘About the Society’, *The Buchanan Society* <<https://www.buchanansociety.com/about-the-society/>> [accessed 20/06/17]. In addition, the Gaelic Club was founded in 1780, but was more of a social club whose members originated from the Highlands. Its meetings allowed members to meet and to speak in Gaelic, and could include music provided by a piper (M’Dowall, p. 91).

literary societies. A good example is the Glasgow Cowal Society, Literary Department (1865-?): while acting as a benevolent society, for at least 20 years they had a separate ‘Literary Department’ which met to read, listen to, and discuss essays written by society members.¹⁴⁷ During the 1850s, there was one such county and literary association, and in the 1860s, there were at least three.¹⁴⁸

Glasgow Literary Clubs of the 1870s: More Specialisation and Publication

With the exception of the Young Women’s Christian Association, the members of the clubs that were running or founded during this period were again men.¹⁴⁹ ‘Improvement’ continued to be a commonly stated object of societies.¹⁵⁰ One particular feature that seems to characterise this

¹⁴⁷ A printed brochure for the Glasgow Cowal Society states that the literary group was in a healthy state in 1885, over twenty years after its founding, and that its membership was growing: ‘The Directors have [...] much pleasure in stating that the Literary Department connected with the Society has, during the past year, been of a superior character. The Papers read contained instructive and interesting information [...] As our Membership has been increasing, we hope these meetings will continue to be a greater source of attraction, and that we will have no difficulty in getting many of our young Members to come forward and give Papers’ (‘Twentieth Annual Report of the Glasgow Cowal Society’, 24 April 1885 (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 193). In 1903, the society seemed to be operating in a similar manner: the *Post Office Glasgow Directory* states that its objects at that time were: ‘(1) the intellectual and social improvement of its members, and (2) the relief of decayed and indigent individuals who are natives of the district of Cowal, and families or widows of natives resident within a circuit of five miles of Royal Exchange [Glasgow]’ (‘Charitable and Friendly Institutions’, ‘Glasgow Cowal Society’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1903-1904...* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghil, 1903), p. 173).

¹⁴⁸ The Glasgow Sutherlandshire Association was running from at least the mid-1850s. In the 1860s, the Kintyre Young Men’s Literary association was founded, along with the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, and the Glasgow Cowal Society, Literary Department (see Appendix I).

¹⁴⁹ It does not appear that this association had any literary clubs specifically for women. I have not found evidence for whether or not the ‘educational classes’ they provided to women included literature, but they presumably taught reading and writing skills, and in 1877, among the amenities they provided was a reading room (‘Religious and Moral Institutions’, Young Women’s Christian Association’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1877-1878...* (Glasgow: William Mackenzie, 1877), p. 103).

¹⁵⁰ For example, the Glasgow Arbroath Association (1877-?) was another county and literary association that had two main purposes: to assist with lodgings, jobs, money or other aid to ‘deserving and necessitous Arbroathians’ who were living in or visiting Glasgow; and to ‘promote the intellectual improvement of the members, and to cultivate social and friendly intercourse, by literary and other meetings’ (‘Religious and Friendly Institutions’, ‘Glasgow Arbroath Association’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1886-1887...* (Glasgow: William Mackenzie, 1886), p. 110). In addition, the Constitution of the Glasgow United Young Men’s Christian Association states that ‘[t]he objects of the Association shall be the Religious, Moral, Intellectual, and Social Improvement of young men’ (Glasgow United Young Men’s Christian Association, ‘Constitution’, *Annual Report of the Glasgow United Young Men’s Christian Association. 1877*, p. 2). In the same year that this united association was formed, the first listing of the Young Women’s Christian Association appeared in the *Post Office Glasgow Directory*: ‘[t]he object of this Association is to promote the religious, moral, and temporal welfare of young women’ by means of the association’s ‘[e]ducational classes and religious meetings’. (‘Religious and Moral Institutions’, ‘Young Women’s Christian Association. Institute and Boarding House’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1877-1878...*, p. 103). The objects of these two groups, however, are distinctly gendered: the aim of the G.U.Y.M.C.A. was the religious and moral improvement of young men, but just as important were their mental and social faculties in that order, while the Y.W.C.A. was more concerned with young women’s ‘temporal welfare’.

decade is that there are more specialised clubs than in previous periods. One club in particular moved away from using the term improvement altogether in order to set itself apart from other clubs in the promotion of a distinctive lifestyle. In fact, the Ruskin Society of Glasgow offered their society's services in providing 'readings from Mr. Ruskin's works, or papers on his teachings, to mutual improvement and kindred associations'.¹⁵¹ The objects of this society were to promote John Ruskin's literature, to encourage, perhaps, a commonality of thought and interpretation on his works in a close-knit group, or 'a centre of union' for 'friends and disciples', but also to advance the lifestyle and ethos that he promoted, albeit, the tone implies, that this last objective would need some tweaking to fit Scotland, as they also aimed 'to promote such life and learning as may fitly and usefully abide in this country'.¹⁵²

Similarly, a handful of other, more specialised groups also omit the improving element from their clubs' statements during this period, and concentrated on different authors or genres. The Rosebery Burns Club, for example, was founded in 1874. While they might have initially started with the exclusive study of Burns, by 1907, they disclaimed any partisanship, stating that their objects had always included Scottish literature more generally (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of Burns Clubs in Glasgow).¹⁵³ The Glasgow Ballad Club,¹⁵⁴ Waverley Literary and

¹⁵¹ 'Literary and Scientific Institutions', 'The Ruskin Society of Glasgow', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1881-1882...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1881), p. 113.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*

¹⁵³ In a 1907 concert programme, the following overview of the club is given: 'The Club has, since its inception, encouraged the study of Scottish Literature and Songs by Lectures and Concerts, and providing Prizes and Judges for Competitions amongst Children attending Bands of Hope. **The Gold Medal Competition for Ladies and Gentlemen (Amateurs)**, has been promoted with the object of encouraging the study of the beautiful songs and melodies found in the **Auld Scots Sangs**, which are unequalled in any language' (Rosebery Burns Club. Gold Medal Competition for Amateurs', Concert Programme, 28 March 1907, in Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 217 (MLSC, G941.435)).

¹⁵⁴ The object of the Glasgow Ballad Club is given in the first entry in the club's minute book for their first meeting, which was held at Steel's Hotel on Queen Street on 11 November 1876. They 'formed for the reading of original ballads – the word ballads being accepted in a broad sense; for the discussion of ballads in general; and for the promotion of literary and friendly intercourse between members' (MLSC, The Ballad Club Minute Book, 1876-1907, p. 1, 8917343).

Drama Association,¹⁵⁵ and the Irving Club focused on one particular genre, the former on ballads and the latter two on drama, which included orchestral music in the case of the Irving Club.¹⁵⁶

There were four clubs during the 1870s who produced their own manuscript magazines.¹⁵⁷ These were young men's associations that saw the practice as being an essential part of the improvement process. The Free St. Peter's Young Men's Literary Society is a good example. In an Editorial entitled 'To Our Readers', this idea is elucidated:

Writing for the Magazine, we should say, is the grand benefit derivable from it, affording, as it does, an invaluable field for mental culture. He is a correct thinker who habituates himself to the practice of reducing his thoughts to writing. The other grand benefit afforded by the magazine is the opportunity one has of comparing the thoughts of others of the same age as himself, with his own. This is an educational agent not to be despised, & when combined with the other (writing our ideas) becomes of paramount importance to us.¹⁵⁸

Other clubs produced various materials in print. These included works published by the Rosebury Burns Club with essays about the club itself, and about various aspects of Burns's life and poetry, while the Glasgow Ballad Club published original ballads and lyric poems that the club members wrote.

¹⁵⁵ The only extant material I have located on the Waverly Literary and Drama Association comes from a programme for the 'Thirty-first Dramatic Entertainment', from which it appears that this club was solely for the purpose of staging plays. This programme is located in Glasgow Scrapbooks and is dated 30 April 1880 (MLSC, No. 29, p. 82, G941.435). The front cover states that the association was instituted in 1872, and that its then current officers included: 'Hon. President: Chas. Cameron, Esq., LL.D., M.P. Patrons: The Earl of Glasgow, William Holms, Esq, M.P., and Barry Sullivan, Esq.' The programme consists of a comic drama, 'Good for Nothing', a 'domestic drama' entitled, 'Harvest Storm', and a 'Screaming Farce' called 'To Paris and Back for £5.' There is no further information about the association itself.

¹⁵⁶ According to a later Post Office Directory, the Irving Club was 'under the direct patronage of Mr. Henry Irving [1838-1905, English actor-manager, born John Brodribb], devotes its attention to the study of dramatic literature and orchestral music [...] [A]mateurs and others interested in matters dramatic are invited to attend. Play nights are held on the first Thursday, and literary nights on the third Thursday of each month' ('Literary and Scientific Institutions', Irving Club', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1886-1887...* (Glasgow: William Mackenzie, 1886), p. 116). According to *The Irving Society* website, he was even awarded an honorary doctorate from the University of Glasgow ('Sir Henry Irving – Biography', *The Irving Society* <<http://www.theirvingsociety.org.uk/henry-irving/>> [accessed 20/06/17]).

¹⁵⁷ These included: Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association; Barony Mutual Improvement Society; Free St. Peter's Young Men's Literary Society; and Kent Road United Presbyterian Church Young Men's Institute (see Appendix III).

¹⁵⁸ This quote comes from a letter by the Editor entitled 'To Our Readers', and is dated 31 December 1870 ([Editor], 'To Our Readers', *Behind the Scenes. A Special New Year's Number of Blythswood Holm M. S. Magazine* (Free St. Peter's Young Men's Literary Society), January 1871, pp. 114-5 (MLSC, 321129, GO52 BLY).

Literary Clubs of the 1880s: Improving Women's Membership, and the 'Cultivation' and 'Advancement' of Magazines

Although most clubs and societies in this period were also composed of men, more clubs than in previous decades allowed women either as members or at least to attend some of their meetings. The Glasgow Montefiore Literary and Musical Society, for example, admitted 'amateurs (ladies or gentlemen) of literary or musical talent'.¹⁵⁹ The Scottish Society of Literature and Art boasted an international membership, and 'upwards of 200 ladies and gentlemen on its roll'. This society had varying levels of membership: '[t]he Society consists of Fellows, Members, and Associates. Fellows are those who have *distinguished* themselves either in literature or art, and must be duly proposed and seconded by two Fellows [...] Members and Associates are those interested in the objects of the Society'.¹⁶⁰ The Hope Street Free Gaelic Church Literary Society, however, was specifically for 'Young Men connected with the Congregation and such others as they shall choose to admit', which did not include women, but they did allow women to attend some of their meetings.¹⁶¹

Another change that begins to appear in this decade is the choice of language used in the stated objects of the clubs and societies. Only the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society and the Hope Street Free Gaelic Church Literary Society used the phrase the 'Moral and Intellectual Improvement' of its members to outline their societies' objects, with only the Wellpark Society prefacing it with 'Religious' improvement. With the exception of one other club in 1898, these are the only clubs who continued to include the term 'moral' as part of their club's rhetoric.¹⁶² The Bank Burns' Club and the Tam O' Shanter Club use almost identical language to outline their

¹⁵⁹ 'Musical Institutions', 'Glasgow Montefiore Literary and Musical Society', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1885-1886...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1885), p. 129.

¹⁶⁰ 'Literary and Scientific Institutions', 'Scottish Society of Literature and Art', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1887-1888...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1887), p. 117.

¹⁶¹ The society's 'Constitution and Rules' are printed on the back of a sextodecimo brochure for the 1891-92 session, which also gives the syllabus. There were a total of thirteen meetings during this session, six of which were indicated as being open to women (GCA, Records of Hope Street Gaelic Free Church, Glasgow, Bundle of papers relating to Hope Street Free Church Literary Society, 1889-1892, 'Constitution and Rules', CH16/3/11).

¹⁶² Amongst the materials examined to date in this study, the only other club that used the term 'moral' to describe its society's objects was the Dowanhill Society of Belles Lettres, which stated that its aims were to 'encourage intellectual, moral, and religious culture' in its members. The only extant material on this society comes from a brochure included a volume of Scrapbooks (Dowanhill Society of Belles Lettres, [Society brochure with Objects and Rules], in Glasgow Scrapbooks, Vol. 23, p. 234 (MLSC, G941.435). This society will be discussed further below.

objects.¹⁶³ Importantly, both clubs opted to drop the ‘improvement’ aspect, and changed this to ‘intercourse’. Instead of the goal of ‘improvement’, the Scottish Society of Literature and Art choose to describe their society’s aims as ‘[t]he cultivation of literature, music, elocution, and art generally’,¹⁶⁴ while the Glasgow Society of Science, Letters, and Art chose to promote the ‘advancement’ of these areas:

For the advancement of science, literature, and art, including music and the fine arts, by periodical meetings for lectures, &c.; for the reading of original and interesting papers; for the publication of important transactions; for the promotion of new works, discoveries, and inventions; and for the diffusion generally of useful knowledge.¹⁶⁵

This last phrase is of particular note, and makes reference to Henry Brougham’s Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK), a society whose aims were not dissimilar to those stated for the Glasgow Society of Science, Letters, and Art.¹⁶⁶ It suggests that while the SDUK may have wrapped up its activities thirty-seven years before, its objects were still very much in currency in Glasgow towards the end of the century. Thus it appears that George Birkbeck’s educational influence at the beginning of the century had a long-running impact on the city (see Chapter 1).

¹⁶³ Both clubs met to celebrate Robert Burns’s birthday and occasionally thereafter for ‘the cultivation of social and intellectual intercourse amongst the members and friends’, the only addition to this statement by the Tam O’Shanter Club being ‘the encouragement of Scottish literature and music’. Interestingly, information on both clubs’ objects comes from the *Post Office Glasgow Directory* but were published a year apart. (‘Associations Too Late For Classification’, ‘Bank Burns’ Club’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1883-1884...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1883), p. 128; ‘Miscellaneous’, ‘Tam O’ Shanter Club’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1882-1883...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1882), p. 124).

¹⁶⁴ ‘Literary and Scientific Institutions’, ‘Scottish Society of Literature and Art’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1887-1888...*, p. 117.

¹⁶⁵ ‘Literary and Scientific Institutions’, ‘Glasgow Society of Science, Letters and Art’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1885-1886...*, p. 116.

¹⁶⁶ The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (SDUK) was founded in November 1826, largely under the direction of Henry Brougham, who, along with George Birkbeck, George Grote, and William Tooke, formed a committee that became the SDUK, whose aim was the education of the working and middle classes through the production and publication of cheap educational books and materials. The society ceased to exist after 1848. For an overview of the history of the society, see Robert Stewart, *Henry Brougham, 1778-1868: His Public Career* (London: The Bodley Head, 1985), pp. 188-95. The object of the Glasgow Society of Science, Letters, and Art, as stated in the *Post Office Glasgow Directory*, has distinct echoes of the SDUK, particularly in the latter’s published ‘Prospectus’: ‘The object of the Society is strictly limited to what its title imports, namely, the imparting of useful information to all classes of the community [...] The plan proposed for the attainment of this object, is the periodical publication of Treatises [...] Each Treatise will contain an Exposition of the Fundamental Principles of some Branch of Science [...]’ (Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, *Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge: Instituted January 1827: Reports and Prospectus, 1829* (London: Baldwin and Cradock, 1829, p. 17). The objects of the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge* are also echoed in the collecting of ‘interesting facts of science and literature’ (*Ibid*, p. 29).

One final change occurs in societies' objects during this decade: two societies, the Scottish Society of Literature and Art, and the Glasgow Sunday Society, state that their clubs include (or at least encourage) 'high-class' concerts or music as part of their remit. Their stated objects make it clear that the inclusion of music of a supposedly superior standard and/or class was one means—along with literature and art—by which a form of cultural literacy was to be encouraged and cultivated. It is arguable whether or not this phrase was meant to encourage or discourage a potential working-class audience.

As with societies in all previous periods, most groups in the 1880s also met to hear essays read aloud, to engage in debates that might include joint debates with other societies, and for the conducting and managing of the club's business. Groups also continued to produce manuscript magazines, but the practice had gained pace since the 1860s: (at least) eleven groups were producing their own magazines during this decade.¹⁶⁷ The 'Preface' to the 1883-1884 issue produced by the Pollokshields Free Church Literary Institute offers some important insights as to the influence and models provided for their own publication, as well their own motivations for producing it:

We need scarcely inform our critical readers that our aims differ somewhat widely from those of either Addison or the ingenious youths who originated the Edinburgh Review, though the former we look to as our master, the latter's discarded motto of "cultivating letters upon a little oatmeal" we would willingly adopt [...] They also witness that the members are desirous – nay, determined, – to take advantage of the written, as well as the spoken, means of improvement in literary effort. In the latter, where the author reads his paper much, benefit is derived, but much also is lost. His position is ephemeral, & each meeting brings with it a new claimant for the ears of the members. So subject & ideas alike may become only dim memories, though brightened perhaps by the reminiscence of companionship, or may even entirely fade away before newer interests.

But this present form, appealing to the eye as well as to the ear, rescues what it contains from immediate oblivion & ensures at least temporary recognition. It may also however, if preserved, form a valuable criterion for the contributor himself to refer to, & mark his attainments at this particular period. It may shew what degree of literary merit has

¹⁶⁷ These groups include: Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society; Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association; Barony Mutual Improvement Society; Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society (Wellington Branch); Free St. Peter's Young Men's Literary Society; Sandyford Church Literary Association; Pollokshields Free Church Literary Institute; Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society; Glasgow Border Counties' Literary Society; an un-named group that produced 'The Magnet'; and Renwick Free Church Literary Association (see Appendix III).

attended the weekly meetings, & in other ways assist in carrying out the object aimed at by the Pollokshields Free Church Literary Institute.¹⁶⁸

While the use of the term ‘improvement’ may have declined, it continued to be used by this young men’s society. The importance of public speaking was only one part of the improving process. The ability to produce compositions was also an important element and was more lasting: a written record provided a form of permanence, and by its preservation could act as a yardstick by which improvement could be marked. Homage is paid to Joseph Addison (1672-1719), co-founder of the highly influential *The Spectator*, which was still seen as iconic in the late nineteenth century. In addition, the contemporary periodical, the *Edinburgh Review*, was equally admired, and its founders’ modest beginnings a reflection of their own.¹⁶⁹

Members of this literary society could have been working-class, but were most likely from the middle class.¹⁷⁰ Nonetheless, their literary aspirations were similar to aspirational working-class and lower-middle class groups: they also wished to improve upon their ‘literary efforts’ beyond their society meetings, and to preserve and mark their attainments through a manuscript magazine that ‘appeal[ed] to the eye as well as to the ear’. Contributions were intended to be read aloud, and the magazine’s visual format was meant to be aesthetically pleasing. Readers were meant to be critics and to read critically. Yet the Editors wished to frame the magazine’s reception by reminding readers that while they had lofty aspirations for their miscellany, theirs was a non-professional production with more practical aims.

¹⁶⁸ ‘The Editors’ [Wm. Anderson Jun., A. Brownlie, Wm. Jack, Jas. Morton, H. Smith, G. Thomson, R. J. Wight], ‘Preface’, *The Essayist. A M.S. Magazine* [Pollokshields Free Church Literary Institute], 2, Session 1883-1884, pp. I-III (MLSC, G97615, GL 285.2, 41443 POL).

¹⁶⁹ The reference to Joseph Addison refers to the influential journal he founded with Richard Steele in 1711, *The Spectator*. Although the journal wound up in 1712, its immense popularity continued for the next two centuries, prompting the publication of several hundred editions (Pat Rogers, ‘Addison, Joseph (1672–1719)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004). Online edition ed. by Lawrence Goldman, May 2015 <<http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/view/article/156>> [accessed 23 June 2015]). The *Edinburgh Review* was founded in 1802 by Francis Jeffrey, Sydney Smith, Francis Horner and Henry Brougham (for a brief history of the journal, see Joanne Shattock, ‘Edinburgh Review (1802-1929)’, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Gent and London: Academia Press and The British Library, 2009), pp. 190-91).

¹⁷⁰ A future more in-depth study of this institute and its members could help confirm this initial overview.

Pollokshields is an area in the south of Glasgow that was developed as an up-market suburb of the city in the mid-nineteenth century by the wealthy Stirling-Maxwell family. The Pollokshields Free Church was built between 1875 and 1878. For a history of the church, see *Pollokshields West United Free Church, Glasgow, 1875-1925* (Glasgow: printed by Kennedy, Robertson & Co., Ltd., [1925] <<http://pollokshieldschurch.org.uk/the-church/history/pollokshields-west-uf-church/pollokshields-west-uf-church-18751925.php>> [accessed 16/06/17].

Similarly, the Editor of the *Sandyford Literary Association MS Magazine* reminds readers that while reading critically, contributions should not be ‘viewed in the strong light of professional standards’: ‘Our aims and aspirations are high, and our endeavours always will be strenuous, but still that will not remove the disadvantages against which we strive nor the youthful inexperience under which we labour. –’¹⁷¹ On the other hand, he was well aware of the range of responses that readers could have whilst ‘perusing’ the society’s magazine:

[...] these few remarks are not to be considered in any way in the sense of an apology, for such is not in the slightest required. Our object is to profit by our experience as well as to gain knowledge for ourselves and impart pleasure or amusement to others. And the true intention of this short introduction is to prevent the reader, (if he should take the trouble to read these few lines), from hope which may not be realised.

[...] Every person into whose hands it may happen to come will doubtless make it their business to peruse it, to criticise it, to praise it, to run it down, or, it may be, to laugh at it. Profit, pleasure or amusement will thus, it is to be hoped, be derived from it and this should be remembered when a call is made for further contributions.¹⁷²

The Editor was well aware of his society—indeed of society’s—reading practices in that people tended to skip over materials that might be ‘dry’ or ‘somewhat tedious’: ‘[he] knows that every one is inclined to skip over the dry preface and get to the more interesting matter which follows, so he will not proceed further on a subject which must be somewhat tedious’.¹⁷³ Whether the magazine’s readers did in fact respond in any of these ways will remain a mystery: while blank pages were left at the end after the last contribution, these were all left blank.

¹⁷¹ [Editor], ‘Preface’ *Sandyford Literary Association MS Magazine*, 1883, [pp. 1-6], [p. 2] (MLSC, 642424). The members of this society were also members of the Sandyford Church. It is currently unclear if this refers to Sandyford United Presbyterian Church (inaugurated in 1873). A very brief history of this church is given on *The Glasgow Story* website (‘Sandyford UP Church, Glasgow University Library, Theology’, *The Glasgow Story* <<http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=TGSD00533&add=99&t=2>> [accessed 20/06/17]). According to a teacher’s guide provided by the Collection of Historical and Contemporary Census data and related materials (CHCC) ‘to introduce students to the nineteenth century census’, the Sandyford area in Glasgow was a ‘highly prosperous section of Glasgow’ from the mid-century, but was ‘falling in social standing by 1881’, having fallen into a ‘downward trend’. This was due to an increase in developments that were of a ‘lower standard’, and ‘dense tenements’ became more common in the southern section (‘Teacher’s Guide’, (ii) – Sandyford, *CHCC British History and the Census* <http://chcc.arts.gla.ac.uk/19th_Century_Census/information/guide.php> [accessed 20/06/17]). This guide, however, seems to be an example of ‘top-down’ historiography. The census information could be read differently: the second-half of the nineteenth in Glasgow was a period of unprecedented growth that resulted in a movement of people of all classes out of the city centre towards the West End looking for better living conditions. Members of the Sandyford Literary Association could just as well have been from the working classes as the middle classes. Future research on this society may help to clarify details of their membership.

¹⁷² [Editor], *Sandyford Literary Association MS Magazine*, [pp. 2-4].

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, [p. 5].

While society library-founding seems to have been more popular during the earlier part of the century, it was during the 1880s that the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society instituted a new Library Scheme.¹⁷⁴ While the Editor of the *Sandyford Literary Association MS Magazine* was aware of *how* readers read (i.e. by employing myriad methods), the Educational Department of the Foundry Boys Society was determined to set out precisely *what* books should be read (i.e. their own) and *how* (i.e. careful study). In the September 1886 issue of *The Foundry Boy*, the motivations for this new programme are given. The Library Scheme was to assist members in selecting the most 'beneficial', 'useful' books for the 'many [readers] who desired to instruct their minds', yet who might have been virtually assailed by the profusion of books on offer:

Of making books there is no end. Already the accumulated literature of our country has reached gigantic dimensions and each week sees some new additions to the whole. Even in the Book world the struggle for existence seems to be keen and to increase the sale of their productions, authors and publishers impress into their service attractive bindings, striking titles and in the last extremity—low prices. The development of printing has enabled enterprising firms to scatter broadcast over the world, at merely nominal figures, rich literary relics which a generation back were not to be purchased for their weight in gold, while the original compositions which daily issue from the press in this wonderful age are as plentiful as stars in the trail of a meteor. Nowadays books rudely jostle each other in their pathetic appeals to the popular reader. They introduce themselves under such names as "The Author's edition", "Popular edition", "Pocket edition" &c &c they thrust themselves in your faces at Bookstalls and Railway Stations, nay, under the guidance of colporteurs and Book Canvasers they sometimes invade the privacy of your homes.¹⁷⁵

In rhetoric, this distinctly echoes earlier nineteenth-century educators' concerns regarding books and unguided reading practices when literacy was becoming more wide-spread. The Educational Department of the Society saw books as potential causes of harm, and great care was needed to guide these uninformed readers of a later generation—those newly educated under the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act—to the best books which, helpfully, the Department chose to include in the Library Scheme.

A rotating set of books would be offered to the Society's branches, and for a small fee (1d per volume), readers no longer had to 'flounder' with the overwhelming burden of choice, but

¹⁷⁴ As noted above, the Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society appears to have had a library running prior to their new Library Scheme, but, to date, I have not found evidence for its founding year.

¹⁷⁵ 'The Library', Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, *The Foundry Boy*, No. 9, September 1886, pp. 1-2 (MLSC, 98783).

could hire those books ‘selected with much care’ to ‘carefully peruse’.¹⁷⁶ The Educational Department’s provision of pre-selected books was in direct response to the wider availability of cheaper printed materials of all types at the end of the century. This was by no means seen as beneficial by educators: books were assailants of new readers, and they could ‘thrust themselves’ upon them in public, liminal places (i.e. bookstalls and railway stations), and even invade their own homes. Foundry Boy members were encouraged to follow the new scheme in order to avoid ‘injury’.

Societies in the 1890s: Burns Clubs Build, New Women Members Join, and Socials Soar

The first trend of note in this decade is that Burns clubs account for 19 of the 38 (50%) of the societies during this period. While these are included in the quantitative and overall analysis of groups in this decade, they will be considered more fully in Chapter 3. In part due to their long-standing nature and in some measure due to the skew towards Burns clubs, male membership also predominated in the last decade of the century. Even so, the early nineteenth-century (albeit selective) practice of allowing women as members that was revived in the 1880s gained pace in the 90s.¹⁷⁷ Of the thirty-eight societies in this period, (at least) seven clubs, or approximately 40%, allowed women. This statement, however, should be qualified: only three societies allowed women to join (the Holyrood Literary Society, the Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society, and Dowanhill Society of Belles Lettres), while two societies allowed women to attend their meetings (the Debating Society of the Young Men's Friendly Society, St. Mary's Branch, and the Eastpark Literary Society). Finally, two societies in this decade were composed of and exclusively for women (the Scotch Girls Friendly Society, and the Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society).¹⁷⁸ This trend demonstrates a decided increase in the (official) participation of women in

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ As noted above, there is evidence in the early nineteenth century in Glasgow for women at least being admitted to literary society meetings, and perhaps being allowed as full members. In other parts of Scotland and England, notably in Dundee and Manchester, women were allowed as members in the 1840s. Thereafter, this trend would be reversed until changes were made in societies’ rules at the end of the century (see Chapter 6).

¹⁷⁸ In the case of the Scotch Girls Friendly Society, whether or not this society should be included in this study is debatable. As the St. Mary’s Branch of the Young Men's Friendly Society had a debating society, it is possible that the Scotch Girls might also have a similar society. The Girls’ Friendly Society is described as one of the ‘various clubs and societies set up [by middle-class philanthropists] to ‘save’ and to civilise their social inferiors’ (Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Girls in Britain and Ireland, 1800-1900* (New York and London: Routledge, 2012), p. 94). The National Archives provides a list of the records of The Girls’ Friendly Society, which are housed in London University

clubs of this decade. Formerly, only a small minority of clubs allowed women to join or attend their meetings, even while regularly allowing them to contribute to their society magazines.

The stated objects of clubs during this period also seem to have changed slightly from previous periods. With the exception of the Wellington United Presbyterian Church Literary Association, none of the clubs used the term ‘improvement’ as part of their stated objects, but the concept was still very much underlying their motivation even if the rhetoric had changed. The Dowanhill Society of Belles Lettres, for example, stated that their object was ‘[t]o encourage intellectual, moral, and religious culture by the systematic reading of classic literature’.¹⁷⁹ Of note in this statement is the prominence given to ‘intellectual culture’ over moral and religious. Many clubs founded and running earlier in the century would normally state (with some slight variations or omissions) that their objects were the religious, moral and intellectual improvement of its members in that order.¹⁸⁰ Similarly, the Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Literary Association wished to promote their members’ ‘intellectual advancement’ and ‘social intercourse’, along with a ‘knowledge of Catholic and general literature’.¹⁸¹

On the other hand, there was a decidedly secular tone to the Pollokshields Literary and Art Circle, whose objects were:

[t]o bring about a closer community of thought and feeling, a happier and more useful intercourse between members, and to encourage their literary and artistic talents by means of a monthly magazine open only to original contributions from them.¹⁸²

(London School of Economics, The Women’s Library). Included in list are ‘journals, magazines and books’ (‘Records of The Girls’ Friendly Society’, *The National Archives* <discovery.nationalarchives.gov.uk/details/r/9e3bee7a-6881-43ef-91e9-1ff7116b4f4a> [accessed 20/06/17]). I have yet to determine whether or not the Scottish societies were similar as, to date, I have not located any further evidence for them.

¹⁷⁹ The information on this society comes from an undated brochure which is included in a volume of Glasgow Scrapbooks (MLSC, Vol. 23, p. 234).

¹⁸⁰ The exception to this general rule is, surprisingly, is the Glasgow Young Men’s Christian Association, which stated its aims as being the ‘Intellectual, Moral, and Religious Improvement of the Young Men of Glasgow’ (‘Constitution and Rules of the Young Men’s Christian Association’, *Annual Report of the Glasgow Young Men’s Christian Association. For 1865-66*, p. 4). This organisation would change the order of their association’s objects to the ‘Religious, Moral, Intellectual, and Social Improvement of young men’ upon their amalgamation with the Glasgow Young Men’s Christian Association in 1877.

¹⁸¹ ‘Artistic, Literary, and Scientific Institutions’, ‘The Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Literary Association’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1899-1900...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1899), p. 174.

¹⁸² ‘Objects’, *P.L.A.C. [Pollokshields Literary and Art Circle] Monthly Magazine*, May 1890, p. 2 (MLSC, 891359).

The promotion of ‘intercourse’ or discussion, along with study was the object of the Thirteen Club, who met ‘for the purpose of discussing subjects relative to literature and art’,¹⁸³ and of the Sir Walter Scott Club, who wished to ‘promote the study of Sir Walter Scott's life and writings’.¹⁸⁴

As in previous decades, the meetings of literary clubs in this period consisted primarily of the reading of essays, debates, and joint meetings and debates with other clubs. The syllabus for the winter session, possibly 1894, for the Debating Society of the St. Mary’s Branch of the Young Men’s Friendly Society of Glasgow is a good example of the typical variety of essays read and debates that were held. Among the events offered, the members of this society would have heard a lecture on ‘The Brain and its Functions’, given by Dr. C. O. Hawthorne (18 October), a debate ‘That Parliamentary Suffrage should be granted to Women’ (8 November), a lecture on ‘Tennyson as an Onomatopoeist, Word Painter, and Lyric Poet’ (15 November), a debate ‘That the House of Lords should be abolished’ (6 December), a lecture on Jane Austen (13 December), and a debate ‘That Single Life is preferable to Married Life’ (27 December), followed by a Soiree on 28 December.¹⁸⁵

One notable exception to the more typical clubs was the Dowanhill Society of Belles Lettres. This society was made up of both men and women from Dowanhill Church, and was primarily a reading group, and a strict one at that, where reading was not only mandatory for a pre-set amount of time each day, a member could be fined for *not* reading:

Rules.

1. Each Member engages to read at least one half-hour per day, or, in all, three hours per week – Sabbaths excepted. For every half-hour missed in each week a fine of one halfpenny shall be paid to the Treasurer.
2. The books to be read shall be chosen by the Committee. Three books shall be chosen for each month.
3. Members shall read *at least* one, or part of one, of the selected books for each month, as agreed upon.

¹⁸³ The details regarding the founding of the Thirteen Club come from a manuscript letter from George Forbes Dawson to William Young (Dawson, George Forbes, letter to William Young, 29 December 1890, MS (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, [p. 21], 8a)).

¹⁸⁴ ‘Artistic, Literary, and Scientific Institutions, ‘The Sir Walter Scott Club’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1896-1897...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1896), p. 156.

¹⁸⁵ The syllabus for this society is given in a printed brochure for the inaugural meeting of this society, which was held on Saturday, October 13th [1894?], in the Burnbank Hall, 236 Great Western Road. This brochure is included in Young’s Scrapbooks (Young Men’s Friendly Society of Glasgow, St. Mary’s Branch, Glasgow, Debating Society, ‘Notice’ [society brochure with notices for the Musical Society, Improvement Classes, &c., and Debating Society], Young’s Scrapbooks, Vol. 23, p. 261).

4. The Committee shall arrange that a paper on each of the three books be read at a Meeting to be held on the last Monday of each month. Attendance at this Meeting is not binding, through desirable.
5. Each Member shall notify the Secretary at or before the Monthly Meeting that the conditions of membership have been complied with, and, in case of default, shall then pay the fines incurred.
6. Members of the Society shall consist of male and female members or adherents of Downhill Church.
7. The Annual Subscription shall be One Shilling.
8. The Annual Meeting shall be held in December.

Note.

Should special circumstances emerge which prevent the reader from complying with the above rules, the Committee shall have power to consider the reader's excuse, and, if satisfactory, exempt from fines.¹⁸⁶

The emerging trend in the 1880s for clubs to advertise the social elements of their repertoire became more pronounced in the 90s: the Wellington United Presbyterian Church Literary Association, the Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society and the Eastpark Literary Society included what were generally termed 'social evenings' or 'musical evenings' as part of their activities during the session. The New Literary Club, on the other hand, perhaps wished to emphasise their affiliation to older, more traditional literary clubs and societies, and the seriousness of their endeavours: at the initial meeting to discuss the club's formation and intent, it was agreed that meetings were to include debates and the reading of original essays, and they 'unanimously agree[d] that there should be no amusements or games after the meeting, and that the evenings be devoted to purely Literary Subjects'.¹⁸⁷

The number of societies that were producing magazines in the 1890s was almost the same as in the previous decade: at least eight societies (21%) circulated original work by and for their own members. I estimate that most of the contributors of the essays, poems and artwork were both male *and* female even though some of them were exclusively young men's societies (e.g. *Our Magazine, A Monthly Journal of Literature & Art*, which was produced by the Lansdowne Young Men's Christian Association). It is not possible to give an exact figure as it was common to use pen-names in these magazines. These do not necessarily indicate gender, and contributions signed

¹⁸⁶ These rules for the society appear in a printed brochure for the society, which is included in Young's Scrapbooks (Downhill Society of Belles Lettres, [society brochure with Objects and Rules], Vol. 23, p. 234).

¹⁸⁷ The first meeting of the New Literary Society was held on 9 September 1892 at 'the residence of Mr [Philip H.] Tod at 34 Glasgow Street' (MLSC, New Literary Club, Minute Book, 9 November 1892-19 January 1897, p. 7, 891047).

only with initials offer little assistance. The New Literary Club's magazine allowed members *and* non-members to contribute. This was not an unusual case as most of the magazines that I've examined across the whole of the long nineteenth century allowed non-members (often called 'guests' or 'friends') to contribute. But unlike many other clubs' magazines, the articles in the *New Literary Club Magazine* appear to include the author's real name. In addition, as was not usual with other magazines of this period, there was no space provided for reviews or 'criticisms'.

Thus from the survey of literary societies in the second half of the nineteenth century, the term literary—what it meant to these societies, and to you as a member—underwent further changes, becoming more malleable than in the previous half. From about mid-century until approximately 1870 (the second stage of development), your literary society could meet in a church, church hall, hotel, howf, or private home. Your (now) exclusively male group could be made up of members like yourself of the upper-working and lower-middle class, or perhaps the middle class. Your literary activities could include the secular and social (e.g. various Burns clubs, Glasgow Philological and Literary Club, and the Glasgow Ballad Club), resembling the dinner and drinking clubs in the early part of the century. Alternatively, you could be firmly pro-temperance, being a member of one of the many church groups that met for the purpose of mutual improvement, where earnest, 'serious' reading, study, discussion and debate were fostered, yet possibly framed by church directors.

The members could model themselves and their society after famous literary men (e.g. Burns, Brougham, and Macaulay). Alternatively their society could be a model of charity, offering benevolent support along with various literary activities like reading essays, holding debates and practicing rhetorical skills (e.g. county and clan associations). Their group might choose to produce their own manuscript magazine as part of your improving literary activities, but most likely they would have had to learn about this literary genre from other members (as seen in the case of the Albion Mutual Improvement Union), which was just beginning to take hold in the city. Regardless, their society activities would have a long-standing importance in their lives: in tribute, they might hold anniversary dinners years later, or write their reminiscences to publish in society yearbooks, local newspapers or journals.

From the evidence collected to date, the increase in the number of societies during the third and most dynamic phase in Glasgow's literary society development (roughly the 1870s until about 1900) strongly suggests that there was a connection between the founding of literary societies and

the passing of the Education Act (Scotland) 1872. It could be said that, at least in Glasgow, while legislation was being established to make primary education compulsory, there was a concurrent movement to improve the educational standards of adults through voluntary associations, which coincided with voter reforms that particularly affected working-class men in 1867 and thereafter. While the 1870s saw an increase in the number of societies from the previous decade, it was the 1880s, and particularly the 1890s that saw the greatest period of activity of literary groups in Glasgow. Young men and women society members during this period would have been amongst the first to have benefitted from the act. This increase could be taken as evidence of an increased desire across the city to improve literacy skills or indeed to develop and expand upon an existing skill set once the rudiments of education that were provided under the Act were obtained. In this way, and in the number, variety and scope of activities they offered, the formation and running of these groups contributed considerably to the education and literacy of the Glasgow's residents.

Society records from this period could be said to illustrate the complexities and anxieties of the *fin de siècle* not only in Scotland but across Britain in that these groups could be both progressive as well as retrogressive. Groups could be progressive in that many more voted to expand their membership to include women. For example, Newton Place Literary Society, based in the expanding, more affluent West End of Glasgow, had 69 members on their membership roll in 1886-87, 12 of whom (17%) were women.¹⁸⁸ The debates within societies to admit women reflected the wider debate on women's suffrage and the 'New Woman' during this same period. Similarly, larger debates on new aesthetics in literature in art (e.g. aestheticism and decadence), that included debates in the field of science (e.g. evolution and degeneration), were mirrored by a shifting in the language in which groups framed their discussions: societies' objects might still include improvement as one of their aims, but this did not necessarily include the religious or moral types, societies preferring to 'cultivate' or 'advance' literature, science, elocution, music, and the arts. Similarly, the literary was sometimes equated with the intellectual and the social (i.e. 'intercourse' or discussions, or concerts, etc.) in that order. This was accompanied by a dramatic, increased production and use of manuscript magazines as markers of individuals' literary progress often with the aid of collective criticism (i.e. readers' responses written in the magazines, or

¹⁸⁸ GCA, Newton Place Literary Society, Minutes, 1881-89, Membership Roll, 1886-87, Session 1886-87, Ordinary Members, Gentlemen, Ladies, CH3/1004/25.

criticism given in meetings as part of ‘magazine nights’ when the journal was read aloud). It was not unusual for young men’s society magazines to regularly include contributions by women.

Societies could also be decidedly traditional, even retrogressive in their ethos and practices during this period. For example, eschewing more modern authors and trends, Burns clubs—groups that celebrated the cult of Robert Burns and his poetry—reached their height in the late nineteenth century. But, interestingly, (at least) two Burns club dropped from their objects the central ethos of most nineteenth-century literary groups—‘improvement’. The Glasgow Society of Science, Letters, and Art’s objects also rejected ‘improvement’ in favour of ‘advancement’, but signaled their more traditional, conservative aims by using the SDUK’s own language in defining themselves. Two other groups, the Dowanhill Society of Belles Lettres, and the New Literary Society, also wished to ally themselves with earlier, more ‘serious’ types of literary societies. In the case of the former, mixed-gender group, a fee was incurred for not reading for the prescribed time, and in the latter, in opposition to the growing popularity for their inclusion, games were forbidden at their meetings. To be literary in late-nineteenth century Glasgow was a much more complicated affair in the dynamic environment of this period.

The Final Period, 1900-1914: Reading Literature in Glasgow’s Imbricating Communities

The last period considered in this study covers societies that were founded and/or running in the first fifteen years of the twentieth century. I grouped these years together rather than by decade as I found there were more similarities between societies that were running from around the turn of the new century up to approximately the start of the First World War, than those in existence before and after. The variety of literary groups is unmatched when compared to other decades in this study. This is, in part, due to my selection criteria and what I’ve defined as ‘literary groups’. There were numerous clubs and societies running over the long nineteenth century, particularly after 1850, with a similarly broad range of motivations or objects for their founding that could include mutual improvement that are not included in my study. Yet it does appear that a wider range of groups began to include the ‘literary’ as part of their society’s object or business from 1900 until approximately 1914, when the outbreak of war disrupted the existing conditions under which these groups thrived.

There are thirty-five groups in this period. The majority of them, a remarkable 57%, were specifically devoted to literature, with many of them focused on one author. Burns clubs predominated, and 15 groups from across the city were founded in the opening years of the new century. More broadly, this could be seen as a direct reflection of his popularity and ‘the remarkable urge there was to memorialise Burns in the final third of the nineteenth century and the early years of the twentieth century’.¹⁸⁹ Another possible reason is that their records seem to have a higher preservation rate, perhaps associated with Burns’s status as the national poet, accompanied by the zeal with which these clubs were founded and run, along with the (more) standardised methods of organisation and inter-connectivity (see Chapter 3 for further discussion). In addition to Burns clubs, there was the Glasgow branch of an international group dedicated to reading and reciting works by Shakespeare (British Empire Shakespeare Society),¹⁹⁰ and the Glasgow Dickens Society.¹⁹¹ Other groups that studied literature included those that focused on one genre, like the St. Andrew Society that met for the ‘encouragement of the study of Scottish history and literature’, or specifically Scottish poetry, as was the case with the Scottish Poets’ Club.¹⁹² Similarly, The Poetry Society wished ‘to promote a more general recognition and appreciation of Poetry by encouraging the public and private reading of it, and developing the “art of speaking verse”’.¹⁹³

¹⁸⁹ Christopher A. Whatley, ‘Memorialising Burns: Dundee and Montrose Compared’, [AHRC Beyond Text project: ‘Robert Burns Inventing Tradition and Securing Memory, 1796-1909’] <http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_183298_en.pdf> [accessed 26/06/17].

¹⁹⁰ The British Empire Shakespeare Society was founded in 1901, and their object was ‘to promote Shakespeare’s works throughout the Empire by co-ordinating reading circles, dramatic readings, and costume recitals’ (Susan Brock, ‘British Empire Shakespeare Society’, in *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. by Michael Dobson and Stanley Wells, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), *Oxford Reference, The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare* <<http://www.oxfordreference.com>> [accessed 14/08/17]).

¹⁹¹ The Glasgow Dickens Society met to hear talks on Dickens, but they also had a charitable aspect: they solicited subscriptions each year to raise money to give ‘less fortunate little folk’ in the city a Christmas dinner (MLSC, ‘Glasgow Dickens Society’, [society brochure], in Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 230, G941.435). Rather than ‘improvement’, this literary society wished ‘[t]o knit together in a common bond of friendship’ among people who admired Dickens’s works, and the charitable aspect is particularly emphasised in their stated objects, the second of which was: [t]o spread the love of humanity and to help in every possible direction the cause of the poor and the oppressed which is the key note of all his works’ (‘The Glasgow Dickens Society’, ‘Educational Institutions’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1908-1909...* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1908), p. 1778).

¹⁹² MLSC, ‘St. Andrew Society’, [untitled typed document], in Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 28, p. 16, G941.435; ‘Miscellaneous’, ‘The Scottish Poets’ Club’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1905-1906...* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1905), p. 186.

¹⁹³ ‘Educational Institutions’, ‘The Poetry Society’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1912-1913...* (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1912), p. 1818.

Five societies were associated with public schools or with colleges.¹⁹⁴ For example, two societies were formed as National Home Reading groups.¹⁹⁵ The Oatlands Public School English Literature Branch had a ‘commercial class’ that was offered on Tuesday evenings which included three main elements: literature; language; and reading. The prospectus for the school’s continuation classes included the following ambitious overview of the course:

ENGLISH LITERATURE. [...] **Literature.** – The work will consist of a review of the most characteristic periods of English Literature, and of the most eminent writers; the rise and development of the Drama, the Novel, the Essay, etc. **Language.** – A History of the Language from earliest to modern times. **Reading.** – A special work will be selected for study, and the Class will form a branch of the National Home Reading Union.¹⁹⁶

Having structured classes and guided reading of ‘the most eminent authors’ in ‘the most characteristic periods’, was also seen as essential in a commercial, administrative context, as the listing ends with the following notice: ‘N.B. – Pupils in Shorthand and Book-keeping will be expected to join this Class, for which no additional fee will be charged.’¹⁹⁷ The Camden Street Public School had a reading circle that was also associated with the national union. To appeal to the broadest audience, it advertised ‘[a] course of interesting Study will be chosen from cheap editions of popular educational works in Romance, Travel, [and] Biography.’¹⁹⁸ On the other hand, the Reading Circle associated with Napiershall Public School offered a non-descript as well as non-taxing course of reading for girls and women only, and was offered as a free bonus for attending other courses:

¹⁹⁴ Included in this number is the Glasgow Training College Literary Committee (1907-c.1923). Whether or not they were a literary group is debatable, but I would argue that they engaged in similar activities to other societies in that they produced a magazine (*Training College Magazine*), and ‘arrang[ed] debates and talks on literary subjects’ (Glasgow, University of Strathclyde Archives, Glasgow Training Committee records, 1907-14, JCE/23/2).

¹⁹⁵ The National Home Reading Union was formed in 1889 by John Brown Paton, and was based on the popular Chautauqua movement in North America. Its object was to provide a guided reading programme for all classes, but particularly ‘artisans and young people’ (Robert Snape, ‘The National Home Reading Union’, *Journal of Victorian Culture*, 7 (2002), 86-110 (90)). Snape provides a good background and history of the Union, along with an overview of other nineteenth-century directives to provide guided reading in response to increased literacy and cheaper reading materials.

¹⁹⁶ GCA, Departmental Records, Further Education, Evening Classes, Continuation Classes and Further Education, Prospectuses 1908-1909, p. 3, D-ED 2/2/2.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁸ GCA, Departmental Records, Further Education, Evening Classes, Continuation Classes and Further Education, Prospectuses 1907-1908, p. 3, D-ED 6/2/1.

Reading Circle. – The Women and Girls attending the above Classes are invited to enroll in another Class, where interesting books will be read and discussed. No additional Fee will be charged, nor effort spared to make the Reading pleasant and profitable.¹⁹⁹

Queen Margaret College also had a women's group or Reading Union, but this was a voluntary organisation associated with the college, and extended the formal course work in addition to producing an annual Yearbook.²⁰⁰

There was also a literary society whose parent body primarily engaged in social work (Toynbee House Literary Society),²⁰¹ while the Provand's Lordship Club provided charity of a different kind, being set up for the preservation of one of the very few medieval buildings left in Glasgow.²⁰² There were still societies founded through local churches, and four groups during this period fall under this category.²⁰³ Finally, there was (at least) one group that produced its own society magazine, or rather newspaper. *The Overnewton Whisper* was produced by the Overnewton Literary Club. This is the only example I've come across of a society newspaper the size and format of a commercial broadsheet, yet the society called it their magazine. In addition to Overnewton, five other groups from a range of organisations (e.g. a school, two churches, one social group, and a county association) produced manuscript magazines.

Much like the previous stage, to be literary in the fourth stage of literary society development in Glasgow depended upon the multiple, overlapping communities in which the

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, p. 7.

²⁰⁰ There are four extant issues of the Queen Margaret College Reading Union's Yearbooks (1909-1912), in which an overview of the Union's activities are given in introductory articles at the front (University of Glasgow Archives Services, Queen Margaret College Reading Union Yearbooks, GB 248 DC 233/2/16/7/1/1-4). In addition, Queen Margaret College also had a Literary and Debating Society that was founded perhaps a few years earlier (1898-1905). See Glasgow University Archives Services (GUAS), Records of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society, Draft report (M.B.J.), c 1898-1899, GB 248 DC/233/2/16/4/2, along with Glasgow University Archives Services, Records of Queen Margaret College, Glasgow, Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society, Meeting minutes with printed syllabus January 1899-May 1905, GB 248 DC/233/2/16/4/2.

²⁰¹ This society was the Glasgow branch of Toynbee Hall in London, which was founded in 1884. For a history of and details of the current work of Toynbee Hall, see their website ('Our History', *Toynbee Hall* <<http://www.toynbeehall.org.uk/our-history>> [accessed 29/08/17]). For a more detailed discussion of settlement houses during this period, see Lucinda Matthews-Jones, 'Centres of Brightness: The Spiritual Imagination of Toynbee Hall and Oxford House, 1880-1914' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Manchester, 2009).

²⁰² The Provand's Lordship Literary Club was founded in 1906 and met in this medieval house, and through subscriptions and various fundraising activities, raised money for the building's preservation. In the winter, they held meetings that included hearing talks about various historic Glasgow events and personae. Several volumes of Young's Scrapbooks contain articles on this club and its activities (see Appendix I for full list).

²⁰³ These societies include: Langside [Literary] Society; Queen's Park, St. George's United Presbyterian Church UK Church Literary Institute; College United Free Church Literary Society; and the Glasgow Jewish Literary and Social Society.

members were involved. Whether they were part of a church group, a public school or college student, a niche group that studied Burns, Shakespeare or Dickens, a member of a group that read poetry, or perhaps ‘popular works in Romance, Travel, [and] Biography’, for improvement, for study, or for pleasure *and* profit, there were numerous groups from which to choose. And they didn’t have to be exclusive: the records show that being a member of several groups simultaneously was not uncommon. The city’s population, and its readers and writers, had increased dramatically since the early nineteenth century. The range of literary societies those self-starting, mutual improvers (self-described or otherwise) founded during the early years of the new century was unmatched: there were more niche communities than ever before who employed this one umbrella term, literary, to represent manifold purposes. Being literary and a member of a literary society was a common aspiration—and publically-acknowledged qualification—of a newly-educated generation of readers and writers. Reading and writing were highly desirable social skills and activities, as was community formation in a city hallmarked by transition.

Chapter 3: **Glasgow Burns Clubs, 1844-1914**

Background

Burns clubs are an important part of the history of Glasgow's literary societies and the city's history of reading during the long nineteenth century, but are treated in this thesis separately. The decision was based on my archival findings, the results of which show that there are important differences between them and the majority of other literary societies during the same period. One difference is that most Burns clubs did (and still do) not have the same comprehensive, aspirational goals of various types of 'improvement' when compared with the stated objects of other literary groups in my study. For example, in 1884, the Strathbungo Parish Literary Association set out 'its object [as] be[ing] the Moral & Intellectual improvement of its Members'.²⁰⁴ To compare, the *Post Office Glasgow Directory* for 1883 to 1884 gives the Bank Burns Club's objects as being '[t]he annual celebration of the birth-day of Robert Burns; occasional re-unions for the cultivation of social and intellectual intercourse amongst the members and friends'.²⁰⁵ Although some Burns clubs did meet weekly (as in the case of the Bank Burns Club), bi-monthly or monthly, the activities of clubs were highlighted, or even solely defined by the annual Burns suppers in January. A second difference was that the close ties established between the poet and/or literature and national identity do not appear to be a defining characteristic of other single-author groups during the same period (e.g. the Glasgow Shakespeare Club, Glasgow Coleridge Club, and Sir Walter Scott Club).

To compare, the object of the Sir Walter Scott Club, founded in Glasgow in 1891, was 'to promote the study of Sir Walter Scott's life and writings, and encourage a more familiar acquaintance with the localities rendered classic by his pen'.²⁰⁶ It is debatable whether a 'familiar acquaintance with the localities' should be seen as being an acquaintance with specifically Scottish localities, with the club's object then carrying a nationalistic flavour. I argue, however, that their object is referring more generally to the practice of visiting places associated with Walter Scott

²⁰⁴ 'Constitution', minute entry, 23 December 1887, Strathbungo Parish Literary Association, minute book, 1884-88, p. 3 (GCA, Strathbungo Kirk Session, Literary Society minutes, 1884-88, CH2/1053/8).

²⁰⁵ 'Associations Too Late for Classification', 'Bank Burns' Club', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1883-1884...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1883), p. 128.

²⁰⁶ 'Artistic, Literary, and Scientific Institutions', 'Sir Walter Scott Club', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1896-1897...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1896), p. 156.

and his novels. This type of literary tourism became popular and attained a certain cultural currency in the nineteenth century.²⁰⁷

However, Burns clubs *did* resemble other literary societies in regards to their syllabi. While many clubs were formed with the object of studying Burns exclusively, on the whole, their syllabi demonstrate that this was far from the case, particularly at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. While there was a great deal of repetition and overlap in their programmes, particularly in regards to Burns suppers, there was also a surprising variety of subjects read and discussed outwith Scottish literature at the clubs' regular meetings (see below). While being decidedly 'literary' and more varied in nature than their objects suggest, Burns clubs nonetheless *are* different from other groups during the long nineteenth century, and are thus considered separately in this study.

Growth of Burns Club in the City

To date, I found evidence for a total of 54 Burns clubs that were running in Glasgow in the long nineteenth century (see Appendix II). Their history in the city began in 1844, the year in which the Bank Burns Club was founded, and the last year covered in this study, 1914, is the same year in which the Mosspark Burns Club was at least running, if not the year of its founding. These clubs constitute 32% of all literary societies during the same period. In general, the number of clubs founded during this time span rose sharply between 1870 and 1890 (see *Figure 3.1*).²⁰⁸ I expected to see a rise in the number of clubs founded around the time of the Burns Centenary (1859), but this was not the case (see *Figure 3.2*).²⁰⁹ The founding of two new clubs in 1872 coincided with

²⁰⁷ See, for example, *Literary Tourism and Nineteenth-Century Culture*, ed. by Nicola J. Watson (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

²⁰⁸ This figure only shows the first year that a club was founded. In twelve cases, a club was listed as 'dormant' in the *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory* for various years and was then subsequently re-listed in a later *Chronicle*. For these clubs, the year of their initial founding was used. The following clubs were at one point listed as 'dormant': Glasgow Southern Burns Club; Glasgow Hutchesontown Burns Club; Clydebank Burns Club; St. Rollox Jolly Beggars; Glasgow-Ardgowan Burns Club; Glasgow Northern Burns Club; Glencairn Burns Club; St. Rollox Burns Club; Glasgow 'Jolly Beggars' Burns Club; Glasgow St. David's Burns Club; Dennistoun Burns Club; and Bank Burns Club. Interestingly, with one exception, all of these clubs went 'dormant' in 1909, with Clydebank Burns Club joining this list in 1910. Similarly, with the exception of the Glasgow Hutchesontown Burns Club in 1912, all of these clubs were listed again in the Directory in 1914. It is unknown if there is any link to the First World War.

²⁰⁹ James Ballantine recorded that there were 676 celebrations held in 1859 in Scotland alone, and details are given of 23 celebrations of various size which were held across Glasgow (James Ballantine, *Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns* (Edinburgh and London: A. Fullarton & Co., 1859), pp. v, pp. 39-92).

the start of a movement to erect a statue of Burns in George Square, but there was no new activity in 1877 when the statue was finally erected.²¹⁰ There was, however, an increase in 1885, the same year that the Burns Federation was founded in Kilmarnock. In 1893, there was another increase in the number of clubs. This was the same year in which the Independent Labour Party was founded, but I have yet to establish whether there was a direct connection.²¹¹ In 1896, a rise in the number

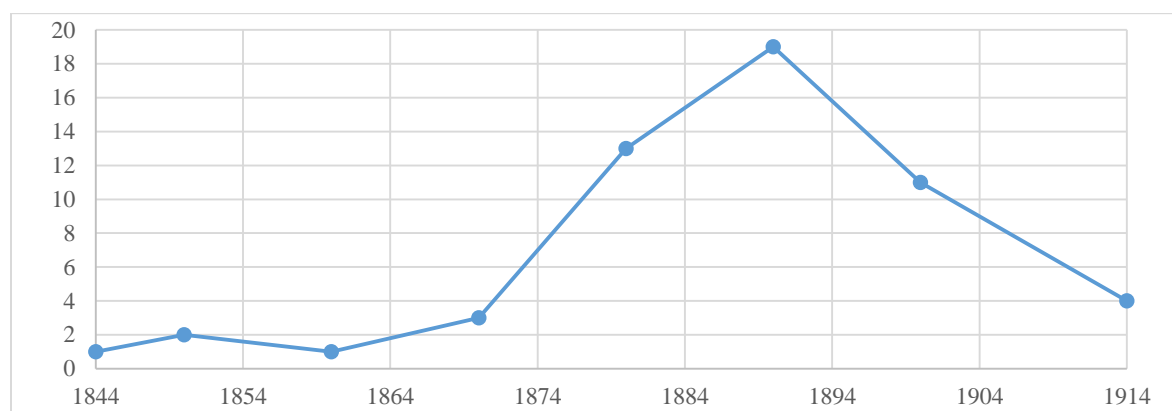


Figure 3.1: Growth of Burns Clubs Founded in Glasgow by Decade, 1844 – 1914

²¹⁰ James McKie reports that a ‘grand demonstration’ took place in January 1877 for the unveiling, and that ‘[i]t was estimated that not less than 30,000 persons took part in the various processions, and subsequent proceedings’ (James McKie, *The Bibliography of Robert Burns, with Biographical and Bibliographical Notes, and Sketches of Burns Clubs, Monuments and Statues* (Kilmarnock: James M’Kie, 1881), pp. 334-35).

²¹¹ Christopher Whatley emphasises the point that since the poet’s death in the early nineteenth century, ‘[l]ike Wallace, Burns was appropriated and manipulated, by individuals, interest groups, factions, political causes, and political parties’ (Christopher A. Whatley, ‘Robert Burns, Memorialization, and the “Heart-beatings” of Victorian Scotland’, in *Robert Burns in Global Culture*, ed. by Murray Pittock (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2011), pp. 204-28 (pp. 210-11)). Working class groups identified with Burns from this early period (e.g. Chartist groups in the 1830s and 1840s), thus it is plausible that there is a connection with the rise in the number of Burns clubs founded in Glasgow and the Independent Labour Party in the same year.

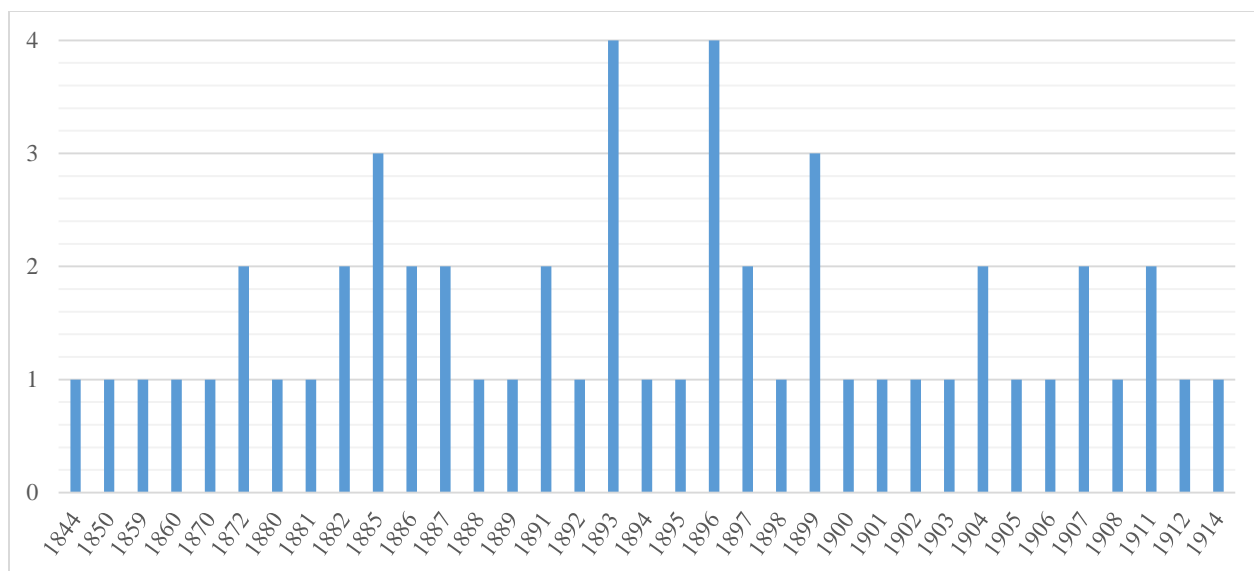


Figure 3.2: Burns Clubs Founded by Individual Year, 1844-1914

of clubs coincided with the centenary of the poet's death, and the year in which the Burns Exhibition was held in Glasgow. In 1899, there was another rise in the number of clubs being founded, but at present, I have not established a link with any event which might have motivated this. Generally, the number of Burns clubs in Glasgow increased, particularly from 1880, and rose almost at the same rate as all other literary clubs and societies in the city during this period (see *Figure 3.3*).

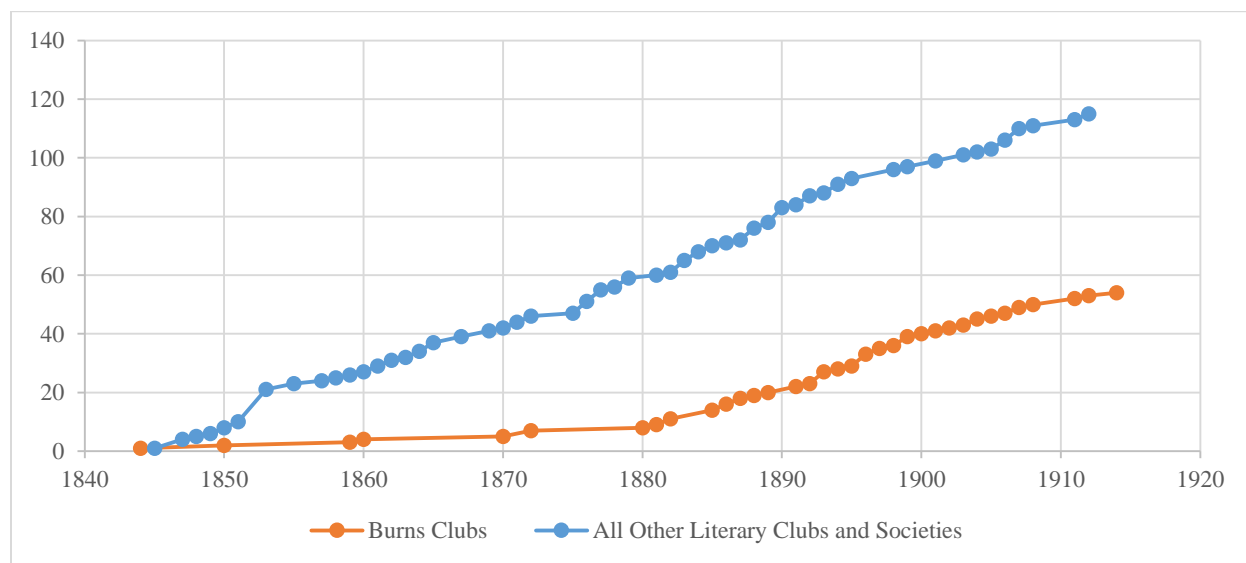


Figure 3.3: Cumulative Total of Burns Clubs and All Other Literary Clubs and Societies in Glasgow, 1844-1914

It was not only that Burns clubs in Glasgow were becoming popular in and of themselves, they were part of the larger phenomenon of literary society growth across the city at the end of the nineteenth century. Irrespective of the variety of their stated ‘objects’ and aims, literary societies of all kinds were essentially fulfilling a larger perceived need for these types of groups that cut across gender, occupation, and social class.

Club Development and Trends

In a similar manner to other literary societies in my study, I collected information on each Burns club’s stated objects, the location and frequency of their meetings, and the number of members reported for a given year. These details predominantly came from the *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory* and from club minute books, where available.²¹² Details of the locations of the clubs’ meetings were also collected as I had originally intended to assess their distribution across Glasgow. But while both the National Burns Club and the Glasgow Central Burns Club had their own club rooms and thus an established location, I found that the venue, most often being a restaurant or an institution hall, changed frequently for each club. Indeed, a club could meet in a different place every year (i.e. for annual meetings, using the *Chronicle* as a guide) if not more often. This could be due to any number of factors, but most likely was dependent upon space being available at a local restaurant or institution hall for that particular night, as many clubs used the same local venue for their meetings.

To accommodate this intra-regional mobility, future work might map the distribution of clubs and societies by parish and/or region rather than specific addresses. Most parishes in Glasgow had a least one Burns club, and Burns clubs that represented larger areas of the city (e.g. Glasgow Northern Burns Club, and Glasgow Southern Burns Club) which frequently overlapped these. Further, urban and rural networks might be mapped: the National Burns Club and Glasgow Central Burns Club, to give two examples, accepted members from across Glasgow and beyond, the former having one membership fee for town and another for country members.²¹³ In sum, there

²¹² In many cases, the club’s objects are listed as part of their ‘Special Features’ and listed in the ‘Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation’ for each year of the *Chronicle*’s publication.

²¹³ MLSC, National Burns Club, Ltd., Minute Book, No. 2, 1909, 891022.

was a great deal of competition, locally and regionally, for club members as well as for suitable places at which to meet.

While recording the total number of members, I did not attempt to collect the names of all individual members for each club as the list would have been quite extensive and ultimately unwieldy. Future work might also include a study of the membership rolls of selective clubs: tracing a group's demographics would allow for comparisons with other literary societies in the same parish to see if there were any distinctive demographic profiles of Burns clubs in that area. In addition, the study could help to shed light on the social networks that were formed between clubs, as some individuals joined more than one group, or could serve as officers for multiple clubs.²¹⁴

Formal Burns clubs in Glasgow were late to start and slow in their development. The earliest club that I found evidence for was the Bank Burns Club. Established only in 1844, it began 43 years after the very first or 'mother club' in Greenock was instituted.²¹⁵ In the 1850s, two new clubs were founded in the city, the Pollokshaws Burns Club in 1850,²¹⁶ and the Glasgow Carrick Burns Club in 1859. The Waverly Burns Club was established the following year, and would later become the Western Burns Club in 1872.²¹⁷ The club met monthly at the Waverly Hotel in George Square. They had a total of 44 members by December 1865, which grew to 61 members by 1871,

²¹⁴ To give one example, in an unattributed archival newspaper clipping annotated 'Tues. [?] 11/11/07', the events of a recent meeting of the Glasgow and District Burns Association are reported, the crux being that a resolution was passed to officially form a new club. Alexander Pollock was appointed as a co-vice-president of the new association, while concurrently being a member of the Rosebery Burns Club (MLSC, Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, p. i, 891709).

²¹⁵ James McKie reports that Alloway Burns Club was founded in 1801 (McKie, 1881, p. 310). This differs from the information in the *Annual Burns Chronicle & Club Directory*, which lists the year as being 1808 (*Annual Burns Chronicle & Club Directory*, ed by D. McNaught, XXIX (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, 1920), p. 220). The Greenock Burns Club nonetheless claims the distinction that it was the very first or 'the mother club', being founded in 1801 (*Greenock Burns Club Homepage* <<http://greenockburnsclub.com/>> [accessed 22/01/16]).

²¹⁶ The year in which the Pollokshaws Burns Club was instituted is inconsistent across all volumes of the *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*. The 1906 *Chronicle* gives 1850 as the year of its founding, the 1907 edition states that it was in 1865, and the 1896 edition reports that club was founded in 1886 ('Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1906', in *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, XV (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1906), p. 161; 'Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1907', in *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, XVI (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1907), p. 171; 'Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1896', in *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, V (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1896), p. 141). It is possible that the club was disbanded and reformed several times.

²¹⁷ At a meeting held on 26 March 1872, the club elected to change its name to the Western Burns Club (Waverly Burns Club, Sederunt Book No. 3 (391559)). The Western Burns Club is not same as the Partick Western Burns Club, which was formed in 1903.

the year before they changed their club name.²¹⁸ Most Burns clubs in Glasgow from 1844 until 1914 had a similarly-sized membership (see below).

Of the 54 clubs, membership information was available for 33 (61%) of them.²¹⁹ I divided clubs up according to the relative size of their membership over all the years in which this information was available, and the results are shown in *Figure 3.4*.²²⁰ I did not find any clubs with a membership smaller than 20.²²¹ Where information on club membership was available, I found that most clubs had between 51 and 100 members; there were a small number whose membership

²¹⁸ Waverly Burns Club, Sederunt Book, No. 1 (391557), p. 9; Waverly Burns Club, Sederunt Book, No. 3 (391559), p. 1.

²¹⁹ The clubs where no information was located on the size of their membership include the following: Auld Clinkum Burns Club; Barns O' Clyde Burns Club (Clydebank); Caledonia Burns Club; Caledonian Burns Club; Clarinda Burns Club; Dennistoun Jolly Beggars Burns Club; Glasgow-Ardgowan Burns Club; Glasgow Daisy Burns Club; Glasgow Jolly Beggars; Glasgow Hutchesontown Burns Club; Glasgow Primrose Burns Club; Glasgow St. David's Burns Club; Gorbals Burns Club; Govan Burns Club; Mossspark Burns Club; Partick Western Burns Club; Queens Park Burns Club; St. Rollox Jolly Beggars; Southern Burns Club; and Tollcross Burns Club.

²²⁰ The following Burns clubs considered to have a small membership were the following: Dennistoun Burns Club; Glasgow Carrick Burns Club; Glasgow Haggis Club; Glasgow Mossgiel Burns Club; Mauchline Society (Glasgow); St. Rollox Burns Club; Shettleston Burns Club; Springburn Burns Club; and Thistle Burns Club. 'Medium' clubs consisted of: Co-operative Burns Club; Glasgow Carlton Burns Club; Glasgow Northern Burns Club; Glencairn Burns Club (Glasgow); Govan Fairfield Burns Club; Kingston Burns Club; Kinning Park Burns Club; Pollokshaws Burns Club; Possilpark Burns Club; Royalty Burns Club; Tam o' Shanter Club; Waverly Burns Club; Western Burns Club; and Ye Govan Cronies Burns Club. The 'large' clubs included: Albany Burns Club; Bank Burns Club; Partick Burns Club; Rosebery Burns Club; and Scottish Burns Club. Finally, 'very large' clubs included: Bridgeton Burns Club; Glasgow Central Burns Club; National Burns Club; and Sandyford Burns Club.

²²¹ It is quite likely that there were other small, perhaps more informal clubs that did not seek to increase either their membership and/or their public profile in the same manner as other Burns clubs in the city, which consequently left little or no evidence.

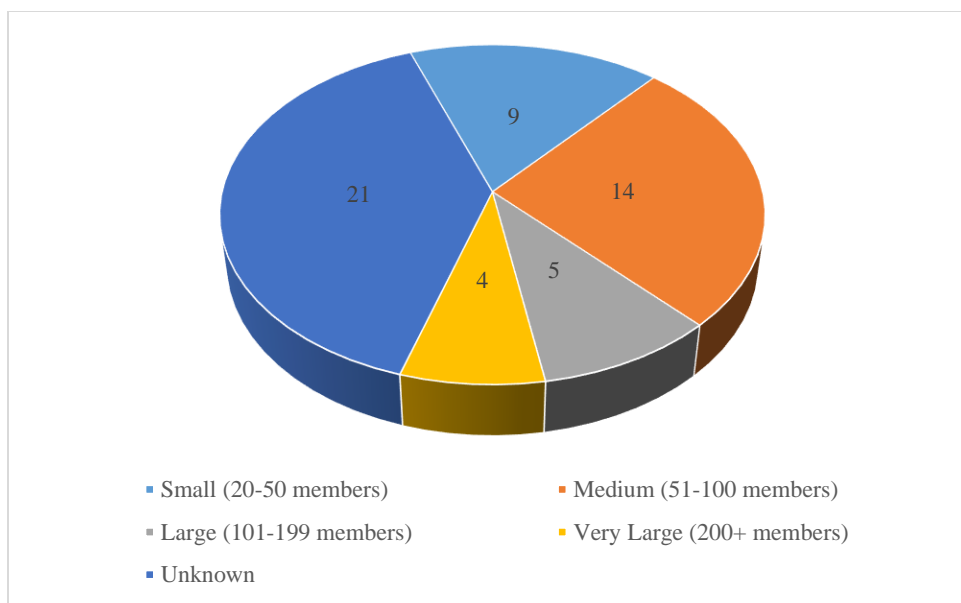


Figure 3.4: Relative Size of Burns Club Membership in Glasgow, 1844-1914, by Total Number of Burns Clubs

exceeded 200. The Glasgow Central Burns Club was the largest, having ‘approximately 300’ members.²²² The Sandyford Burns Club, while also having a large membership of around 200, decided in 1895 to make their membership unlimited.²²³ Most clubs chose to hold their meetings monthly, and a minority held ‘occasional’, weekly or bi-weekly meetings (*see Figure 3.5*).²²⁴ Approximately one-third (32%) of the clubs had no information on the frequency of their meetings.

²²² ‘Club Notes’, ‘Glasgow Central Burns Club’, in *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, No. XVI (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1907), p. 110.

²²³ ‘Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1895’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, IV (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1895), p. 179.

²²⁴ This statement holds true even for those clubs that changed the frequency of their meetings: the Glasgow Carrick Burns Club and the Rosebery Burns Club held their meetings weekly then switched to monthly meetings toward the very end of the period under study. These clubs were included under the ‘weekly’ category. Kinning Park Burns Club met twice a month then changed to monthly meetings in 1913, and was included with clubs that met bi-weekly.

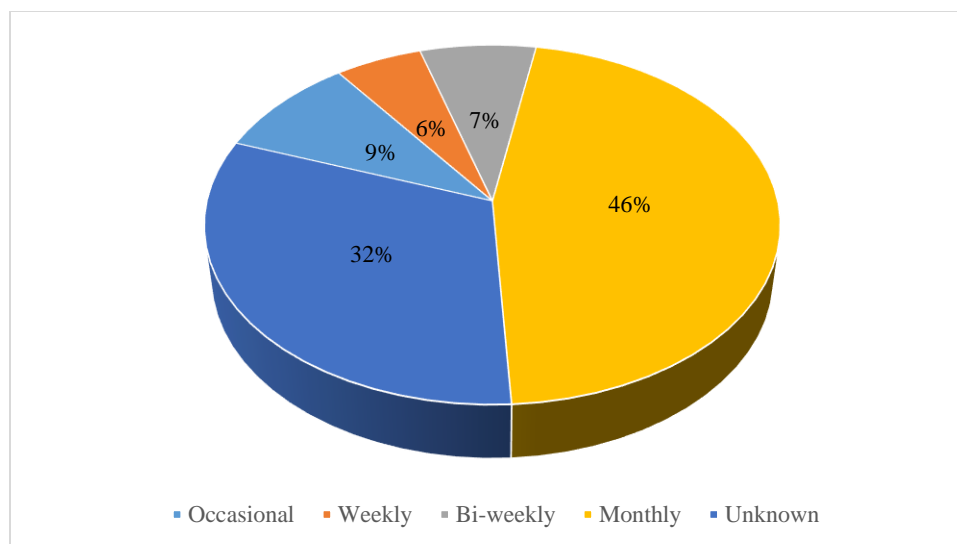


Figure 3.5: Frequency of Meetings Held by Burns Clubs by Percentage, 1844-1914

Clubs' Objects and 'Special Features'

Information on a club's 'objects' was available for 29 Burns clubs (54%). Clubs often submitted this information—along with the secretaries' notes and syllabi for that year's session—for publication in the *Chronicle* from 1891 onwards. Alternatively, this might be listed in the clubs' unpublished manuscript minutes, or could be available in both sources. I also consulted the Post Office directories for Glasgow to supplement these sources. Each club's object was then compared by decade in order to assess any changes that may have been made to their official stated aims, and to see if any changes might have occurred over time (see *Figure 3.6*).

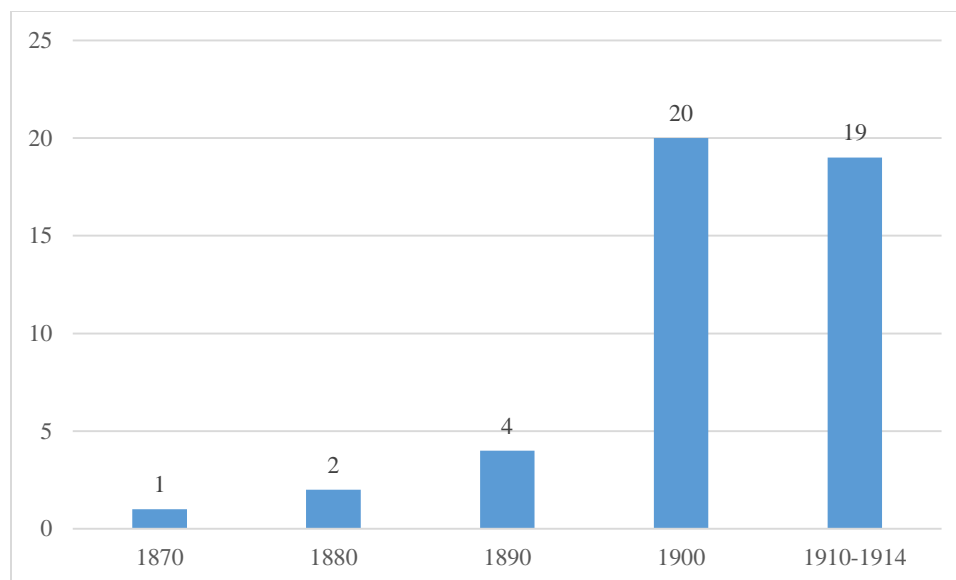


Figure 3.6: Availability of Objects and ‘Special Features’ of Burns Clubs in Glasgow by Decade

The majority of clubs (45%) between 1901 and 1913 stated their objects as including the study, encouragement, cultivation or similar of the poetry of Burns, while the next most commonly stated object was the study of Scottish literature without mentioning Burns’s works specifically. A minority (24%) consistently gave the study of Burns *and* Scottish literature as one of their objects. For example, the Bridgeton Burns Club listed this among its objects for 1870, 1910, 1912, 1913 and 1914. Similarly, the National Burns Club stated the same for 1905, 1906 and 1914. Other clubs like the Co-operative Burns Club promoted the works of Burns alongside ‘good literature’ and ‘allied literary topics’,²²⁵ or even ‘kindred literature’, like the Glasgow Carrick Burns Club.²²⁶

The differing emphases among Burns clubs suggest that even while the *raison d’être* for some club’s formation was the study of the poetry of Burns (as opposed to being strictly a social club, meeting almost exclusively for Burns suppers), his work was seen as part of the larger genre of Scottish literature or literature more generally. Rather than being solely focused on one poet, poetry or even necessarily one country (Scotland), I argue that these clubs viewed the study of

²²⁵ ‘Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1904’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XIII (Kilmarnock: the Burns Federation, January 1904), p. 143; ‘Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1908’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught XVII (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1908), p. 137.

²²⁶ ‘Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1905’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XIV (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1905), p. 148.

Burns as a component of the study of a canon of ‘good literature’, which was ‘allied’ or ‘kindred’ with what was considered ‘literary’, a term frequently used to describe the nature of club meetings (see ‘Subjects Compared’ below). Nonetheless, while Burns clubs were certainly literary clubs, they were different from other groups in the late nineteenth century as the majority were not ‘improving’ societies.

From 1882 until 1912, some Burns clubs (12%) intended those literary meetings to include the ‘cultivation of social and intellectual intercourse’. Two clubs did list ‘improvement’ as part of their objects, but both of these listings occurred at the very end of the period of study, in 1914. The Glasgow Primrose Burns Club aimed ‘[t]o promote the intellectual improvement of the members by means of essays, debates, and such other means as may be agreed upon’.²²⁷ Similarly, the National Burns Club’s objects included ‘social intercourse, mutual helpfulness, mental and moral improvement, and rational recreation’. The use of ‘improvement’ is significant: the term had largely ceased being used by other literary clubs and societies in Glasgow by the 1890s, and the term, along with the National Burns Club’s use of ‘mutual helpfulness’, is a deliberate reference to the earlier, nineteenth-, indeed, eighteenth-century ethos of reciprocity and cooperation within a group.

Although used by only a minority of clubs, when considered alongside other clubs’ objects that included ‘cultivat[ing] social and intellectual intercourse’, the use of the term ‘improvement’ raises the possibility of a regressive trend in the clubs themselves. I suggest that this might be the direct result of the industrial depression in Glasgow after 1903 which had become ‘persistent’, which was accompanied by political tensions prior to the start of the First World War.²²⁸ There might have been a wish to revert back to older, more established literary society models during this period of recurring economic downturns and instability. These factors did not seem to have had a direct effect on (at least) one club’s membership: the National Burns Club reported that

²²⁷ ‘Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation, 1914’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XXIII (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January, 1914), p. 224.

²²⁸ W. Hamish Fraser discusses the ‘persistent economic depression and a growing housing crisis after 1903’, along with other intervals of high unemployment between 1907 and 1910, and their collective impact on growing political tensions during the same period, which extended into the First World War (W. Hamish Fraser, ‘The Working Class’, in *Glasgow*, ed. by W. Hamish Fraser and Irene Maver, 2 vols (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), II, 1830 to 1912, pp. 300-351 (pp. 341-42).

‘although we have been passing through a period of industrial depression during the last year or so the membership is well maintained’.²²⁹

Burns clubs appear to have been active not only in their recruitment of individual members, but of whole clubs, often amalgamating themselves into larger associations (e.g. the Glasgow and District Burns Club Association, and the Burns Federation itself).²³⁰ While other literary societies in Glasgow were establishing networks with other groups at a local and sometimes a regional level (i.e. by taking part in debates, talks and social events with similar literary societies), Burns clubs were particularly active in pushing this to a national level. It may be that other literary societies also had large(r) networks, but we just don’t have as much evidence: unlike the majority of other literary groups during the same period, there are more extant materials on Burns clubs as they tended to utilise print culture as part of their clubs’ regular activities, which have also had the advantage of having a higher preservation rate, as discussed above.

Burns Club Meetings: Subjects Compared

The fact that there is more available evidence for these groups provides an opportunity to assess more closely what Burns clubs in Glasgow were reading, writing, listening to, and discussing over a fifteen-year period. Indeed, this was a sizeable proportion of the city’s population, and included both children and adults who formed close networks through their participation in these clubs. It was through their meetings, joint meetings, and recruitment patterns, along with the competitions they ran through local schools, that the stated objects and goals of Burns clubs were being achieved. While their primary goals were the promotion and study of Burns’s poetry and Scottish literature more broadly, they concurrently promoted reading (and more tacitly writing), which included public performance and singing. These elements can be assessed in detail at the start of the twentieth century, from which period the richest amount of materials are available.

²²⁹ ‘Club Notes’, National Burns Club, Limited, Glasgow’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XIX (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1910), p. 131.

²³⁰ For example, the Glasgow and District Burns Club made great efforts to promote other Burns clubs to its organisation: ‘The Secy. reported that the Rules had been printed & sent to 29 Clubs along with an appeal that they should join the Association. The list of Clubs was revised and Messrs Ballantine, Ludhope & Hunter were appointed a sub committee to make enquiries regarding Clubs’ (MLSC, Glasgow and District Burns Club, minute entry for 11 December 1907, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, p. 11, 891709).

The *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory* offers a unique source for evaluating what different Burns clubs across Glasgow (and beyond) were discussing by bringing together much of this information in one publication.²³¹ Beginning in 1901, nine years after the *Chronicle*'s first year of publication, some Burns clubs in Glasgow began submitting their group's syllabi for publication in the 'Club Notes' section, with the Co-operative Burns Club setting the precedent.²³² The syllabi in this section often list the date, the title or subject of the paper, and the name of the person who was to give the talk for each meeting in that year's session.²³³ I collected and compared this information to try to establish if there were any general trends in the subjects of the talks given to these groups.

It was not the case that the talks listed in the *Chronicle* were single, unique incidents. It was not uncommon for a speaker to give the same talk to multiple clubs over a period of years. This would argue against using the evidence of subject frequency as necessarily representing discussion by year. It could be just as likely that clubs needed to fill their syllabi every session, and the availability of speakers to fill them would decidedly have been a factor. This was a practice that occurred with some other literary clubs and societies in the nineteenth century as part of the culture of public talks and lectures more generally. Nonetheless, it does mean that the subject and/or speaker were sufficiently popular to give the same talk to different clubs and therefore their re-occurrence does reflect the broader trends in reading and writing practices—at least within a Burns-ian context—at the beginning of the twentieth century.

Starting with the 1901 *Chronicle* with the 1900 to 1901 syllabus for the Co-operative group, I compared the syllabi for the groups listed in the 'Club Notes' up to and including 1915, which included syllabi for the 1914 to 1915 sessions.²³⁴ Syllabi were available for various years

²³¹ James A. Mackay history of the Burns Federation also gives a history of the *Chronicle*. He states that '[f]rom the outset, as its name implied, the Federation's journal served two distinct purposes. It was to provide a medium for airing the latest scholarship on all aspects of Burns, both the man and his writings, but it was also to furnish a means whereby the clubs could exchange information and ideas, and keep each other informed of their activities' (James Mackay, *The Burns Federation, 1885-1985* (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, 1985) p. 77).

²³² The Co-operative Burns Club submitted their 'Syllabus, 1900-1' for publication in the 'Club Notes' section of the January 1901 edition of the *Chronicle*, which lists their schedule from the start of the session in October 1900 ('Club Notes', 'Co-operative Burns Club. Syllabus, 1900-1', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Burns Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, X (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1901), p. 106).

²³³ Burns clubs were similar to other clubs and societies in the nineteenth century in holding their year's session generally between October and April. However, some of the information in clubs' syllabi was omitted or left blank in the *Chronicle*.

²³⁴ There were three clubs whose syllabi did not specify dates for talks in a given session. These were the National Burns Club for their 1905-06 session, the Ye Cronies Burns Club (Govan) for their 1911-12 session, and the Kingston Burns Club for their 1913-14 session. In these sessions, the figures were divided equally between the years

from the following 18 clubs, or one-third of the total number of Burns societies in Glasgow: the Albany Burns Club; Bridgeton Burns Club; Carlton Burns Club; Clarinda Burns Club; Clydebank Burns O' Clyde Burns Club; Co-operative Burns Club; Dennistoun Jolly Beggars Burns Club; Glasgow Central Burns Club; Kingston Burns Club; Kinning Park Burns Club; Mossgiel Burns Club; National Burns Club; Rosebery Burns Club; Scottish Burns Club; Shettleston Burns Club; Tam o' Shanter Club; Western Burns Club; and Ye Cronies Burns Club (Govan).

I divided the titles and subjects of the talks into the following eight categories: Burns (biographical); Burns (poetry); Burns and other Scottish authors/literature; Burns and (an)other subject; Scottish authors/literature; English authors/literature; other; and original poetry. The results are shown in *Figure 3.7*. The talks most frequently given were not on Burns at all, falling

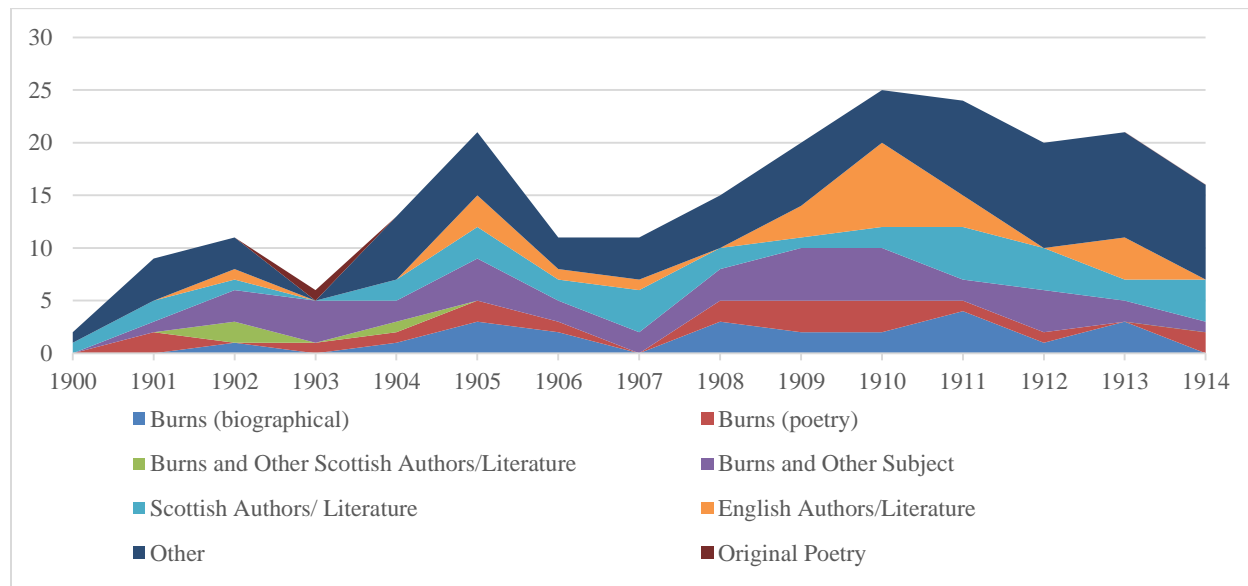


Figure 3.7: Categories of the Talks Given to Burns Clubs in Glasgow, 1900-1914

into the 'other' category, and include a wide range of subjects. For example, the Co-operative Burns Club's syllabi record that in 1901, the club heard talks entitled 'Social Reformers', 'Altruism', 'Labour in Literature', and 'Rev. Patrick Brewster: Chartist and Christian Socialist'.²³⁵ The

before and after. Burns suppers/anniversary dinners were not included in my comparative study of syllabi as they are, in many ways, extra-ordinary meetings and do not follow the same procedures and order of business as other, regular meetings of these Burns clubs.

²³⁵ 'Club Notes', 'Co-operative Burns Club. Syllabus, 1900-1', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, X (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1901), p. 106; 'Club Notes', 'Co-operative Burns Club. Syllabus, 1901-1902', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, XI (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1902), p. 121.

Rosebery Club heard a range of talks from ‘Goethe’ in 1905,²³⁶ ‘Origin and History of the Glasgow Police Force’ in 1906,²³⁷ and ‘Through Holland with a Camera’ with limelight illustrations in 1912.²³⁸ The least frequent category for talks across all of the clubs was original poetry, with only two, or possibly three talks given. In 1903, the Albany Burns Club heard ‘A Visit to the Land of Burns (in rhyme)’, and in 1905, the National Burns Club heard a talk which included an original poem:

Bailie Willox, who is the poet laureate of the club, as well as of the Glasgow Town Council, read an original address ending –

“Here let the spirit of our Bard
 Preside, and let his songs be heard,
 Till one and all, by love inspired,
 Revere his name;
 And spread the glow his genius fired
 In brighter flame.”²³⁹

If “‘Reminiscences of an Old Radical.’ Original Reading by Mr. Archd. Norval, Glasgow’ is taken to be a reading of an original poem, then the number of incidents rises to three during this fifteen-year period.²⁴⁰ Thus, while promoting Burns’s poetry, it appears these clubs did not similarly encourage the creation of original compositions by their members, or—with the exception of annual Burns suppers—their public performance at ordinary club meetings.

²³⁶ ‘Club Notes’, ‘Rosebery Burns Club, Glasgow. Syllabus for Session 1904-1905’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XIV (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1905), p. 107.

²³⁷ ‘Club Notes’, ‘Rosebery Burns Club. Syllabus – Session 1906-1907’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XVI (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1907), p. 108.

²³⁸ ‘Club Notes’, ‘Rosebery Burns Club. Syllabus – 1912-1913’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XXII (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1913), p. 145.

²³⁹ ‘Club Notes’, ‘National Burns Club, Ltd., Glasgow’, *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M’Naught, XV (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1906), p. 123. David Willox (1845-1927) lived in Parkhead, Glasgow, and was a weaver and iron puddler, who later represented Parkhead on the Glasgow Town Council. His reminiscences were published under the title, *Memories of Parkhead* (David Willox, *Memories of Parkhead, Its People and Pastimes* (1920)). In the 1906 *Chronicle*, Willox is listed as one of the club’s Directors (*Annual Burns Chronicle* (1906), p. 161). I am grateful to Kirstie Blair for pointing up Willox’s successful political and authorial career.

²⁴⁰ ‘Co-operative Burns Club. Syllabus, 1901-1902’, p. 121. Beyond the time range of the syllabi published in the *Chronicle* (1901-1915), the Waverly Burns Club recorded in their minutes for 25 February 1862 that the entertainment of the evening included readings of original songs by members William Miller and Mr. Cross, which were transcribed into the minute book (Waverly Burns Club, *Sederunt Book*, No. 1 (391557)).

While the provision of a platform for talks on Burns's poetry was central to clubs' stated objects, there were actually more talks given on Burns in relation to 'other' subjects. For example, talks were heard on 'Burns and Religion',²⁴¹ 'Burns as a Politician',²⁴² and 'Burns and Commercialism',²⁴³ with the least number of occurrences in the category 'Burns and other Scottish authors/literature'. The number of talks given on the poet himself were in the minority when compared to all other subjects combined, and they even decreased toward the end of the period (see *Figure 3.8*).

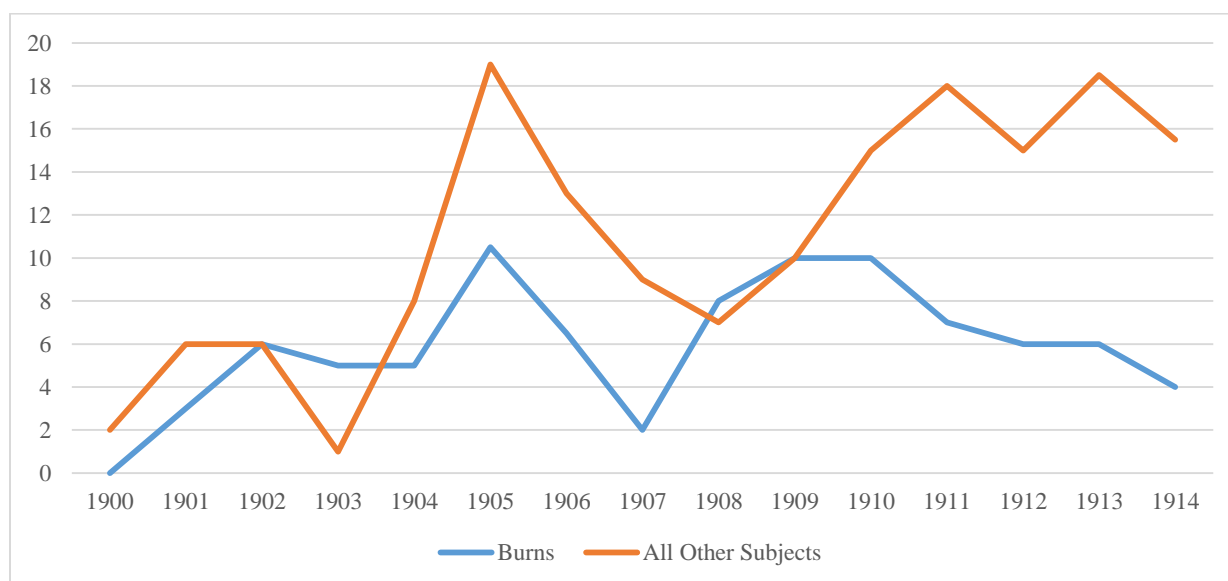


Figure 3.8: Talks on Burns Compared with Talks on All Other Subjects, 1900-1914

To compare, if all Burns categories, and Scottish authors and literature are separated out to reflect the two most commonly stated elements of promotion in clubs' objects, the aims of the clubs appear to have been carried out, and are in line with their goals: while talks on other subjects still predominate, those on Burns and Scottish literature constitute a sizeable proportion in most years (see *Figure 3.9*). However, as *Figure 3.7* demonstrates, the number of talks on *English* authors and literature is second only to talks on all 'other' subjects. It appears that literature, in its most comprehensive sense, regardless of genre or nationality, was the predominant theme of all

²⁴¹ 'Club Notes', 'Albany Burns Club. Syllabus, 1901-1902', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, XI (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1902), p. 122.

²⁴² 'Club Notes', 'Rosebery Burns Club. Syllabus for Session 1902-1903', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, XII (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1903), p. 115.

²⁴³ 'Club Notes', 'Clydebank Burns o' Clyde Burns Club. Syllabus - 1912-1913', *Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory*, ed. by D. M'Naught, XXII (Kilmarnock: The Burns Federation, January 1913), p. 150.

the talks given across the clubs for every year with the exception of 1900, and demonstrate what might be expected in a ‘literary’ club (see *Figure 3.10*).²⁴⁴

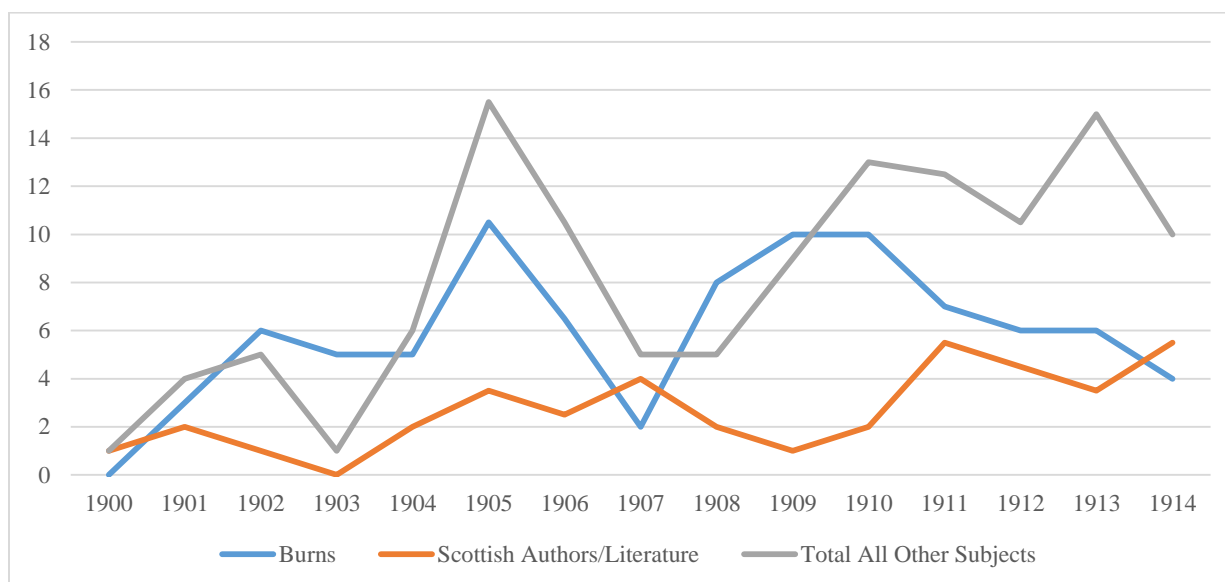


Figure 3.9: Burns Subjects, Scottish Authors and/or Literature, and All Other Subjects, 1900-1914

²⁴⁴ Outwith Burns and his poetry, Scottish authors and literature along with English authors and literature, and other international authors and genres were all the subjects of talks given to various clubs across the period. These included: George Beattie; Pierre-Jean de Béranger; ‘Bothy Songs of Aberdeen, Banff, and Moray’; ‘Bothy Songs of Scotland’; John Brown; George Buchanan; Lord Byron; ‘Chaucer and His Pilgrims’; William Cowper; George Brown Douglas’s ‘The House with the Green Shutters’; drama; William Dunbar; Edgar Allan Poe; ‘English Minstrelsy’; Robert Fergusson; the novels of Susan Edmonstone Ferrier; ‘French Wit and Humour’; John Graham of Claverhouse, 1st Viscount Dundee; Goethe; David Gray; Janet Hamilton; *Hamlet*; W. E. Henley; the history of Scottish literature; Tom Hood; ‘Humorous Verse and Parody’; Irish poetry; ‘Irish Wit and Scotch Humour’; James I; Samuel Johnson; Kailyard Literature; John Keats; Charles Kingsley; Charles Lamb; ‘The Literary Instincts of the Scottish People’; ‘A little talk on three kinds of humour -- Macawber, Swiveller, and Weller’; *Macbeth*; the ‘minor poets’; Thomas Moore; William Morris; *Much Ado About Nothing*; Neil Munro; ‘Lady Nairne and her Songs’; *Ollapodrida*, Nos. 2 and 3; ‘Peasant Poets of Other Lands’; pre-Shakespearean drama; Allan Ramsay; ‘Realism in the Poetry of Scotland’; Dante Gabriel Rossetti’s ‘The King’s Tragedy’; John Ruskin; ‘Scotland’s Bards’; Walter Scott; Scottish songs and ballads; Scottish poets; William Shakespeare; Alexander Smith; *Songs of Solomon*; Robert Louis Stevenson; *The Tempest*; the theatre; ‘The weariness of books’; and Oscar Wilde.

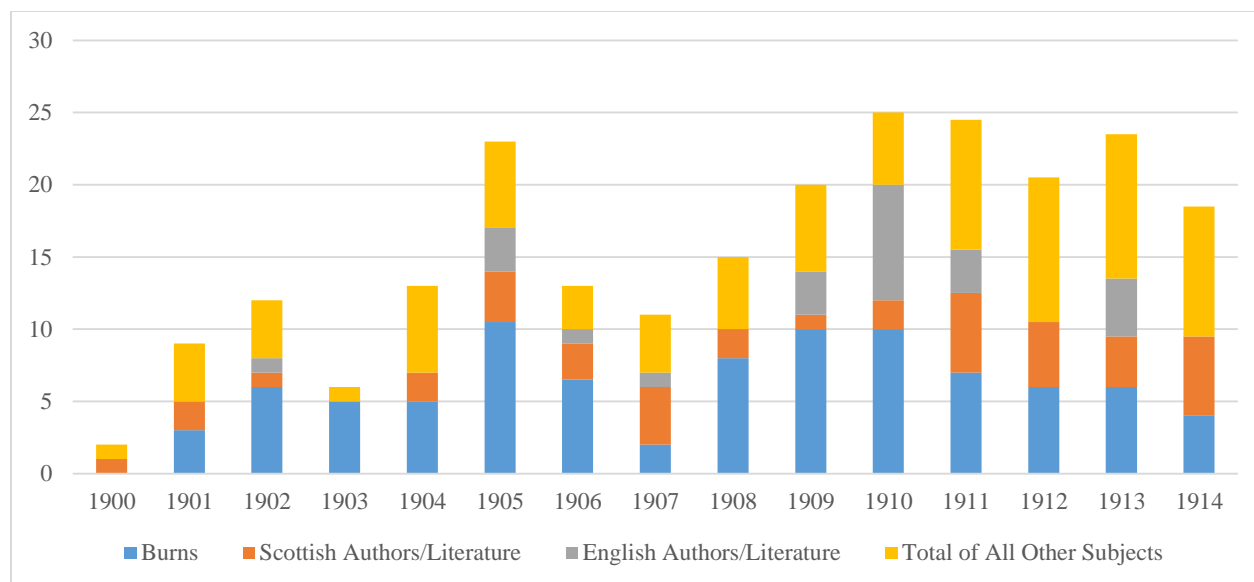


Figure 3.10: Burns Subjects, Scottish Authors/Literature, English Authors/Literature, and All Other Subjects Compared, 1900-1914

Without similarly detailed information from Burns clubs for the second half of the nineteenth century, it is unknown if these trends represent an established tradition of similarly-themed talks in comparable proportions, or if this more accurately could be said to be a snapshot of the state of Burns clubs in Glasgow just prior to the First World War. If the slightly more traditional tone, or what could be seen as a regressive trend in the clubs' stated objects, are used as a marker for the subjects of the talks given to clubs (as discussed above), the trends exhibited between 1900 and 1914 might in fact be different from previous years. The subjects of the talks at the start of the twentieth century might be a deliberate allusion to the established ethos of the earlier, established tradition set by literary societies in Glasgow during the nineteenth century whose goals included various forms of 'improvement', and whose debates and discussions were multifarious.

Burns Clubs and Scottish Nationalism

One of the most defining characteristics of the Burns clubs which sets them apart from other clubs and societies in this study is the close association of the promotion of Robert Burns and Scottish nationalism. For example, the Tam O'Shanter Burns Club's objects included 'the annual celebration of the birth-day of Robert Burns; occasional re-unions for the cultivation of social and

intellectual intercourse amongst the members; and the encouragement of Scottish literature and music'.²⁴⁵ Similarly, a concert programme for the Rosebery Burns Club's 'Gold Medal Competition' given on 28 March 1907 explains that:

[t]he Club has, since its inception, encouraged the study of Scottish Literature and Songs by Lectures and Concerts, and providing Prizes and Judges for Competitions amongst Children attending Bands of Hope. **The Gold Medal Competition for Ladies and Gentlemen (Amateurs)**, has been promoted with the object of encouraging the study of the beautiful songs and melodies found in the **Auld Scots Songs**, which are unequalled in any language.²⁴⁶

While the club was founded for the purpose of the study and promotion of Burns, by the early twentieth century, their objects had expanded to a more general advocacy of 'the study of Scottish Literature and Songs' that were composed using the traditional 'Auld Scots' which were 'unequalled in any language'.

Clubs emphasised Burn's 'Scottishness', and reference is frequently made to him as the national poet. All elements of his life and his works are studied, and particular emphasis is placed on his movements and associations with various places throughout lowland Scotland, these frequently featuring as popular subjects to contest and debate. Burn's 'Scottishness' was firmly tied to the geographical, both local and specific, as well as to a more intangible but equally charged national ethos. Just from the evidence of the Burns clubs in Glasgow, it appears that this ethos was a complex, multi-layered nationalism.

This might be illustrated through the different kinds of Burns clubs that were running in the late nineteenth century, which I categorise into three types. The first type included the informal clubs that were more or less social groups. The second type included more formal groups that applied and obtained the official sanction of the Burns Federation (see below), and enjoyed various benefits of that umbrella organisation. Lastly, there was the Burns Federation itself. All of these groups were formed within the communities in which they were held, and while they could be named after a Burns' poem (e.g. the Tam O'Shanter club), they were more likely to be named

²⁴⁵ 'Miscellaneous', 'Tam O' Shanter Club', *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1882-1883...* (Glasgow: William MacKenzie, 1882), p. 124. Interestingly, this club's objects are almost verbatim of those of the Bank Burns Club, whose objects were listed in the *Post Office Directory* of the previous year (see above).

²⁴⁶ MLSC, 'Rosebery Burns Club. Gold Medal Competition for Amateurs', Concert Programme, 28 March 1907, in Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 217, G941.435.

according to the local areas, parish, or presumably the name of the company for which its members worked (e.g. the Glasgow Northern Burns Club, the St. Rollox Burns Club, and the Co-operative Burns Club). In organising and naming themselves thus, these clubs were, arguably, in effect emphasising the importance of their local and community ties.

On the other hand, the Burns Federation (now the Robert Burns World Federation) was founded in 1885 and is still based in Kilmarnock.²⁴⁷ Its first objective was '[t]o strengthen and consolidate the bond of fellowship existing among the members of the Burns Clubs and kindred societies by universal affiliation'.²⁴⁸ While originally made up of clubs from western and central Scotland, by 1900, the organisation was an international one, and had clubs in Canada, the United States, Ireland, England, Australia and New Zealand, illustrating the extent of the Scottish diaspora. The need to 'consolidate the bond of fellowship...by universal affiliation' could be translated as a need to extend the local, communal ties to regional and even international ones, where the cult of Burns was promoted alongside the Scottish nationalism with which he was bound up. While some clubs were never more than local, social clubs and never sought to become federated, many, like the Glasgow and District Burns Club, saw the affiliation as an essential part of how their club defined itself. It was during the 1850s to the 1890s that Scottish nationalism reached its 'high water mark' in that century, and, as Christopher A. Whatley suggests, it was probably not a coincidence that it was also the height of the period when Burns statues and memorials were being erected across Scotland:²⁴⁹ 'Burns, it seems, had in the century following his death, acted as a prompt to intensify the expression of a series of shared values and convictions within Scottish society'.²⁵⁰ I argue that the consolidation of a shared national ethos through Burns, its cardinal representative, was also reflected in the drive to consolidate local and regional Burns clubs into national and international ones during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

A Club's a Club for a' That

Considered solely within the context of Burns clubs in Glasgow, what it meant to be literary to a male club member in the city would have involved the consumption of Burns poems and

²⁴⁷ *Robert Burns World Federation* Homepage <<http://www.rbwf.org.uk/>> [accessed 02 October 2015].

²⁴⁸ 'Objects of the Federation', *Annual Burns Chronicle & Club Directory*, 16 (January 1907) p. 19.

²⁴⁹ Whatley, pp. 4-5.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 3-4.

engagement in the Burns cult, alongside the consumption of Scottish literature more generally (among other materials), which was associated with the exhibition of a heightened Scottish nationalism during the second half of the nineteenth century. As I've suggested in the case of some Burns clubs like the Glasgow Northern Burns Club and St. Rollox Burns Club, this nationalism could be just as much a reflection of local allegiances. Through the establishment of networks with other groups on a local, national and international level, Burns clubs formed overlapping communities of readers that supported and reinforced these multi-layered Scottish identities.

But the evidence from these clubs also shows that English authors were regularly part of these seemingly sole purpose clubs' syllabi, and that they were part of the more general consumption of what constituted 'good literature'. The similarity of Burns clubs' eclectic programmes to those of other nineteenth-century literary societies not only across Glasgow and the rest of Scotland, but even in England (and beyond), would argue against any particularly Burns-ian or even Scottish way of consuming texts. I argue it was the consumption of Burns poems—along with a range of other materials, including those written by English authors—within the context of a Burns club, and through the engagement with other members, that helped to shape their Burns-based, thus Scottish-centric, interpretive communities. Thus, participation in Burns clubs helped to foster a particular way of consuming texts, in this case, in clubs that happened to be formed and based in Glasgow, Scotland. I contend that club membership and engagement in its communal reading practices make up one—albeit, crucial—part of a particularly Scottish way of reading and writing.

Club formation was in fact acknowledged to be a particularly Scottish trait in the eighteenth and nineteenth century historical sources, which reported Scottish people as being 'clannish': 'the clannish nature of the Scots has long since been singled out as a prominent characteristic, particularly of Highland Scots, though it is often applied more broadly to the Scots as a whole.'²⁵¹ This characteristic is the focus of Tanja Buelmann's compelling book, *Clubbing Together*, in which she demonstrates the propensity of the Scottish diaspora to form clubs and societies in the communities in which they settled:

[...] while the Scots' case was not exceptional in the general matrix of ethnic associational culture in diaspora, they deserve particular attention because they were its original

²⁵¹ Tanja Buelmann, *Clubbing Together: Ethnicity, Civility and Formal Sociability in the Scottish Diaspora to 1930* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014), p. 1.

facilitators in many a place of settlement, spearheading the development of ethnic clubs and societies in diverse locations around the globe. This was the case too because of the way in which Scots utilized their ethnicity actively: the idea that they were ‘clannish’ was not simply one they were ascribed by others. They were agents in the making of their collective identity, utilizing and actively employing ‘clannishness’ in a broad sense – one aptly described by [Malcolm] Prentis [2008] as a ‘mutual attachment’ with fellow Scots. Such active agency in collective identity making is a fundamental point of difference to migrant groups whose identity is largely determined by outsiders: active agency vests definatory power with the ethnic group itself rather than others.²⁵²

The point I wish to stress here is that the Scots did not just form their own associations when they emigrated, but rather that this characteristic was a trait that *already existed* in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries within Scotland. With the rise of industrialisation and the mobilisation of large numbers of the population to urban areas, the Scots formed clubs and societies in the cities in which they settled. As I’ve shown in Chapter 2, Glasgow serves as a case in point of the large scale at which this was practiced over the course of the long nineteenth century.

As I will show in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, the manuscript magazines that were produced by other types of literary societies in Scotland *and* England (and beyond) help complete—and complicate—the picture. The use of manuscript magazines for ‘improvement’ in the nineteenth century possibly even began in Scotland. From the evidence I collected to date, with the *exception* of Burns clubs and other single-author groups, in Britain, manuscript magazine production appears to be a predominantly Scottish phenomenon that demonstrates that literary society members utilised the opportunity these periodicals gave to express themselves creatively through various media. This genre was embraced by societies in Glasgow particularly in the late nineteenth century, and as I will show, the trend for manuscript production largely by societies in the city and groups across Scotland from the early nineteenth century could be seen as another particularly Scottish trait in the consumption of texts within a culture of ‘improvement’ during the long nineteenth century.

²⁵² *Ibid*, p. 4.

Chapter 4:
**Case Study 1: ‘The Manuscript Magazines of the Wellpark
 Free Church Young Men’s Literary Society’²⁵³**

Introduction

This case study examines the three extant manuscript magazines produced by the Wellpark Free Church Young Men’s Literary Society, one of many similar types of clubs and societies in Glasgow throughout the nineteenth century formed for the purpose of ‘mutual improvement’, which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. The society’s magazines provide useful tools to book historians and historians of reading. They gave members a chance to practice and develop their style, penmanship, and skills in writing essays and poetry, and an opportunity to display their artwork, offering a platform for their work to be critically assessed by their peers. Members’ contributions—along with the peer criticisms that immediately follow—offer a wealth of information on various aspects of late-Victorian life more generally.

These magazines are an unexamined source of information on reading in historic communal groups, with first-hand evidence demonstrating ‘reception as a collaborative process’.²⁵⁴ Criticisms in the Wellpark society’s magazines are used here to analyse readers’ responses employing the ‘folk stylistics’ methodology.²⁵⁵ The results differ in significant ways from Halsey’s study of readers in the long nineteenth century, which I suggest occurs as the result of communal reading practices which were framed by the voluntary associational life of this group.

Manuscript magazines were produced by literary societies in Scotland, England and North America (at least), but, remarkably, this is a genre that has not yet been studied.²⁵⁶ As Altick notes (see Chapter 1), the production of original essays and poetry to be shared with fellow society

²⁵³ This chapter was previously published in *Media and Print Culture Consumption in Nineteenth-Century Britain: The Victorian Reading Experience*, and includes an additional overview of previous research in the field, which is now included in this thesis in Chapter 1 (see Weiss, ‘The Manuscript Magazines of the Wellpark Free Church Young Men’s Literary Society’ (2016)). Minor amendments have been made here to refer to other chapters in the thesis, and include updated information on my research on manuscript magazines in Scotland and England since the time of publication.

²⁵⁴ Stephen Colclough, *Consuming Texts: Readers and Reading Communities, 1695-1870* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 118.

²⁵⁵ Halsey (2009).

²⁵⁶ Inclusive of the evidence from Murray, to date, I have located magazines produced by literary societies in the following places: Orkney; Wick; Elgin; Lentush; Aberdeen; Dundee; Helensburgh; Glasgow; Paisley; Airdrie; Edinburgh; Dumfries; Melrose; Newcastle; Preston; Halifax; Oldham; Manchester; Liverpool; Sheffield; Chester; Shrewsbury; Bristol; Hertford; and London. To date, in Canada, I have already located evidence for possibly as many as 10 literary societies who produced manuscript magazines in Ontario and New Brunswick.

members was one possible objective of societies, and it is precisely in this area that some new insights on nineteenth-century reading and readers can be made. Such sources can illuminate the questions of what materials readers read, and, crucially, what they thought about what they read. Evidence from the manuscript magazines of the Wellpark Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society is important because the 'literary' productions of these readers and the accompanying critics' responses offer new evidence lacking in other sources on mutual improvement societies.

Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society: 1883-88

Wellpark Free Church was located on Duke Street in Dennistoun, in the east end of Glasgow, and the society met at the church Session House located around the corner on Ark Lane.²⁵⁷ Evidence for this society consists of five printed brochures and three 'literary' magazines that were produced by the members covering the 1883-84, 1887-88, and 1888 sessions.²⁵⁸ The brochures offer information on the society's object, organisation, order of business in running its meetings, and an overview of the meetings and events in that year's session, which included social and political events.

The object of the society was 'the Religious, Moral, and Intellectual Improvement of its Members, to be promoted by the reading of Essays and by debates, &c.'. ²⁵⁹ Membership was restricted to young men, but they did not necessarily have to be members of Wellpark Free Church.²⁶⁰ Although formal female affiliation to the society was not permitted, this restriction did not apply to involvement in the production of the society's magazine. In the 1883-84 magazine, there are two poems by the same contributor whom the 'critics' (i.e. the magazine's readers who

²⁵⁷ Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society, *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 147 (MLSC, 428697).

²⁵⁸ *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, 1887-88, 1888 (MLSC, 428697-9).

²⁵⁹ 'Constitution', Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society, Session 1883-84, *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 147.

²⁶⁰ *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 147. While purportedly being a young men's society, its membership did not exclude older men: exceptions appear to have been made for ministers and for other men of some social standing in the community. For example, Alexander Lamont, listed as a reader of the 1887-88 and 1888 magazines, was 43 in 1887. Lamont was head-master of one of the local schools, and a published author, whose poetry appeared in *The Argosy* (see, for example: Alexander Lamont, 'By the Gates of the Sea', *The Argosy*, 53, June 1892, p. 524; Alexander Lamont, 'That Evensong of Long Ago', *The Argosy*, 54, August 1892, p. 170).

wrote their responses in the issue) speculate was a woman;²⁶¹ in the 1887-88 issue, there is one poem by a woman, and a musical score possibly composed by a second woman;²⁶² and in the 1888 magazine there are two essays by women.²⁶³

In the absence of any minute books from the society's meetings, it is not possible to know what the discussions surrounding the debates and readings entailed. This is why their magazines are particularly important: these publications offer a multi-level, interacting series of negotiations and dialogues between the editor, contributors, critics and the society as a whole involving reading, re-reading and the distribution of texts. For example, members provided contributions of non/fiction essays, poems and artwork, some of which make references to authors or quote their works. Some address or appeal to the critics within the essay or poem. The magazines were then passed between readers. The critics wrote their responses in the blank pages immediately following each work. They offered their opinions regarding the text (or artwork or music), which included a critique on various aspects, offering advice and recommendations, but also recording negative responses in almost equal measure.²⁶⁴ Occasionally, the author/artist would then add their response to the critics' reviews. These dialogues took place within the framework set out by the editor,²⁶⁵ who summarily chose which pieces to include (or not) in the issue. In this way, he acted as a gatekeeper to the society's publication. The parameters for what was an acceptable contribution were pre-established under the banner of the society's objects, the improvement of its members, but also

²⁶¹ 'Farewell', as well as 'And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the watercourses. Isa 44, 45', were both by 'M. S.' ('M. S.', 'Farewell'; 'And they shall spring up as among the grass, as willows by the watercourses. Isa 44, 45', *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, pp. 39-42).

²⁶² 'A Country Lassie' was the author of 'Hop, Step and Jump' ('A Country Lassie', 'Hop, Step and Jump', *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, pp. 57-66) and Pedra Zorrica composed 'The Sea Nymphs' (Pedra Zorrica, 'The Sea Nymphs', *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, pp. 193-96).

²⁶³ 'An Old Pupil' wrote 'My Experience of Boarding Schools' ('An Old Pupil', 'My Experience of Boarding Schools', *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, pp. 53-66); 'The Lass o' Gowrie' was the author of 'A Run up the Highlands' ('The Lass o' Gowrie', 'A Run up the Highlands', *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, pp. 133-40).

²⁶⁴ The criticisms in these magazines appear to be based on critical strategies that developed over the course of the nineteenth century in local and national newspapers and magazines. Working-class and middle-class journals offered advice and sought to educate their readers in history, politics, and culture, which included literature. For example, *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, the *Dundee People's Journal* and *Glasgow's Penny Post* included correspondence columns that offered criticism on readers' submissions (see also Laurel Brake, 'Literary Criticism and the Victorian Periodicals', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 16 (1986), 92-116, and Kirstie Blair, "'Let the Nightingales Alone": Correspondence Columns, the Scottish Press, and the Making of the Working Class Poet', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47 (2014), 188-207). This aspect, however, will not be covered in this study.

²⁶⁵ Hugh Yuill, then Vice-President of the society, was the editor of the 1883-84 magazine, and Alexander Small was the editor of the 1887-88 and the 1888 magazines. Small was listed as a reader in the magazines he edited, and presumably was also a member of the society. It is unclear if editors were elected to their posts.

by the definitions of what it meant to be literary in this reading community, and, arguably, in the broader context of the socio-cultural environment of the city at the end of the century.²⁶⁶

Readers of and Contributors to the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society Magazine

Located at the back of the magazines are lists of 'Readers', which give the names, addresses and dates when the magazine was issued to its members and/or readers, which may not have been the same. In total, there are 66 known individual readers of these three magazines, along with one member who was not a reader, for a total of 67 readers and/or members.²⁶⁷ There are 34 readers in the 1883-84 session, 32 in the 1887-88 session, and 30 listed in the 1888 issue.²⁶⁸ These numbers, however, may not indicate the total number of the society's members: in the absence of minute books, the lists of readers can only act as a guide. Further, the magazine may well have been read by other individuals while it was in the possession of the ascribed reader.

Using the lists of readers and their respective addresses, it is possible to obtain more detailed biographical information on some of the society's members. The Glasgow Post Office directories for the years 1882 through 1888 and census reports for 1881 and 1891 were consulted. For the purposes of this case study, only the readers' ages and occupations will be considered. Approximately one-third of the readers could be positively identified, and another 30 per cent of readers identified with somewhat less certainty are also included. Thus, the approximate age range of readers could be assessed for 36 readers, or just over half the readers from all three magazines (54%). The census data for 1881 and/or 1891 were used to determine the age of the reader in the first year that the name appeared in the magazines' lists. The results are shown in *Figure 4.1*. The majority of the readers (27%) were 18, and 77% were under 30.

²⁶⁶ As discussed in Chapter 2, definitions of the term 'literary' are historically contingent, but for this study will follow Murray (2002) to refer to a range of texts, which could extend to include the liberal arts and/or culture and being 'cultured' (Murray, pp. 10-11).

²⁶⁷ The one person not recorded as a reader in any of the lists was Reverend J. T. Ferguson, listed as an Honorary Vice-President in the society's printed brochure for the 1883-84 session (*Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 146). As he appears to be among the minority, if not the sole exception, the readers and/or members will be referred to simply as 'readers' in this study.

²⁶⁸ As some individuals remained members between 1882 and 1888, there is some repetition in these lists.

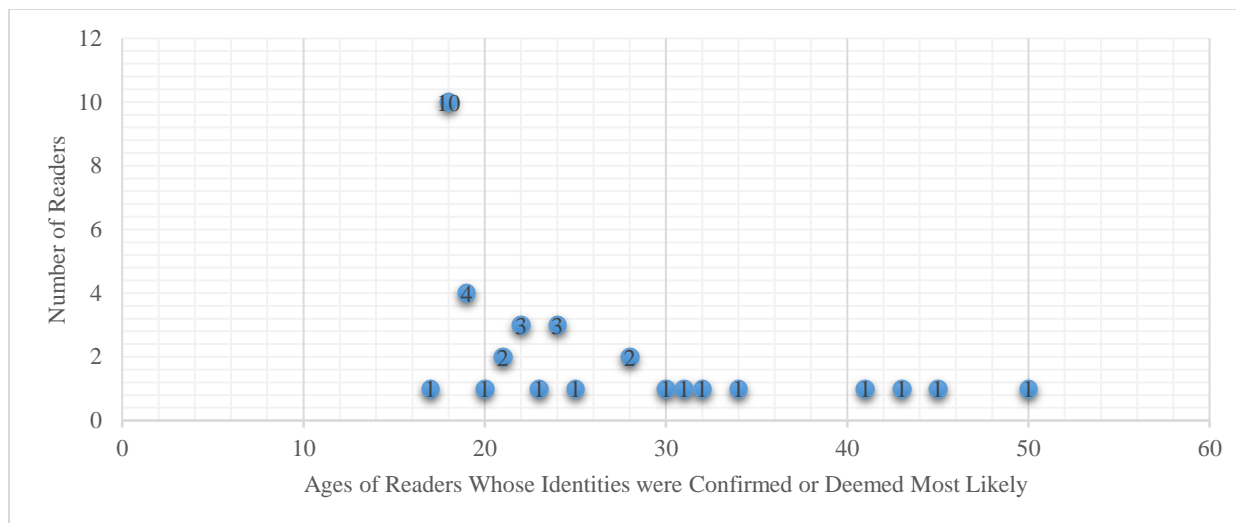


Figure 4.1 Age Range of the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society

Using the directories and census returns, we can work out the social class of the magazine's readers. Social class here follows E. P. Thompson's usage, in that it is an '*historical* phenomenon', the product of a complex, fluid set of relationships between people which cannot be determined by income or occupation alone.²⁶⁹ Altick points out that during the nineteenth century, in regards to class, there was in fact 'no uniform system of nomenclature or of consensus classification', and while distinctions were made between working, middle and upper classes, '[t]he greatest disagreement was on the difference between the lower-middle and the lower classes, and especially on the social level to which skilled artisans belonged.'²⁷⁰ After 1860, growth in the number of retail sales and clerking jobs saw a rise in this lower-middle class category, which allowed an unprecedented opportunity for social advancement.²⁷¹ These were precisely the types of jobs that many of the readers of this literary society held at approximately the time of the magazines' issue.

Given the above caveat, a consideration of the types of work in which the readers were employed nonetheless offers an insight into the dynamic socio-cultural environment in which they lived and of the society itself. There were five readers employed as clerks, and five employed in the retail trade either as salesmen or as the manager of a shop. There were three warehousemen, a joiner, a mason, a bootmaker, a hatter, a dyer and two apprentices. In addition, there were four

²⁶⁹ Thompson, p. 9. See also R. J. Morris, 'Introduction: class, power and social structure in British nineteenth century towns' in *Class, Power and Social Structure in British Nineteenth-century Towns*, ed. by R. J. Morris (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1986), pp. 2-22.

²⁷⁰ Altick (1957), p. 82.

²⁷¹ Susie L. Steinbach, *Understanding the Victorians: Politics, Culture, and Society in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London and New York: Routledge, 2012), p. 121.

reverends or ministers, an accountant, a surgeon, a head-master and a teacher, a chemist, and a merchant. It is of note that the three women readers of the magazines were not able to be identified as their names were recorded in the lists under their pen-names with no addresses. ‘Pedra Zorrica’, if a woman, would be the exception. From this small sample of the readers, it appears that the Wellpark society was made up of working-class, lower-middle- and middle-class men, with a small number of women who read and contributed to the society’s magazines. The range of occupations might be seen to reflect the amenable nature of the society in its offering a platform for aspirational men (and women, in the case of magazines) from different personal and social backgrounds (and gender) to engage in ‘literary’ discussions through the medium of the meetings and magazines which allowed for the mutual improvement of its readers and its members.

There are twenty contributions in the 1883-84 magazine, which were the creative output of seventeen of the society’s members or listed readers or (in the cases of John Thomson and James Walker) neither.²⁷² In the 1887-88 magazine, there are twenty contributions provided by fifteen contributors, and in the 1888 magazine, thirteen contributors provided sixteen contributions, or fourteen contributors and seventeen contributions if the essay-cum-criticism by ‘Braehead’ is included. This means that approximately half of the listed readers submitted work for inclusion in each of the magazines. If we presume that editors rejected at least some of the submissions, this figure is likely to be even higher. Thus, the percentage of readers submitting work to the magazines was overall relatively high, underlining the members’ contention that the production of original essays, poems, artwork and music were an important part of the ‘improving’ process promoted more generally by the society.

With few exceptions, most of the contributors wrote under a *nom-de-plume*, with more contributors writing under their own names or identifiable initials in the later magazines. Contributions ranged from essays and poetry, to artwork in various media, to a musical score of a song for two voices and piano accompaniment. As these different types of submissions were thought suitable to be included in a ‘literary’ magazine, all of these types should be considered.

²⁷² John Thomson and James Walker are not listed readers, but both authors included their full names, addresses (South Cobden Street, Alva, and Alloa, Primrose Place, respectively), and, in Thomson’s case, his occupation (‘letter carrier’) at the end of their contributions. Walker identifies himself as a published poet, stating that he is the ‘Author of a description of a jaunt of Auld Reekie and other Scotch poems’ (James Walker, ‘To a blackbird’s nest’; John Thomson, ‘Ada Gray’, *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, pp. 52-53 (p. 53); pp. 57-64 (p. 64)).

Critics were in effect reading the essay, poem, artwork or piece of music and were responding to them as literary readers: the underlying presumption of the critical remarks is that the critic had the education and/or developed cultural acumen to offer an informed response in the assessment of grammar, compositional style, theories regarding facets of non/fiction, poetry, and works of art and music.

Readers' Responses: the 'Folk Stylistics' of the Wellpark Literary Society

The critics' responses help to answer an important question for historians of reading: what did readers think about the materials that they read? The 'criticisms' may represent readers' immediate, first responses: the strictly-enforced rules listed at the front of the magazines only allowed three days for reading irrespective of the calendar, and its readers would have had to find the time to read—as well as respond—within that time, presumably around their work and personal commitments. The next reader would have read not only the original contributions, but also the responses that the previous readers had recorded and they would add their comments in turn.

However, readers are not choosing from a potentially infinite range of responses when they record their thoughts, but are, in effect, recording the literary and artistic preconceptions, or the 'horizon of expectations' that they held which framed their responses, and inform us about the historically-contingent interpretive community/ies in which they lived. These constructs underlie reader-response theory and are the basis of work by Wolfgang Iser, Hans Robert Jauss and Stanley Fish (see Chapter 7).²⁷³ These largely theoretical concepts in conjunction with Katie Halsey's work on first-hand readers' responses will serve as the foundation for my historicised assessment of critics' responses in the Wellpark magazines. Halsey established that readers in the long nineteenth century had a horizon of expectations regarding works that they read, particularly in regards to style. She outlines a method based on techniques used in stylistics to assess what she terms 'folk stylistics', or the beliefs held by readers regarding conventions or the 'popular beliefs about language' in the assessment of a work's style.²⁷⁴ She found that there were three main stylistic

²⁷³ See Wolfgang Iser, 'The Reading Process: A Phenomenological Approach', *New Literary History*, 3 (1972), 279-99; Hans Robert Jauss, 'Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory', trans. by E. Benzing, *New Literary History*, 2 (1970), 7-37; and Stanley Fish, *Is There a Text in This Class?: The Authority of Interpretive Communities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press, 1980).

²⁷⁴ Halsey (2009), 233.

concerns for readers which included: ‘the value placed on works that are suitable for reading aloud’; ‘conflations of style and morality; and the frequency with which readers respond to texts viscerally’.²⁷⁵ As the magazines’ critics frequently commented on the style of the contribution (among other aspects), the works from the three magazines are assessed using this method as a starting point. I then move to a more general discussion of readers’ expectations regarding the texts (including the art and music) they read.

Across the three magazines, none of the critics remarked about the ease or suitability of the texts for recitation aloud. This could be due to readers’ preconceptions that the magazines were primarily for personal ‘perusal’, a term that was repeatedly used, suggesting private reading. However, the society’s printed syllabus for the 1883-84 session lists three meetings whose sole function was the ‘Review of [the] Manuscript Magazine’.²⁷⁶ At these meetings, parts of the magazines may in fact have been read aloud. One possible exception to this exclusion is the response made by the critic, ‘P. T. Jr.’, in regards to the musical score submitted by Pedra Zorriza in the 1887-88 magazine:

This contribution is beyond criticism on my part as a musical piece, but, I should like to hear it played and sung. It is very well written [...] I have heard this played over, and I think it really sounds very nice and sweet. The writing of the notes is well executed and can be easily read. The Author is to be congratulated.²⁷⁷

While Halsey applied her model to texts, the stylistic concerns she found prevalent could also be applied to music scores, as this reader—and listener—commented on the score’s suitability to be read on the page as well as being pleasant to listen to.

There were only two critics’ responses in the 1883-84 magazine where readers conflated style with morality. In his response to a light-hearted poem entitled ‘Carrick Castle, Loch Goil. A Holiday Reminiscence’ by Fred Reid, the critic ‘Jabez’ initially praised the piece, but took exception to its repeated references to alcohol:

This composition has some merit. The 9th verse – foot of page 16 – is well expressed, and by far the best lines in the piece

²⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 233-34.

²⁷⁶ ‘Syllabus 1883-84’, *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 147.

²⁷⁷ ‘P. T. Jr.’, (Peter Thamson, Jr.), [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 147.

or in fact on the suitability of poems that married the subjects of religious faith, patience and self-sacrifice with the feminine.

The 1887-88 magazine has five instances where the comments of the readers view the work's style and its morality intermixing. To the poem entitled 'A Renunciation', an eponymous poem on love lost and regained by Alexander Lamont, the critic 'Aliquis' wrote:

What beautiful poems Mr Lamont has given us! The easy grace of language, the sweet, beautiful sentiments carry one completely out of the earthly habitation to higher and more heavenly regions. It fills one's soul till it is almost bursting into poetry. I'll always read his contributions first after this. It is our honour and his glory all his contributions [.]²⁸⁰

His response clearly demonstrates the equating of the work's style with its morality. The poem called forth a moral, spiritual response in this reader, but one that was also clearly affective, where the language transports him away to 'heavenly regions', and his soul is 'almost bursting into poetry'. Other comments by readers in this issue give some indication of this pairing of style and morality, but are centered around what constituted good taste or, more specifically, a lack thereof. For example, 'Aliquis', in responding to the previous comments of a reader on a pen and ink drawing of Queen Victoria wrote that 'P. T. Jr.'s remarks are in very bad taste and quite uncalled for'.²⁸¹ 'Gemini' wrote that the poem submitted by the Editor, Alexander Small, used expressions that were 'scarcely in good taste',²⁸² while on an essay about a volunteer training exercise with the Clyde Brigade, 'Jacobus' thought that there was a 'slight tinge of vulgarity pervading it', and that the author should have refrained from the use of slang.²⁸³

Critics in the 1888 magazine responded to what they saw as vulgar language in one essay,²⁸⁴ but only in one reader's comments might the case be made for equating style with morality. More correctly, the critic was passing judgment on the writer's personal, political and religious beliefs. 'Sardanapalus' recorded his thoughts regarding an essay entitled 'Royalty Considered', by 'Democrat', which soundly denounced the institution of British royalty. In a lengthy response which filled over two pages in the magazine, 'Sardanapalus' severely upbraids

²⁸⁰ 'Aliquis', [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, p. 146.

²⁸¹ 'Aliquis', [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, p. 7.

²⁸² 'Gemini', [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, [p. 8].

²⁸³ 'Jacobus', [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, p. 178.

²⁸⁴ 'Lady McPhiny' uses the term to describe the language in an essay denouncing the institution of British royalty. In his comments on the same essay, 'Lexa' shares this view ('Lady McPhiny', [criticism]; 'Lexa', [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, p. 99).

the author for his ‘ill-natured ebullition’ along with his ‘rabid republicanism’. In response to a previous critic’s comment on the author’s vulgar use of slang, ‘Sardanapalus’ continues:

Regarding Democrat’s “slang” I am not surprised. Men who preach his rabbid republicanism are not usually of a very high moral tone – Their heterodox political ideas are often (I don’t say in his case) the outcome of heterodox theology – hence we find that the morals of the “Champions” of the art – Bradlaugh and his friend Mrs Besant are to say the least “startlingly revolting” [...] The nation with one voice which completely drowns the convulsive squeeking of Bradlaugh, Besant, Democrat, and his washerwoman declares it reverence for the throne – and publishes to the world its glorious motto –
Dear God! honour the King!!²⁸⁵

The critic here is claiming that the author of the essay—similarly to other men of questionable moral character who share similar beliefs—doesn’t argue for but instead ‘preaches’ his ill-considered political ideas which are based on an amalgamation of his political and religious beliefs that are not only offensive but ‘startlingly revolting’. To the miscreants Bradlaugh and Besant—atheists and advocates for political reform—are added Democrat and the figure of his washerwoman as a metaphor for the views held by the uninformed, even effeminated, working-class people of small social importance who are effectively vermin. Their collective voices, or ‘convulsive squeeking’, need to be overcome or ‘drown[ed]’ out, denying a voice to both Democrat and the principle of democracy concurrently, advocating instead the traditional institution of a non-representative, heritable system of government which is sanctioned by God. This extreme reaction by one reader, however, is not representative of the responses from the three magazines as a whole.

The frequency of readers’ visceral responses varies between the different issues of the magazine. The 1883-84 magazine has only three examples. One example is a critic’s musings on a pencil drawing of a man’s face. The response by ‘Orion’ shows a projection of his own views onto the figure, which may be said to describe the mental exertion involved in the process of writing: ‘each contributor may see in it a reflection of himself in the agony of composition’.²⁸⁶ Similarly, a poem on an excursion to Carrick Castle invokes pleasant memories in the same reader:

²⁸⁵ ‘Sardanapalus’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, p. 102.

²⁸⁶ ‘Orion’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, [unpaginated preface].

‘Having spent a delightful week at Carrick last summer, the reading of this poem has afforded me much pleasure, recalling by many graceful touches the beauties of Loch Goil.’²⁸⁷

The readers’ comments in the 1887-88 magazine had five times more visceral responses than the 1883-84 issue. Of the six readers who responded to Alexander Lamont’s essay, ‘The Gloaming of the Year’, four readers recorded visceral responses. For example, ‘Lexa’ wrote that he ‘read this article with very great pleasure’,²⁸⁸ while ‘P. T. Jr.’ wrote that the essay had left him speechless: ‘Words fail me, Mr. Lamont, to express my thankfulness at having had the privilege of reading this splendid article.’²⁸⁹ The essay inspired ‘Jacobus’ to conjure up mental images inspired by the text: ‘As I read this paper I just imagined I saw the scenes which are so vividly portrayed, the language is so expressive.’²⁹⁰ The fourth visceral comment to this essay by ‘Aliquis’ has been considered above, and is one example wherein readers were responding to at least one stylistic conception, in this case the equating of style with morality, and having a visceral response to the text. ‘Aliquis’ recorded that Alexander Lamont’s poem, ‘By the Gates of the Sea’, ‘opened’ his mind: ‘It opens up one’s mind to a most wonderful degree, how narrow, cramped, and small I felt my mind must have been before I read this. It has recalled scenes to my memory, in which I see things now I never saw before.’²⁹¹ Very common responses recorded were those of the piece evoking some form of pleasure and/or enjoyment.

Visceral responses in the 1888 issue were low with only three instances where this was the case. ‘Mercury’ records that Alexander Lamont’s, ‘The Stranger’s Nook’, was a ‘[v]ery pleasant, and yet sad, poem’.²⁹² ‘Lexa’ was initially ‘satisfied’ with ‘Royalty Considered’, by ‘Democrat’, but then changed his mind:

During the perusal of this article the first feeling experienced is one of satisfaction at finding the nonsensical long-suffering of the British tax-payer so fearlessly exposed. On concluding its perusal, however, one regrets that Democrat, holding as he does the correct views on the situation should have damaged his own case with language which can only be called coarse, if not vulgar.²⁹³

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, 21.

²⁸⁸ ‘Lexa’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, p. 21.

²⁸⁹ ‘P. T. Jr.’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, p. 22.

²⁹⁰ ‘Jacobus’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, p. 22.

²⁹¹ ‘Aliquis’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1887-88, p. 21. It must be noted that this comment was added verbatim after all the comments to the essay by Lamont, and calls into question the extent to which comments recorded by readers were in fact primary, first responses rather than being premeditated.

²⁹² ‘Mercury’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, p. 19.

²⁹³ ‘Lexa’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, p. 99.

The most visceral response was that recorded by ‘Democrat’ upon reading ‘An Awful Tragedy’, by ‘Temyllut’, wherein the author recounts a walk through the woods at night and was scared by a creature in the dark:

Rather too sensational for a magazine of this kind. I don’t like my hair to stand on end when reading anything. If you could only have seen me when I was reading this awful Tragedy I am sure you would have been heartily sorry for writing it. My eyeballs protruded half an inch beyond their sockets, my hair stood up stiff and straight, my knees knocked together with fright, and my hands shook like an aspen leaf in the summer wind. After all this preparation for something astonishing, it was rather a damper to find that, after all, the “brown monster” was only a stag. Don’t do it again.²⁹⁴

This response, however, should be considered with caution: ‘Democrat’ is writing this tongue-in-cheek. When considered alongside his other comments, it seems unlikely that a writer of brash, controversial essays and responses should have had such an extreme reaction as the one he described.

In general, the three stylistic concerns that Halsey found to be prevalent in nineteenth-century readers—with the exception of the more frequent recording of a visceral response by the readers of the 1887-88 magazine—were on the whole not shared by the readers of the Wellpark magazines. Instead, there were other responses recorded regarding the style of a text. For example, an essay was thought to be worthy of merit if it was straight-forward, pleasant to read, written in the manner of a conversation between the author and reader, and with an appropriate gender-specific style. With regards to poetry, recommendations regarding commendable style were more vague: it was more likely a critic would say it was ‘good versification’, but qualify it by saying that ‘it can’t be called poetry’,²⁹⁵ or that the lines ‘contain some genuine feeling; although the versification is stilted and the ideas sometimes crudely expressed’,²⁹⁶ or alternatively ‘the idea on which the verses turn is good enough [...] but AVC’s muse is not aspiring’.²⁹⁷

Beyond these stylistic concerns, there were two major trends that recurred in the magazines. The trend most frequently noted in both the contributions and criticisms was the tendency to use quotations of and references to authors and/or their poetry, plays and books, and

²⁹⁴ ‘Democrat’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, pp. 187-88.

²⁹⁵ ‘Jabez’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 83.

²⁹⁶ ‘D. D.’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 55.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

includes references to periodicals, a comic opera, and two painters. In the 1883-84 magazine, there are quotations or references that can be attributed to: the Bible; Thomas Campbell; Benjamin Franklin; Horace Mann; James Thomson; Norman Macleod; Oliver Goldsmith; Lord Alfred Tennyson; Alexander Wallace, D.D. in *The Christian Leader*; William Congreve; Archibald Alison; Dugald Stewart; Walter Scott; William Black; Thomas Reid; Edmund Burke; and Shakespeare. The 1887-88 magazine includes quotations and references to: Robert Burns; Allan Ramsay; Robert Tannahill; James Hogg; Robert Southey; Jacob Rysdale (possibly Jacob van Ruisdael); Claude Lorrain; William Wordsworth; Henry David Thoreau; Gilbert White; Alexander Pope, Thomas Carlyle; Shakespeare; Percy Bysshe Shelley; *Jeems Kaye: His Adventures and Opinions*; Lord Bacon; Sir Isaac Newton; Rev. John Todd; Thomas Chalmers; Lord Byron; and Frederick Marryat. In the 1888 magazine, there were references to and quotations from: Shakespeare; Richard Brinsley Sheridan; David Garrick; Charles Kemble; Henry Irving; the Bible; Robert Burns; Shelley; ‘Guy Fawkes’ (a comic song); the *Daily Mail*; Isaac Watts; Tennyson; Gilbert and Sullivan’s ‘Ruddigore: or, the Witch’s Curse’; John Milton; Cervantes; Dante; the correspondence in *Tit-Bits*; and Artemus Ward. These were most often used to lend weight and authority to the contributor’s own text, concurrently intending to inform the reader as to the breadth, and, presumably depth of the author’s reading. In addition, the references to books, plays and popular entertainment added color—local (i.e. Scottish), and aesthetic—to the respective texts.

Readers made reference or quoted most frequently from English followed by Scottish poems across the three issues. Novels, on the other hand, were the least frequently cited, with Walter Scott’s works generally, Black’s *A Princess of Thule* (1874), and Marryat’s *Poor Jack* (1840) being the only works cited. Philosophic and ‘educative’ works were the next most frequently referenced in the 1883-84 and 1887-88 issues (e.g. Mann, Alison, Stewart, Reid, Burke, Bacon, Newton, and Todd), but only Milton’s *Areopagitica* (1644) was quoted in the 1888 issue. However, the frequency of references to plays and to the theatre more generally increased over the three issues. Shakespeare was quoted in all of the magazines, but in the 1888 issue, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century actors and plays were most frequently discussed and quoted after poetry. References to periodicals were low, with only *The Christian Leader* cited in the 1883-84 issue, and the *Daily Mail* and *Tit-Bits* in the 1888 magazine. While canonical authors were commonly quoted, contemporary works and authors were less so. This trend suggests that the magazines were in effect public statements of the reading of sanctioned works that these readers chose to record.

On the other hand, they did not altogether neglect to cite what might be considered ‘leisure’ activities and materials in the form of ‘light’ periodicals like *Tit-Bits*, a comic opera that recently opened (‘Ruddigore’), a comic song (‘Guy Fawkes’) and work by a humorous writer (Ward).

One other major trend was the tendency for readers to offer suggestions or corrections to the authors/artists regarding the usage of correct grammar, spelling, punctuation and language. In addition, the authors’ handwriting also came under scrutiny. These comments were in line with a purpose of the magazine: the provision of a forum in which authors/artists could submit their work to an audience of their peers who would offer their ‘criticism’ for the benefit of what were largely amateur, or non-professional, contributors. One contributor even states that his essay, ‘Church Music’, was his first composition: ‘I only wish to add, that I trust the Critical will not be too severe, seeing this is my first attempt at Essay writing’.²⁹⁸ Critics’ comments, however, did not always live up to the contributors’ hopes, as a critic could offer such harsh advice as that offered to ‘St Mirren’: ‘[He] would be the better of a course of lessons from a writing master, before he writes another paper for Wellpark M. S. Magazine.’²⁹⁹ Other critics did not forgo a bit of encouragement along with their criticisms:

[...] there is little concentration of thought in the working out of “An Old Pupil’s” ideas. The style is fitful & rambling & shows a want of experiences in composition, however the writer may improve by practice.³⁰⁰

The results of using Halsey’s ‘folk stylistics’ methodology demonstrate that the prevailing stylistic concerns held by readers in the long nineteenth century were not the same as those in one group of readers in a literary society. I argue that this is the result of the communal reading practices established within the framework of this ‘improving’ society. The formal meetings of the group—involving debates and discussions governed by a set of rules and regulations—structured this essentially social activity, and the magazines were an extension of the improving process. The production of the magazines redirected the social activities of this community, providing another medium for discussion: while not necessarily reaching a consensus, the magazines did consolidate

²⁹⁸ ‘mij’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 10.

²⁹⁹ ‘R. S.’, [criticism], *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1883-84, p. 51.

³⁰⁰ ‘A Critic’, *Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine*, 1888, p. 67.

a diverse set of readers from different social backgrounds into a reading community with a collective identity.

Outwith the contributions and criticisms themselves, it appears that this group read a range of materials. However, in a similar fashion to the texts read and discussed by reading societies in Colclough's study, the quotations and references to authors here—along with the contributions and criticisms—should be seen as a 'public record of those texts that it was legitimate to share in public'.³⁰¹ And as Simon Eliot reminds us, 'quoting, or misquoting, a text is no proof of having read it'.³⁰² The non-conformity of these readers' responses to established stylistics conventions could be seen as being due in part to this 'public performance'.

The manuscript magazines produced by this one late nineteenth-century group share other similarities with the albums that were produced in the late Romantic Period. In the same manner as the magazines, most albums were 'a product of the group', 'who shared the communal space of the manuscript book', which in turn 'helped to construct and maintain a network of readers based upon the sociable exchange or creation of texts'.³⁰³ Similarly, Leah Price reminds us that '[b]ooks don't simply mediate a meeting of minds between reader and author. They also broker (or buffer) relationships among the bodies of successive and simultaneous readers'.³⁰⁴ It was through the mobility of the magazines that the social network between Wellpark's readers was underlined. Its readers were *not* meant to forget or ignore the improving framework which called the magazines into existence, how the magazines were manufactured and their materiality, how these objects reached his/her hands, and that after reading (or not), they were called upon to pass the manuscripts to the next reader on the list. The magazines were then 'association copies' (to use Price's term) in both the literal and figurative sense, but which derived their meaning from their transmission history *in addition* to the text.³⁰⁵ In this way, Wellpark's magazines helped to consolidate this critical community of readers whose religiously-infused ethos of improvement was associated

³⁰¹ Colclough, p. 132.

³⁰² Simon Eliot, 'The Reading Experience Database; or, what are we to do about the history of reading?', *The Open University* <<http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/redback.htm>> [accessed 30/05/17] (para. 9 of 25).

³⁰³ Colclough, pp. 131-32.

³⁰⁴ Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 12.

³⁰⁵ Here I am indebted to Leah Price's discussion of 'Literary Logistics' (p. 31), as well as her definition of 'association copies', which are 'books whose value, like that of a religious relic, derives from the history of their transmission rather than from the text that they contain' (p. 169).

with, indeed communed with, the larger culture of 'improvement' across Glasgow. This society, then, is also a case study of a Scottish way of consuming texts.

Chapter 5:
**Case Study 2: The Glasgow Orkney and
 Shetland Literary and Scientific Association**

Background

This second case study focuses on the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association (hereafter the association). Formed in 1862, as of October 2017, it is still running.³⁰⁶ This is an uncommon case of a literary society founded in the nineteenth century that continues to meet. In addition, it has the distinction of having the largest known collection available on any nineteenth-century Glasgow literary society I have examined.³⁰⁷ In 2015, the records and the majority of the books from the association's library were deposited in the Shetland Archives in Lerwick, where they are currently housed.³⁰⁸

The history of the Association has already been the subject of a book by Jerry Eunson and Olivia D. Scott. The book provides an overview of the history of the Association, and covers the years from its founding until 1962, when the authors discuss its then current state and reflect on the Association's centenary.³⁰⁹ This chapter will also cover the association's history, but will focus on the group's 'literary' history, that is, the role of reading, and the production and consumption of their own manuscript magazines in the fulfilment of its objects and aims. In keeping with the historic dates of my doctoral project, I examined only the records between 1862 and 1914.

Similarly to other nineteenth-century societies, this association used (and still uses) a broad definition of literary to define its activities—which included the development and practice of rhetorical and compositional skills—and as a synonym for and marker of culture in the broadest sense. To be considered literary in this as in other societies, one would have read a wide range of

³⁰⁶ Membership in the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association has diminished since the mid-twentieth century, a decline that its members acknowledge may be terminal. A few years ago, plans were drawn up for the winding up of the group should the membership and/or lack of funds make the group no longer viable. As of October 2017, as a newly-elected member of the association, I can report the group is still running.

³⁰⁷ Since mid-March 2016, I have been informed of the existence of the 'almost complete' records of 'Ours' Club, formerly known as the Glasgow Philological and Literary Society. This club was formed in 1871 and continues to meet at the Glasgow Art Club. The records from 1871 to 1971 are currently housed in the Glasgow City Archives, located in the Mitchell Library (GCA, TD1896). The records from 1972 to the present are in the possession of the club's archivist, Donald Macaskill. I am indebted to John C. Crawford for placing me in contact with current members Jim Robertson and Macaskill. I have yet to examine these records in their entirety.

³⁰⁸ B. Smith, p. 2.

³⁰⁹ Jerry Eunson and Olivia D. Scott, *The Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, 1862-1962* (Glasgow: Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, 1962).

subjects and genres that included literature. The Annual Report for the 1888-89 session defines this literary or ‘well read man’, and uses him as an aspirational model for the members:

A well read man is respected, honoured, and considered capable of forming sound opinions, possibly not from his greater capacity for judicious judgement naturally, but simply because the very fact of his being well read has enlarged his sympathies, his vocabulary, his opinions, and his powers of discernment and discrimination. Let it therefore be our unceasing aim to learn what we can from everybody, but to think and act for ourselves.³¹⁰

Being literary was also part of the association’s public persona in its self-designation, and was an integral component of its ethos and public practices: it was an important factor in the selection of (Honorary) members; the selection of subjects for papers and debates, including the manner in which they were delivered; the establishment of its manuscript magazine; the inclusion of the magazine’s contributions; and underlies listeners’ oral criticisms at the meetings and readers’ written criticisms in the magazines. In the following discussion of this county association’s literary meetings and magazines, I aim to demonstrate the ways in which the interplay between them helped in building a community of critical readers, writers and listeners to bring about members’ ‘improvement’, which was centred on their identification with their (or their parents’) Northern place of origin. This type of in-depth study is made possible by an almost complete set of records available in the archives.

The association’s records between 1862 and 1914 include the following:

- 6 minute books (Minute Books, No. 1-6, 1862-1917);
- 1 minute book of the Reunion Committee (1912-1948);
- 13 bound manuscript magazines:
 - October 1864;
 - May 1865, containing 6 previous issues (March 1864 (belated January 1864 issue); April 1864; [July 1864?]; October 1864 (second copy); [January 1865?]; and April 1865);
 - January 1869;
 - April 1869;
 - circa 1870 [March 1870?];

³¹⁰ SA, Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, ‘Twenty-seventh Annual Report of Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, Session 1888-89, 30 March 1889, D58/4a/3. Hereafter, the Association will be abbreviated as GOSLSA, and unless otherwise noted, their records are housed at Shetland Archives.

- October 1870;
- April 1871;
- January 1872, Part 4;
- 4 bound typescript magazines—from ‘Magazine Nights’:
 - D58/2/9 contains contributions from 5 ‘Magazine Nights’ for sessions 1903-04; 1904-05; 1905-06; 1906-07; and 1908-09;
 - Session 1910-1911;
 - 1912 (read on ‘Magazine Night’ held December 1911);
 - Session 1912-1913;
- 49 Annual Reports, including information on the Association’s library (1862-1915; five annual reports are no longer extant: 1864-65; 1871-1871; 1899-1900; 1902-03; and 1904-05);
- 44 syllabi (1862-1915, with the exception of those for sessions 1865-66, 1866-67, 1867-68, 1869-70, 1876-77, 1878-79, 1900-01, 1901-02, and 1902-1903);
- 14 Constitutions and Rules (1862; April 1876; April 1894; 1897; 1898; September 1905; September 1906; September 1907; September 1908; September 1909; September 1910; April 1911; September 1911; April 1914);
- financial reports;³¹¹
- lists of Office Bearers, Honorary Members, and Ordinary Members (1862; 1893-1915);³¹²
- library catalogues (1905-1915);
- ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’ (1869-1891; 1971);
- various clippings from Glasgow, Orkney, and Shetland newspapers.

There are a few materials known to be no longer extant. These include four Roll Books, one receipt book, one cash book, two savings bank books, and various letters and papers, all dating from 1862 until 1906, when the Property Committee made its first report.³¹³ In addition, there is (at least) one typescript magazine no longer extant.³¹⁴ This does not detract from the richness of materials available, and the information in them, in some cases, can be gleaned from other sources.

³¹¹ The financial reports and thus the financial status of this association will not be covered in this chapter.

³¹² The Association’s published prospectuses included a list of the session’s Office Bearers, Honorary Members, and, beginning in 1893, the Ordinary Members.

³¹³ This information comes from the ‘First Bi-Annual Report of Glasgow Orkney & Shetland Literary & Scientific Association “Property Committee”’, dated 11 October 1906, which is included in the minutes for the 1906-07 session (GOSLSA, Minute Book, No. 6, 26 April 1906-5 September 1917, D58/1/6). The Report also itemises the various other materials and property belonging to the Association, including a reading stand, book presses, library books, various stationary items, a banner, a photograph of the Association members, and an oil painting of Lieutenant John Malcolm, the ‘Solider Poet of Orkney’.

³¹⁴ The association’s minutes give the titles of nine papers that were read at the ‘Magazine Night’ held on 7 March 1914. The minutes of the following meeting record the unanimous decision to have these papers typed and the ‘Magazine’ ‘placed in the library as usual’ (Minute entry, 07 March 1914, Minute Book, No. 6; minute entry, 21 March 1914, Minute Book, No. 6).

Overview of the Association

Origin and Initial Developments

The association was founded on the 9th of November 1862, when approximately 40 men met in the Religious Institution Rooms at 75 St. George's Place, Glasgow (now Nelson Mandela Place), to discuss the formation of a new society.³¹⁵ Thomas Stout, who would become the association's first president, occupied the chair. It was recorded that he spoke of the:

pleasure & profit which would accrue from an association of the nature [of a literary society], breaking as it would do the alienation which has so long existed as a barrier amongst the natives of Orkney & Shetland resident in Glasgow to the furtherance of their social and material interests.³¹⁶

After his speech, 'the Gentlemen present were invited to express their views on the subject', the result being that 'by general design' it was thought that their society would not be associated with the already extant Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Benevolent Society.³¹⁷ However, the men were unequivocal about the object under which the society should be instituted, '[t]he meeting being unanimous that an Association be formed having for its object Literary pursuits.'³¹⁸ At the close of the meeting, twenty-seven men enrolled as members.

With further discussion apparently being unnecessary, the men also seem to be in full agreement as to what comprised those 'Literary pursuits'. If Stout's speech is indicative of the general feeling, the men hoped to reap 'pleasure & profit' from their new association/s. They would have the opportunity to meet other men who, like themselves or their parents, moved from

³¹⁵ Minute entry, 9 November 1862, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 1, D58/1/1).

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*

³¹⁷ The Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Benevolent Society was formed on 11 January 1837, thus being already in existence for 25 years prior to the formation of the literary and scientific association. The society's aims were similar to other 'friendly societies' in the nineteenth century (see Chapter 2), and its aims were largely unchanged during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The printed 'Rules' for 1925 state that '[t]he principal object of the Society shall be to raise a fund for giving charitable relief to the natives of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, their children or widows, residing in Glasgow or its neighbourhood or travelling through Glasgow, and who, from sickness or sudden emergency, may be in want of temporary aid' (Printed rules of Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Benevolent Society, 24 January 1925, D58/4b/1). While initially rejecting the amalgamation, the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association would eventually reverse their decision: on 7 April 1900, the majority of members voted in favour of the affiliation (Minute entry, 7 April 1900, Minute Book, No. 5, 2 October 1897-7 April 1906, D58/1/5).

³¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Orkney and Shetland to Glasgow, where they now resided. The association aimed to ‘break’ the ‘alienation’ that acted as a ‘barrier’ between them. The meetings offered a pretext for natives of Orkney and Shetland to be introduced, in effect to profit socially and possibly materially through the exchange of information regarding jobs and other opportunities. The ‘furtherance of their [...] material interests’ could also refer to the aspirations of members to improve their position in society and in their employment through the improvement of their literary skills. In this way, this association’s objects were similar to other county societies whose membership was regionally-specific and motivated by a varying combination of literary, social, and economic factors.

With some variations, the association met every other week, initially on Fridays, at 8:15pm from October until May, but altered the date and time several times over the fifty-two year period. The annual subscription for Ordinary Members was 2s 6d, eventually being raised to 3 shillings by 1876.³¹⁹ Any shortfall in the Association’s budget was to be made up equally amongst the members. Honorary Members were charged five shillings annually or 5 pounds for a life membership, but by 1906, their rates were dropped altogether.³²⁰ Although Miss Lizzie Louttit was admitted as the first ‘Lady Member’ in 1894, it wasn’t until the commencement of the 1898-99 session that the Constitution was changed to include women as ordinary members.³²¹ More correctly, it was amended to include their subscription fee, which was proposed and seconded in the previous session by two ‘Lady Members’ at 1s 6p.³²² This amendment reflects the sudden growth in the number of women members from the previous session, rising from 7 members in the 1897-98 session to 11 members in the next session, a growth of 63% (see *Figure 5.2* below).³²³

³¹⁹ ‘Constitution’, 1862, Minute Book, No. 1, p. ii; ‘Constitution and Rules of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, April 1876, Minute Book, No. 2, 8 March 1867-15 April 1876, p. 2, D58/1/2.

³²⁰ *Ibid.* The last year that Honorary Members had to pay five shillings annually was in 1905, as listed in the Association’s Constitution (‘Constitution’, September 1905, Minute Book, No. 5, p. 5).

³²¹ Minute entry, 22 November 1894, Minute Book, No. 4, 4 September 1886-3 April 1897, D58/1/4. Women were allowed to become Honorary Members *before* they were allowed as ‘Ordinary Members’. Honorary Members were defined as the elected ‘persons connected with the County [...] distinguished in literature or science, or who shall otherwise merit such recognition’ (‘Constitution and Rules of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, 1894, in Minute Book, No. 4, p. 2). Mrs. Jessie Saxby (1842-1940)—originally from Unst, Shetland, and author of tales and poetry—was the first woman to be elected as an Honorary Member was eventually passed after a new Constitution in 1876 permitted it. She accepted her membership in a letter read to the meeting held on 17 February 1877 (Minute entry, 17 February 1877, Minute Book, No. 3, 1876-86, D58/1/3).

³²² Miss Mary Anderson proposed the motion and Miss Lizzie Louttit seconded that women members were to pay 1s 6d (Minute entry, 13 November 1897, Minute Book, No. 5; ‘Constitution and Rules of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, 1 October 1898, in Minute Book, No. 5, p. i (p. 2)). While the financial records are no longer extant to confirm, Lizzie Louttit presumably paid the fee of 2s 6d as an Ordinary Member prior to this proposal.

³²³ ‘Roll of Ordinary Members’, Prospectus for 1897-1898, in Minute Book, No. 5, [front endpaper]; ‘Roll of Ordinary Members’, Prospectus for 1898-1899, in Minute Book No. 5 [front endpaper].

At the ‘ordinary’ meetings where a paper was given, there often followed a reading of a pre-selected text by another member. Members would then offer feedback or ‘criticism’ on the style and manner in which it was read. The importance of this practice—in the literal sense of practicing one’s diction (and accent?) by reading texts aloud, and the (somewhat) routine inclusion of this element in the Association’s meetings—appears to have diminished over the years. The last entry in the minutes that records a member giving a reading is on 18 March 1905, when Miss W. S. Hamilton read a short selection from Charles Dickens’s *Dombey and Son*.³²⁴ However, readings did continue as part of the social meetings (i.e. at the yearly ‘At Home’, and annual reunions) up until the end of the 1914 to 1915 session.

If a debate was held, the members would vote with ‘the division [...] be[ing] taken first on its merits; and second, the opinion of the Members on the subject’.³²⁵ This rule was later amended to have a vote taken on the subject alone. The amendment suggests that by at least 1897, the division between the effective argument of a subject and the subject itself were no longer seen as having separate yet equal values, the rhetorical qualities of the speaker being later subsumed under the debate’s subject. The notion that every member was to have an equal opportunity to present his/her opinion was enforced through the inclusion of a new rule added to the Constitution in 1876, which stated that ‘[n]o Member shall be allowed to speak twice, except in explanation, until all have had an opportunity of expressing their views’.³²⁶

Annual Reports

The 49 Annual Reports that cover the societies’ activities from 1862 until April 1915 offer a different perspective from the Minute Books that were kept by the Secretary. The reports provide the Secretaries’ and later the Directors’ official, public statements of the association’s motivations, objects and aims, and often include a synopsis of the group’s current condition. Having been ‘[r]ead at the Annual General Meeting, [and] Adopted’, under the authority of the association,

³²⁴ Minute entry, 18 March 1905, Minute Book, No. 5.

³²⁵ ‘Constitution and Rules of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, April 1876, in Minute Book, No. 2, p. 361 (p. 3).

³²⁶ ‘Constitution and Rules of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, April 1876, in Minute Book, No. 2, p. 361 (p. 2).

these reports were intended to be broadcast more widely, with reports being prefaced with a statement with ‘instruct[ions for them] to be Printed and extensively circulated’.³²⁷

The first report claims that the motivation for the group’s formation was similar to that of other young men’s associations, ‘namely, the love of society, both naturally and of necessity’, which was an ‘inherent quality in man’, and to which ‘may be attributed the rise and progress of Young Men’s Associations’ more generally.³²⁸ This accounted for their need to be represented in Glasgow ‘as well as any other place.’ This official account differs slightly from the one given in their first meeting and reported in the Minute Book: while stating that the association was a means to end the ‘alienation’, or the social isolation they felt in their adopted city, the additional incentive to enhance members’ material interests was dropped.

The stated objects and aims of the association in the annual reports varied over the years. The Fifth Annual Report tells us that ‘[i]t was on [a] community of feeling and sentiment, and a desire for mutual improvement, that the Association was first formed’.³²⁹ This differs from the progressive, goal-oriented objectives set out in absolutist terms in a long exposition in the Seventh Annual Report:

We cannot remain stationary, for to do so would be to violate the law of our being, and this law being violated, we would estrange ourselves from the common march of civilisation, and drop into that nothingness which is the chief characteristic of an ignorant man. We were formed for the acquisition of knowledge; the ground on which to work has been given us, and if we neglect to till it we do ourselves a great injustice. To enjoy life we must have an aim before our minds, a something to aspire to, a task to accomplish, and a triumph to share in. Our natures must have work, else they will die; our intellects must be cultivated, else they will rot. Our minds must be brought under the influence of a desire for knowledge, and we must bring this desire to work; we must cultivate our intellects e’er we act faithfully to ourselves. This, then, is what our Association seeks to accomplish; and now that another Session has done its work, it is each one’s duty to see that he has been both individually and socially benefitted.³³⁰

³²⁷ ‘Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, Session 1862-63, 1 May 1863, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 28. The terms ‘instructed’ and ‘authorised’ were used intermittently over the years, but the first annual report is the only one that uses ‘widely circulated’ and echoes the initial zeal of its founders. All subsequent reports simply use ‘circulated’.

³²⁸ *Ibid.*

³²⁹ ‘Fifth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1866-1867, 3 May 1867, in Minute Book, No. 2, p. 9.

³³⁰ ‘Seventh Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney & Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1868-1869, 4 May 1868, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 13.

Towards the end of the century, the association's reports alternate between two main objects and aims for the group, variously using either one or both for the remainder of the period. The Twentieth through to the Fifty-Second Annual Reports, running from the 1881-82 session until the 1913-14 session, alternate between the social, and the mutual and intellectually improving aspects of the association, the same two objects that the Fifth Annual Report set out. However, unlike other Glasgow literary clubs and societies, the association opted not to change its 'official' objects as set out in its Constitutions. The 'improvement' of its members appeared to remain its core objective throughout the period even while the social aspects of its meetings were intermittently foregrounded in the annual reports.

It was not only the Constitutionally-stated objects that did not change: its members tended to remain on the membership rolls for longer periods than other societies where comparable evidence is available, with several of the founding members remaining as Honorary Members until their deaths (see below). While the range of activities in the syllabi expanded to include more social activities, and the rules regarding membership for women were amended, the organisation of the meetings and the framing structure of the session set out in the syllabi did not change. In addition, in 1869, a motion was passed to form a library, and although considerably diminished, this institution continues to serve its members up to the present.³³¹ The Annual Reunions of members and friends that were also natives of Orkney and Shetland that began in 1863 continued up until 1970. The association itself has survived into the twenty-first century, with some of the same traditions (e.g. a 'Literary Night') remaining on the syllabi. Continuity is a defining feature of this association. One of the reasons for this may be the association's methods for recruitment and retaining members.

Three years after the founding of the association, a motion was carried and passed '[...] that the members of the Association should each prepare and hand to the Secy a list of names of parties belonging to Orkney and Shetland that they may be visited by a deputation in order to induce them to join the Association [...]'.³³² The Twelfth Annual Report urges members:

³³¹ Minute entry 19 October 1869, Minute Book, No. 2, p. 129.

³³² Minute entry, 16 November 1865, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 137.

to use their influence in bringing before those young men constantly coming from the North to our City, the advantages to be derived from connection with such a Society as ours. To all such we tender our heartiest welcome.³³³

The Thirty-first Annual Report suggests that Orcadians and Shetlanders in the city might be drawn to the meetings provided members ‘do all in their power to make [the meetings] attractive, cheery and pleasant’.³³⁴ The report for the following year advocates stronger measures:

[n]o effort should be spared by the Members to bring the interests of the Society before new arrivals from the North, to invite them to our Meetings and otherwise induce them to take part in the proceedings. The future of the Association depends on them, and without their assistance and attendance the noble aims and objects of the Society cannot be maintained.³³⁵

Two years later, in 1896, the Directors urge a similarly pro-active recruitment of new members that extended beyond Glasgow: ‘[we] urg[e] every individual member [...] the necessity of using his or her influence and effort to get every Orcadian and Shetlander resident in the West incorporated on the Society’s Roll.’³³⁶ This more active recruitment policy does appear to have borne fruit, not in the following session, but two years later, in the 1898-99 session, when the membership rolls begin to increase significantly (see *Figure 5.1* below).

Another possible reason for the long continuity of the members, traditions and institutions of this association may be found in the Twenty-first Annual Report for the 1882-83 session. This report gives the association’s aim as being primarily the ‘intellectual improvement’ of its members, but ‘one of the best features’ of the society is the ‘bring[ing] together in social intercourse the natives of the county’, which recalls and ‘strengthens the chain which binds us to our island homes’.³³⁷ The metaphorical chain that bound them to their ‘island homes’ also bound them to other members and the association itself, and in this way personal and kinship ties were reinforced.

³³³ ‘Twelfth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1873-74, 12 May 1874, in Minute Book No. 2, p. 304 ½.

³³⁴ ‘31st Annual Report’, Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association, Session 1892-93, 6 April 1893, p. 4, D58/4a/6.

³³⁵ ‘Thirty-second Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Association’, Session 1893-94, 7 April 1894, p. 4, D58/4a/7.

³³⁶ ‘Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, Session 1895-1896, Prospectus for 1896-1897, in Minute Book, No. 4, p. 4.

³³⁷ ‘Twenty-first Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1882-1883, 14 April 1883, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 26.

Strongly-held notions of home and heritage are continually used in the annual reports from the association's inception.

The first annual report sets the example. Although there were said to be sufficient numbers of Orcadians and Shetlanders in Glasgow prior to 1862, the association was at a loss to discover why a society had not been formed prior to this date:

For what reason no Young Men's Association in connection with Orkney and Shetland ever hitherto existed in Glasgow, we cannot tell. Is it that the number of young men coming from those Islands to this city is so few? Surely not; for we think the time has come, when they may be numbered by the hundred. Is it that their mental capacities are of so low an order that they are not themselves insufficient to constitute and maintain an association? No! For in this respect they prove themselves equal to their more Southern neighbours. Or is it that they are less social, homely, and patriotic? Never! For within the Scandinavian there beats as true and warm a heart as it is the pride of any other son of Adam to boast of.³³⁸

The report stresses the need for an association that could represent the Orcadians and Shetlanders then living in Glasgow whose numbers could potentially increase through the continued influx of the islanders into the city. It is a bold statement of assertion by its current members, concurrently being a rallying cry whose purpose is the increase of the association's membership.

This appeal to members' identification with home as being either Orkney or Shetland, and these islands' association with the North, the Fatherland, Scandinavia and the Vikings—the 'Land of a thousand sea-kings' graves'—is used throughout the entire period.³³⁹ The rhetoric used in the reports repeatedly emphasises that the social and intellectual benefits that one accrues through membership and participation in the association are bound up in a duty to the other members by keeping each other's welfare in mind, particularly as they all hail from 'one Island home'. For example, the first annual report calls upon each individual to feel as a member of a collective:

Let us each and all resolve fully to realise the benefits derivable from and conferred by such an Association, and to this end to be more deeply interested in and for one another,

³³⁸ *Ibid.*

³³⁹ This line and more extended extracts are used in the Nineteenth and Twenty-Eighth annual reports, and are from David Vedder's poem 'To Orkney', in *Orcadian Sketches: Legendary and Lyrical Pieces* (Edinburgh: William Tait; London: Longman and Co.; Glasgow: Atkinson and Co., 1832). Vedder's work was much admired by the members of this association, as reflected in the frequent references to his work in the reports, papers and talks given to the association, and in the manuscript magazines. The emphasis on an Orcadian author's poems is reflective of the largely Orcadian membership of the association at this period. This point will be returned to below.

which, as sons of one Island home, and that, “placed far amid the melancholy main,” we should feel ourselves bound to be, and thus having at heart our interest, that of our fellow member and one common home, we have, as it were, a three-fold stimulus to urge us on to duty and exertion.³⁴⁰

This sense of solidarity with other members who hail from the North effectively separates them from ‘the rest of mankind’: ‘Not only does the land of our birth hold a high place in our hearts, but there is also a warmth of feeling to all from the same place that is not felt towards the rest of mankind: – the chain that binds men’s hearts to their country also connects with each other, more especially when they are separated from it.’³⁴¹ In subsequent reports, there often recurs nostalgic, even poetic reminiscences of ‘home’.³⁴² The reports make it clear that the benefits that the members derive from the association, which include the ‘progressive development of our intellectual powers’, directly reflect honour on the ‘native isles’:

whether individually or socially, let us toil nobly and well, so shall our Association flourish in the vigour of its growing strength, our native isles shall be honoured, and we ourselves shall reap the ever-increasing, everlasting reward.³⁴³

An individual sense of duty is often invoked through the use of authority: ‘We, your Directors, as individuals, and you yourselves, have therefore a call to work in earnest for the common benefit of our Islanders, which it were a shame for us to disobey’.³⁴⁴

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ ‘Fifth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, in Minute Book, No. 2, p. 2.

³⁴² For example, the Sixth Annual Report begins with a long, descriptive, romanticised vision of growing up in a ‘rural home’, the ‘distant home where forefathers rest [...] where ancestors wrought heroic deeds in the glorious past, and left their names and memorial for the generations which were to follow’. (‘Sixth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1867-68, 5 May 1868, in Minute Book No. 2, p. 69).

³⁴³ ‘Sixth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, in Minute Book, No. 2, p. 69. This same sentiment is used in later reports, for example, the Twenty-Fourth Annual Report ends with an appeal to members’ ‘increased vigour and unity, redounding to the honour of our native Islands and to our own intellectual and moral improvement’ (‘Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1885-1886, read and approved on 13 May 1886, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 39).

³⁴⁴ ‘Thirty-fourth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Session 1895-1896, in Minute Book, No. 4, p. 3.

Members

The association began with 27 members. By the 1906-07 session, it had grown to reach its peak membership of 189 members. By the end of the 1914-15 session this would drop slightly to 176 members, and consisted of 151 Ordinary Members and 25 Honorary Members (see *Figure 5.1*).³⁴⁵ Of note is the inclusion of the special classification of ‘Extraordinary Members’. It allowed members who had to work and couldn’t necessarily make all the meetings to remain on the rolls and pay a reduced membership fee. This category of membership was begun in 1864, and the numbers of these members are included in the association’s tallies from the 1865-66 session until the 1885-86 session, when this category was discontinued. Where the annual reports are no longer extant for a session, it was sometimes possible to find information on membership in the subsequent annual report. This was not possible, however, for the 1902-03 session.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁵ The totals for each session shown in *Figure 5.1* are taken from the end of session figures given in these Annual Reports.

³⁴⁶ The total numbers of members in *Figure 5.1* are not definitive, however, and should be used with some caution: without the ‘official’ roll books, these numbers could only be taken from the Annual Reports. These reports are not consistent in their method of communicating this information, and the manner in which the figures are reported tends to obfuscate rather than elucidate their calculations. One typical example where this occurred was in the tallying of the number of members for the 1882-83 session. The Twenty-first Annual Report gives the following information: ‘At the opening of the session we had a membership consisting of 41 ordinary, 10 extraordinary, and 22 honorary members. During the session 9 ordinary members have been added to the roll, and the following gentlemen elected as honorary members, viz.: – Charles Rampini, Esq., Sheriff-Substitute of Shetland; R. G. C. Hamilton, Esq., Under Secretary of State for Ireland; Rev. Oliver Flett, D.D. Paisley, and Laurance J. Nicolson, Esq., Edinburgh. Three ordinary members have been stuck off, 4 have emigrated, 2 honorary members have resigned, and 1 ordinary member has died; making at present a total membership of 73, being the same as last session’ (‘Twenty-first Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, Session 1882-83, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 26). However, if one calculates the final total using the description given, the membership would be 42 Ordinary Members, 10 Extraordinary Members, and 24 Honorary Members at the end of the session, for a total of 76 not 73 members.

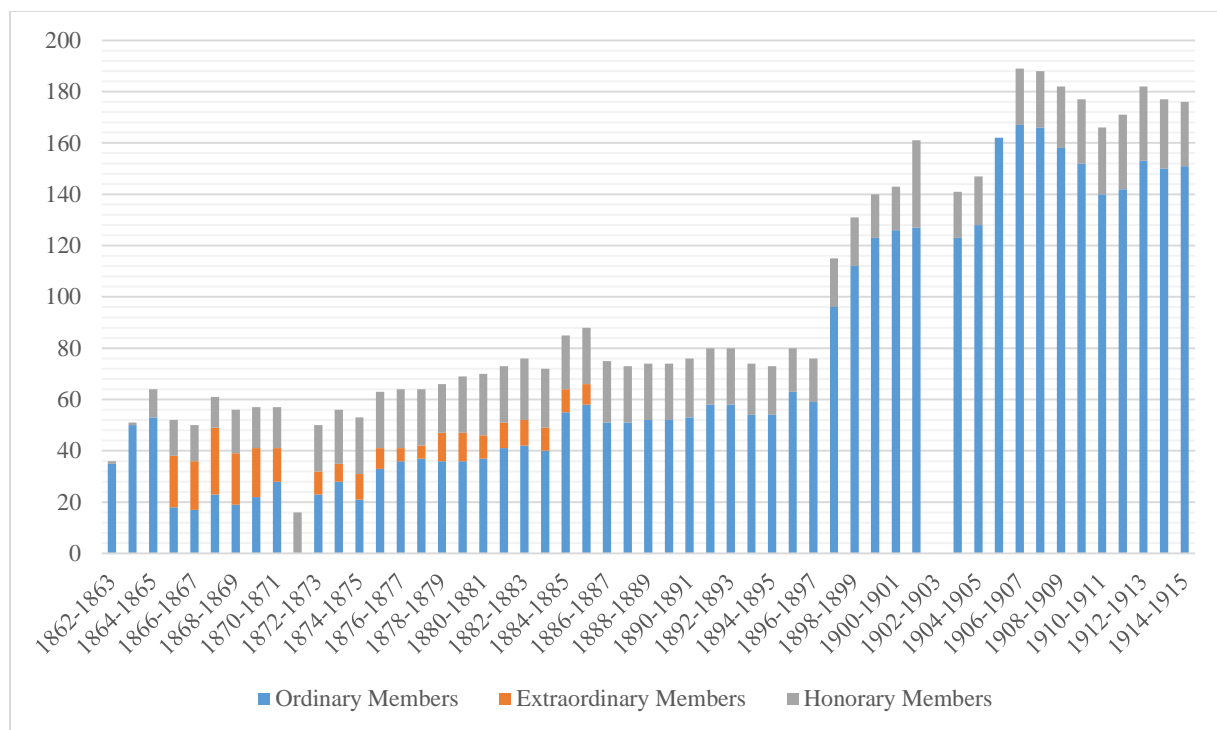


Figure 5.1: Total Number of Members of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Session 1862-63 to 1914-15

There is a slow but steady rise in the total number of members from the association's inception until the 1896-97 session. In the very next session, there is a sharp increase: the total number of members rises from 76 in the 1896-97 session, to 115 in the 1897-98 session, an increase of 51%. The Annual Report for this session remarked on this 'substantial increase in the Membership', and the Directors' hope that this would 'inaugurate a period of still greater prosperity' seemed to be borne out, for despite some minor fluctuations, the number of members generally increased during the following years.³⁴⁷

When the association first formed, women were not allowed as members. Beginning with the Prospectus for the 1895-96 session, the association's first 'Lady Member', Lizzie Louttit, was published in the roll of Ordinary Members. From that point, there was a steady increase of female members, particularly after the 1905-06 session (see *Figure 5.2*). The Prospectuses for sessions 1900-01 to 1902-03 are no longer extant and therefore the total numbers of women members during this period are unknown. However, if all the Prospectuses available are considered, it is clear that once women starting joining, they went on to make up a considerable percentage of the

³⁴⁷ 'Thirty-sixth Annual Report', Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Session 1897-98 (D58/4a/9).

total membership: by the 1914-15 session, there were 47 women listed as Ordinary Members, the total percentage of women members rising from 1.88% in the 1895-96 session, to 31.33% by the end of the period (see *Figure 5.3*).

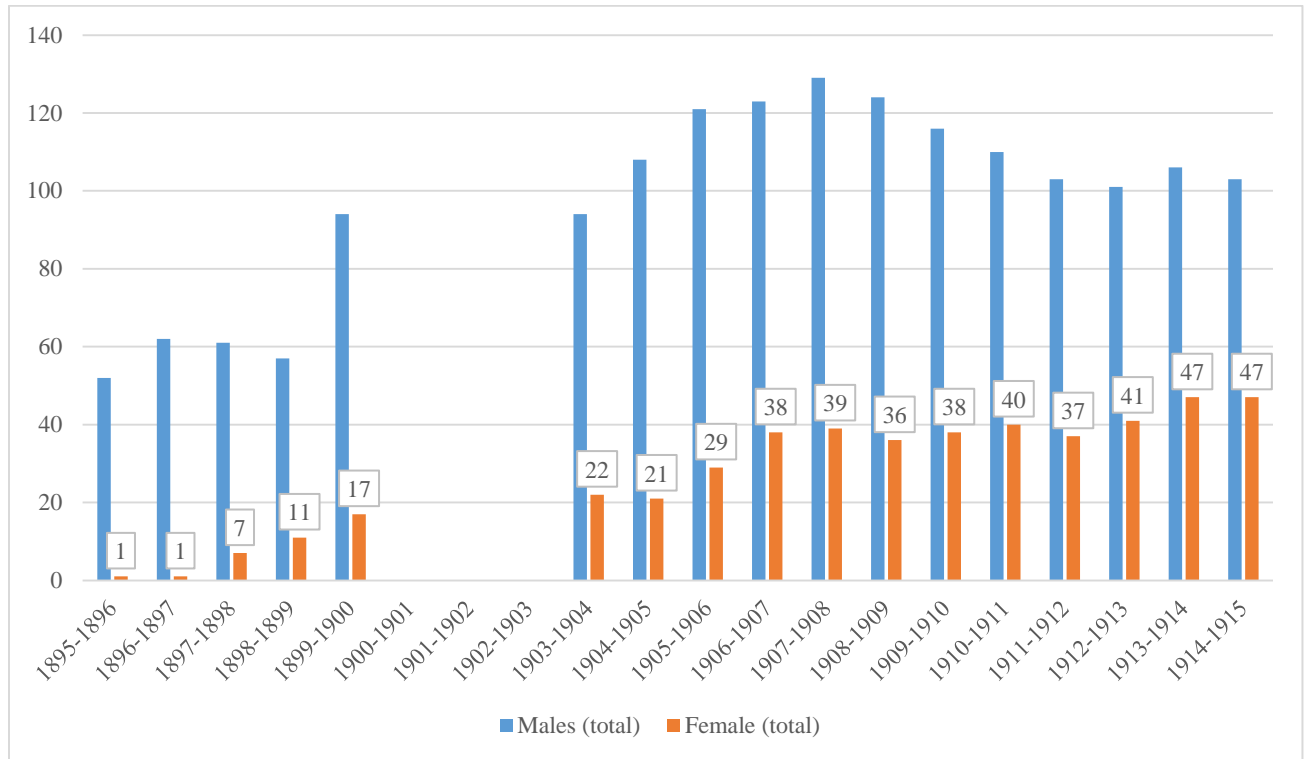


Figure 5.2: Male and Female Ordinary Members of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Sessions 1895-96 to 1914-15

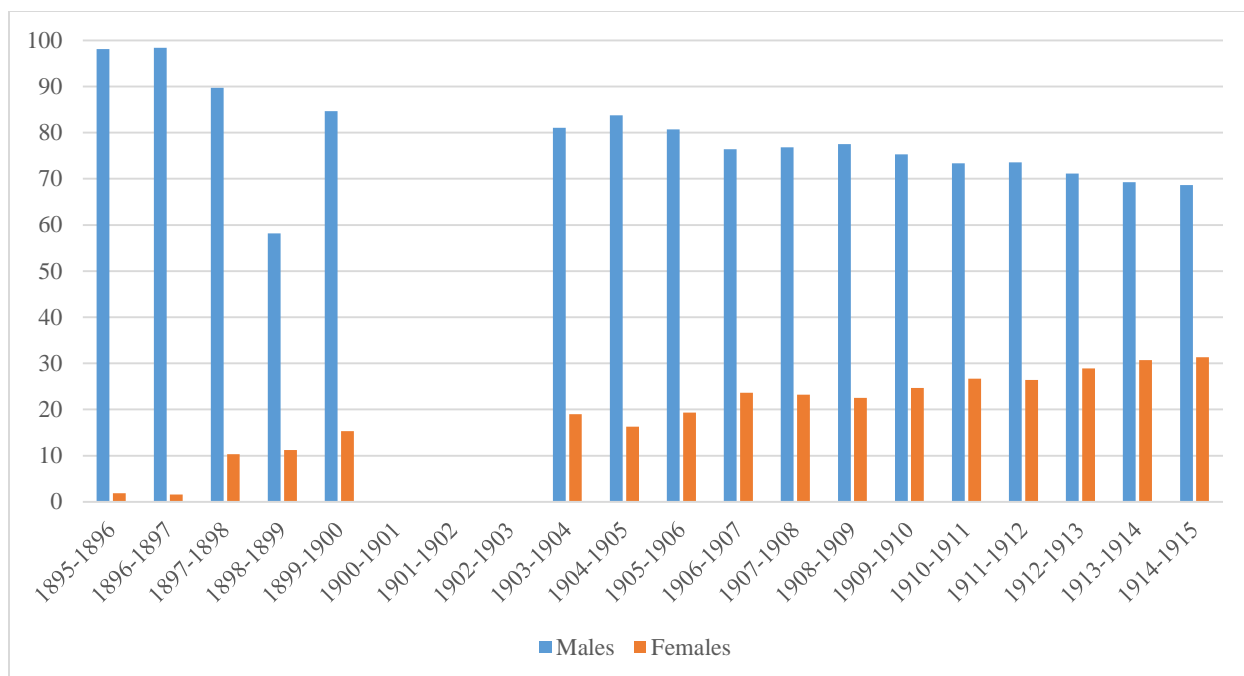


Figure 5.1: Percentage of Male and Female Members of the Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Sessions 1895-96 to 1914-15

Even without the roll books, the lists of Ordinary Members provide further information about the members' lives. The lists include information about members who had attained additional or 'higher' education qualifications, and other qualifications and titles. For example, the list of Ordinary Members for the 1898-99 session gives James Moodie, M.A., Jerome Dennison, B.L. and Robert Corse, C.A. amongst its roll.³⁴⁸ These members are not anomalies in this association's membership history, and it was not only the men who were attaining these qualifications: the women were also following this trend, and the increasing numbers of both men and women can be tracked over time (see *Figure 5.4*).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁸ 'Roll of Ordinary Members', Prospectus for 1898-99, in Minute Book, No. 5.

³⁴⁹ These membership lists, however, should not be taken as a true record of the date which members achieved their qualifications as the records for Jerome Dennison demonstrate. Dennison, after having joined in the 1894-95 session, earned his degree from the University of Glasgow in 1896, but only began to use B.L. after his name in the 1897-98 session ('Roll of Ordinary Members', Prospectus for 1894-95', in Minute Book, No. 4; 'Roll of Ordinary Members', Prospectus for 1897-98, in Minute Book, No. 5; 'Graduate Record for Jerome Dennison [...] Degree Information: BL (1896) [...] Further information from the University records: Addison 1727-1897 reads: Law Clerk, Glasgow; Registrar's Handwritten Roll of Graduates gives the date of birth as 22 June 1873' ('Jerome Dennison', *The University of Glasgow Story* <<http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH10495&type=P>> [accessed 06/04/16])).

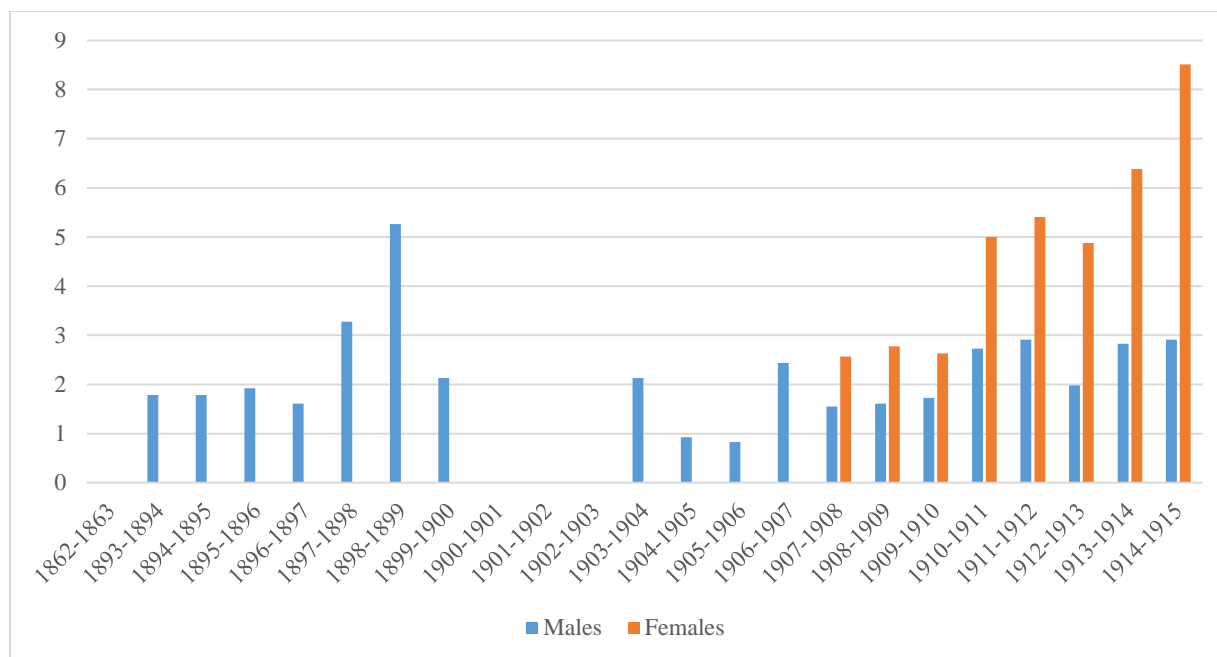


Figure 5.4 Percentage of Male and Female Members with Higher Education or Other Qualifications and Titles

Although it appears that there is a large step in the number of men who attained other qualifications between the 1897-98 and the 1898-99 sessions, the difference is actually only that of 1.98 percentage points of the total number of members. Alternatively, by the 1914-15 session, the number of women with higher education qualifications rose markedly between the 1907-08 session and the 1914-15 session: in the 1907-08 session, amongst a membership that included 39 women, (Miss) Lucy Isbister began listing herself as ‘Lucy Isbister, M.A.’ (5%), while in the 1914-15 session, out of a total of 47 female members, four women (8.5%) are listed as holding M.A.s.³⁵⁰

The increased incidents of members listing credentials after their names in the lists suggests that there may in fact be a connection with the ‘improving’ objects and aims of the association and the high(er) educational achievements and other types of qualifications attained by its members. In publishing the lists of the Ordinary Members as part of the Prospectuses that were circulated and broadcast to other members and prospective new ones, they effectively advertised the achievements of its members.

³⁵⁰ ‘Ordinary Members’, Year Book, 1907-08, p. 7, in Minute Book, No. 6 (D58/1/6); ‘Ordinary Members’, Year Book, 1914-15, p. 12, in Minute Book, No. 6. The four women with Master’s degrees in the 1914-15 session include two single women (Jessie M. Smith, M.A.; Lilius W. Halcrow, M.A.), and two married women (Mrs. Campbell, M.A.; Mrs. Thompson, M.A.).

Association Meetings: Prospectus's Subjects Compared

The Nascent Years: 1862-1872

Prospectuses for this association, similarly to those of other literary clubs and societies, were printed and distributed to its members, and presumably prospective members. They provide details on the upcoming meetings and social events for the coming session, which ran from September or October until March or April. Other information in the prospectuses includes a list of the elected office-bearers and honorary members for the session, the roll of ordinary members (as of 1893), details regarding the place(s), date(s) and time of the meetings, and the syllabus.³⁵¹ The syllabus for each session gives the dates for lectures, essays, debates, social events, (mock) parliamentary elections, the annual business meeting, and the annual social gathering.

Where the records of literary clubs and societies have survived, it is not uncommon for the syllabi to be found amongst the materials. However, it is unusual for the syllabi for any society to have been preserved for nearly the entire length of its existence. The Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Association is a rare case, and with the exception of nine sessions, the syllabi from its first session in 1862-63 until its fifty-second in 1914-15 have all survived.³⁵² This offers an opportunity to explore the range of subjects that one literary society included in its papers, debates, discussions and readings that made up its meetings for just over fifty years.

In the assessment of these materials, my aim was to utilise this nearly complete set of syllabi to evaluate any trends in the frequency of the subjects read aloud and/or discussed and debated, and any changes that may have occurred over time. First, with few exceptions, I divided the talks, readings, debates, etc. into categories by subject utilising the classifications that were used by the association themselves in their annual reports.³⁵³ I divided the subjects as follows:

³⁵¹ Beginning in the 1905-06 session, the Association's syllabi were published in their annual Year Books. Along with the syllabus, the Year Books contain: names and some addresses of the office-bearers; honorary members; ordinary members; the annual report, which included a report on the library; financial report; constitution; rules; list of ordinary members, and the library catalogue.

³⁵² I have not examined the entire set of records beyond the 1915-16 session and therefore cannot confirm how complete they are. The syllabi from the 1916-17 session until the 2014-15 session still exist, and it does appear that the vast majority (if not all) of the syllabi have been preserved.

³⁵³ With the exception of the 'Education', 'Religion', 'Travels/Tours', 'Other', and 'Unknown' categories, all the above categories were used by the association to classify the talks, papers and essays given in a particular session. The categories were taken from the following Annual Reports: 1865-66; 1866-67; 1873-74; 1880-81; 1881-82; and 1889-90.

- Biography/Biographical;
- Education;
- History/Historical;
- Law;
- Literary (Literature);
- Magazine;
- Moral Philosophy/Philosophical;
- Northern Subjects;
- Political Economy/Politics;
- Readings;
- Religion;
- Science/Scientific;
- Social Events;
- Travel/Tours;
- Other, and
- Unknown.

In several cases, where the subject of the talk could be included under more than one category, it was counted—as in most of these cases—twice.³⁵⁴ The ‘Magazine’, ‘Social Events’, and ‘Readings’ categories were added as these were important and recurring events in the association’s calendar and/or agenda. In addition, I included the category of ‘Social Events’ as I wanted to see if this association followed the overall trends of literary clubs and societies becoming more ‘social’, or including more social events in their syllabi at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. The results from this assessment of the first decade is shown in *Figure 5.5*.

³⁵⁴ Two examples of talks and papers where this occurred include the essay, ‘The life and writings of Alexander Pope’, which was given by Mr. John Wilson on 28 January 1873, and was categorised under both ‘Biography’ and ‘Literary (Literature)’ (Syllabus, Session 1872-73, Prospectus for 1872-1873, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 8). A second example are the essays entitled, ‘Life of Thorfinn VIII., Earl of Orkney, Part 1st, and Part 2nd’, which were given by James M. M’Beath, Esq. on 22 and 29 December 1864. These two essays were counted in both the ‘Biography’ and the ‘Northern Subjects’ category, being counted twice in each category for a total of four occurrences in this session (Syllabus, 1864-65, Prospectus for 1864-65, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 71).

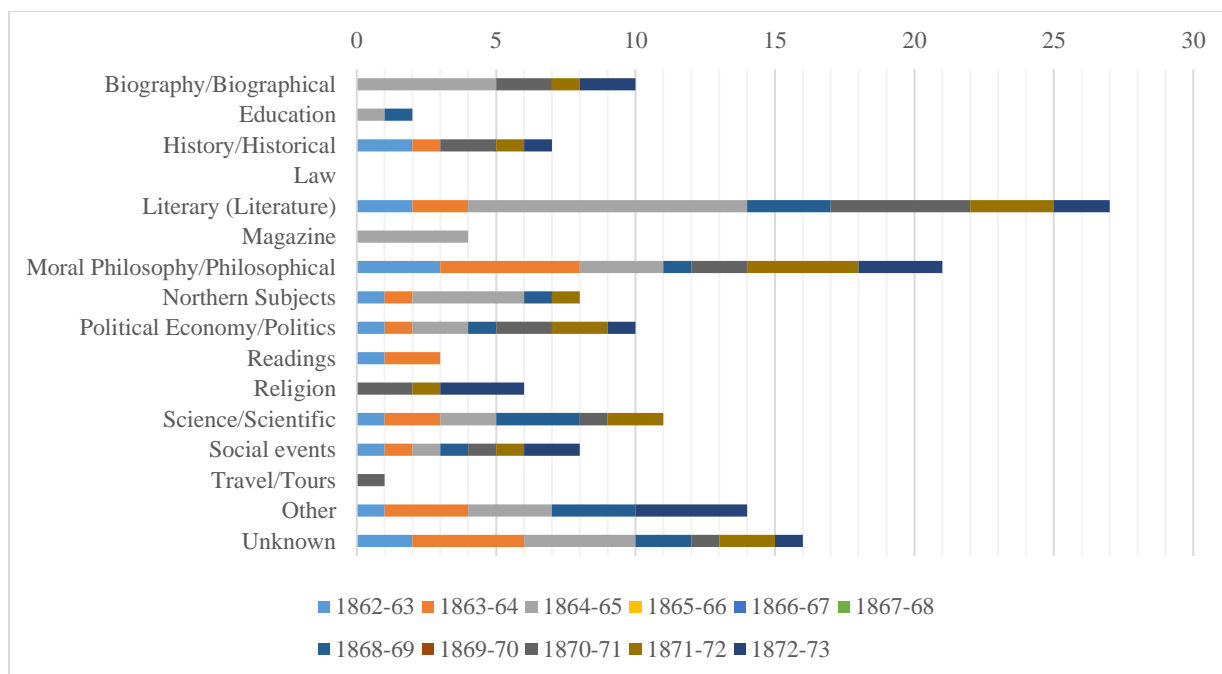


Figure 5.5: *Subjects of the Talks, Papers, Essays, and Debates, Etc. of the Syllabi for the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Session 1862-63 to Session 1872-73*

These results may not be an entirely accurate representation of the subjects of the association's syllabi in their nascent years: there are four syllabi missing from this first decade, more than any other period covered in this case study. Nonetheless, there appear to be some clear trends. The subject most frequently covered in the meetings were the essays and debates in the 'Literary (Literature)' category. This is, in part, due to the meetings where the magazines were reviewed being counted twice, first in the 'Magazine' category and second in 'Literary (Literature)'. I use here the broad definition of literary as discussed in Chapter 2. The original contributions that consisted of essays, poems and artwork were composed expressly for inclusion in a manuscript magazine, but in the case of the essays and poems, were often read aloud at meetings. Thus, I take these original contributions as being literature that were intended to be literary, while concurrently constituting part of the 'oral, or vernacular, culture' of this association.³⁵⁵ In addition, this category is further augmented by the inclusion of the meetings devoted to 'Readings', which were counted in both the 'Readings' and the 'Literary' category as

³⁵⁵ As set out in Chapter 2, Elizabeth McHenry's definition of 'literary' as including oral culture is particularly pertinent in this study of mutual improvement society culture (McHenry, pp. 5-6).

they included selections from various published works by a diverse range of authors on sundry topics (see below).

The subjects covered in the ‘Literary’ category include a wide range of talks and papers during this early period. They included more ‘typical’ authors discussed by other literary societies, for example, Shakespeare (two talks were given on him in this decade), Byron, Dickens, and Thackeray.³⁵⁶ But there were also talks on Glasgow-born author Thomas Campbell, along with Scottish authors Alexander Smith and Hugh Miller.³⁵⁷ Ancient poetry also featured, with Homer’s *Iliad* and Hebrew poetry among the papers given.³⁵⁸ ‘Northern’ authors and literature more generally were well represented by essays read on ‘Ochlenchlager, the Danish poet’, the Hakon Saga, as well as David Vedder, ‘the sailor poet of Orkney’, and the works of Mary Brunton, who was always referred to as the ‘Orcadian Authoress’.³⁵⁹

Of note here is that while the ‘Readings’ category by itself is relatively low for this decade, being only listed for the first two years, this does not accurately represent their relative importance. The 1862-63 and 1863-64 sessions are the only ones that have separate meetings especially for this purpose. However, after a motion was carried in December 1872 for their regular inclusion, readings were a fairly standard part of the meetings in the next decades.³⁶⁰ If the four meetings that

³⁵⁶ The two essays on Shakespeare were given on 9 January 1862 by Mr. John G. Stobbs and on 2 March 1865 by Mr. James B. Laurence (Syllabus, 1862-63, Prospectus for 1862-63, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. i; Syllabus, 1864-65, Prospectus for 1864-65, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 71). ‘The Life and Writings of Lord Byron’ was given on 26 January 1869 by Mr. Alexander Eunson (Syllabus, 1868-69, Prospectus for 1868-69, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7). An essay on Charles Dickens was given on 9 April 1872 by Mr. George Melville (Syllabus, 1871-72, Prospectus for 1871-72, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7), and one on Thackeray was given on 3 January 1871 by Mr. John Keillor (Syllabus, 1870-71, Prospectus for 1870-71, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7).

³⁵⁷ An essay on Thomas Campbell was given on 1 December 1864 by Mr. Thomas Sinclair (Syllabus, 1864-65, Prospectus for 1864-65, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 71), on Alexander Smith, by Mr. John Wilson on 13 February 1871 (Syllabus, 1871-72, Prospectus for 1871-72, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7), and on Hugh Miller by Rev. David Young on 11 October 1870 (Syllabus, 1870-71, Prospectus for 1870-71, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 71).

³⁵⁸ An essay on *The Iliad* by Homer was given on 20 December 1870 by Mr. Alexander Eunson (Syllabus, 1870-71, Prospectus for 1870-71, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7), and an essay on Hebrew poetry was given on 17 November 1864 by Mr. Richard Reid (Syllabus, 1864-65, Prospectus for 1864-65, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 71).

³⁵⁹ Of particular note is that these talks were all given by Mr. James Thomson. Thomson’s biographical details are currently unknown. On 5 November 1872, he read an essay entitled ‘Ochlenchlager – The Danish Poet’ (Syllabus, 1872-73, Prospectus for 1872-73, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 8). ‘The Hakon Saga’ was discussed by Thomson on 20 October 1868 (Syllabus, 1868-69, Prospectus for 1868-69, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7). He also read an essay on David Vedder on 12 January 1865 (Syllabus, 1864-65, Prospectus for 1864-65, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 71). Finally, an essay he wrote on Mary Brunton was given on 28 February 1871 (Syllabus, 1870-71, Prospectus for 1870-71, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7).

³⁶⁰ At a meeting held on 17 December 1872, ‘[t]he chairman moved second by Mr Holland that in addition to the Essay usually read, a recitation or reading be given by one of the members, the motion was carried & Mr Wilson agreed to give the first reading’ (Minute entry, 17 December 1872, Minute Book, No. 2, p. 247).

were held in the 1864-65 session to read and review the magazines aloud are included, the total number of meetings in this category would rise to 7, which would be more representative of their actual importance in the syllabi.

‘Moral Philosophy/Philosophical’ subjects was the second most frequent category. Talks under this heading included ‘The Sophists’, and debates were held to discuss ‘Is early marriage advisable?’, and ‘Has morality increased with civilization?’.³⁶¹ This trend is not surprising as philosophical, and moral talks and debates were fairly standard in other mutual improvement societies during the nineteenth century.

The next more frequent subjects were the ‘Unknown’ and ‘Other’ categories. Talks listed in the former category include the lectures that opened and closed the session, and these were often simply listed as ‘Opening Address’ and ‘Closing’ Address’. The essays categorised as ‘Other’ are a mixture of subjects including ‘Tobacco’, ‘Amateur Photography’, ‘Wooling Time’, and ‘The Kelp Manufacture’, and are indicative of the range of subjects considered appropriate for discussion in this ‘literary and scientific’ society.³⁶² Science and scientific topics were covered in most of the years where syllabi are available, with the 1868-69 session having slightly more talks in this area, including those on ‘Astronomy’, ‘Practical Chemistry (with illustrations)’, and ‘Geology’.³⁶³

The ‘Biography/Biographical’ category was equally represented over the years with the ‘Politics’ category. As noted above, the relatively higher rate of the former category was due to some essays being counted twice: it was not uncommon for an essay on an author’s works to include an overview of his/her life at the start of the paper. Politics was frequently the subject underlying the debates and covered topical issues for the time. For example, the debate ‘Should

³⁶¹ These talks were given on 6 December 1870 by Mr. Richard Reid (Syllabus, 1870-71, Prospectus for 1870-71, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7), on 6 February 1863, with the affirmative taken by Mr. James Greig Hicks and the negative by Mr. David D. Leisk (Syllabus, 1862-63, Prospectus for 1862-63, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. i), and on 26 March 1872, with the affirmative taken by Mr. John Garriock and the negative by Mr. K. S. Miller respectively (Syllabus, 1871-72, Prospectus for 1871-72, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7).

³⁶² The essay entitled ‘Tobacco’ was given on 10 February 1863 by Dr. Bruce Barclay (Syllabus, 1862-63, Prospectus for 1862-63, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. i). The essay, ‘Amateur Photography’ was given on 16 April 1864 by A. G. Horne (Syllabus 1863-64, Prospectus for 1863-64, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 28). ‘Wooling Time’ was given on 15 December 1868 by Mr. John Garriock (Syllabus, 1868-69, Prospectus for 1868-69, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’ p. 7). An essay entitled ‘The Kelp Manufacture’ was given on 22 October 1872 by Mr. William Logie (Syllabus, 1872-73, Prospectus for 1872-73, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 8).

³⁶³ The essay, ‘Astronomy’, was given on 3 November 1868 by Mr. John Riddoch, the essay entitled, ‘Practical Chemistry’, was given on 29 December 1868 by Mr. John Smith, and the essay on geology was given on 12 January 1869 by Mr. David Riddoch (Syllabus, 1868-69, Prospectus for 1868-69, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7).

Britain recognize the Southern Confederacy?’ was given during the closing years of the American Civil War.

‘Northern Subjects’, History/Historical’, and ‘Social Events’ were roughly equally represented in the first decade. I expected there to be more ‘Northern’ topics in an association whose membership was restricted to first and second generation natives of Orkney and Shetland, but this was not the case. In fact, in the category of ‘History’, there were three talks given on the subject of historic Glasgow.³⁶⁴ This could be seen as indicative of members’ interest in the history of their new home. In three cases, essays given on the Northern islands covered their history or historic figures, which accounts for their almost equal representation in both these categories.

Other subjects were not as well represented but present an interesting trend nonetheless. Although religion and politics were normally excluded as subjects for discussion and papers in many Glaswegian literary societies in the nineteenth century, this association included both. There were three debates and three essays whose subjects were classified under ‘Religion’ during the latter part of the decade. Not only was religion an acceptable subject to give a paper on, but until an internal committee’s recommendation in 1874 to ‘carefully avoid’ it,³⁶⁵ it may be argued that debate on this universally contentious topic was equally encouraged.³⁶⁶ There were eight social

³⁶⁴ On 13 November 1863, Peter Miller gave read an essay entitled, ‘Glasgow One Hundred Years Ago’ (Syllabus, 1863-64, Prospectus for 1863-64, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 28). An essay, ‘The Motto, “Let Glasgow Flourish”’, was given by Mr. John Garriock on 14 March 1871, and may refer to Glasgow being granted its coat of arms a few years earlier in 1866, and includes this motto (‘Syllabus’, 1870-71, Prospectus for 1870-71, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7). The ‘Opening Lecture’ for the 1872-73 session was entitled, ‘Glasgow in the Olden Time’, and was given by Rev. J.A. Taylor, D.D. (‘Syllabus’, 1872-73, Prospectus for 1872-73, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 8).

³⁶⁵ A committee was formed in the summer of 1874 to revise the Association’s rules. Along with a recommendation to change the meeting night from Tuesday to Saturday, they advised ‘[t]hat as this Assocn is founded on the principles of charity it be recommended to the members of the Assocn to carefully avoid any subject of essay or debate which might lead to Theological Controversy –’ (Minute entry, 18 August 1874, Minute Book, No. 2, p. 306).

³⁶⁶ In the 1870-71 session, there was a debate on ‘Which contains the greater amount of Truth, the Writings of John Calvin or Theodore Parker?’ (28 March 1871, with John Calvin being represented by Mr. Alexander Eunson, and Theodore Parker by Mr. James Thomson), and an essay was given on ‘The Beauties of the Koran’ (11 April 1871, Mr. James Louttit). While the essay was essentially on aesthetics, it might equally have invited discussion on points of religion (‘Syllabus, 1870-71, Prospectus for 1870-71, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7). The 1871-72 session included a debate on ‘Is the Influence of the Pulpit on the Wane?’, with the positive being represented by Mr. James Thomson, and the negative by Mr. David Holland (Syllabus, 1871-72, Prospectus for 1871-72, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 7). Finally, in the 1872-73 session, there were three meetings where religion was featured. The first was a lecture given by Mr. George Mutch on “‘Church Song”, with Illustrations by a Choir’. In this case, religion underlies this musical genre and is arguably not the predominant theme of this talk. The second was a debate held on 25 February 1873 on the subject of ‘Should we have a National Church Establishment?’, with the affirmative taken by Mr. David Holland and the negative by Mr. James Thomson. The last was a meeting that featured an essay by Mr. George Melville on ‘Martin Luther’, which he gave on 8 April 1873 (Syllabus, 1872-73, Prospectus for 1872-73, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 8).

events in seven years, with the Annual Re-union featuring in each session. ‘Education’ was only featured twice in the decade, and the subject of ‘Travels/Tours’ comprised only one lecture. Although included in a later syllabus, the ‘Law’ was an unpopular choice of subject for this association during the first fifty years.

Changes in the New Century: 1904-1914

The Prospectuses for the last decade of the period under study show that there were some significant shifts in the association’s agenda (see *Figure 5.6*). The largest number of meetings in this decade were devoted to social events, with each session having at least three meetings for this purpose. A typical session included the ‘At Home’, annual reunion, and Social Parlour, with ‘Musical Evenings’ becoming more frequent towards the end of the period. The inclusion of more social activities in the syllabi during this period is in line with the trend exhibited by the majority of literary clubs and societies across Glasgow during the late-nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries.

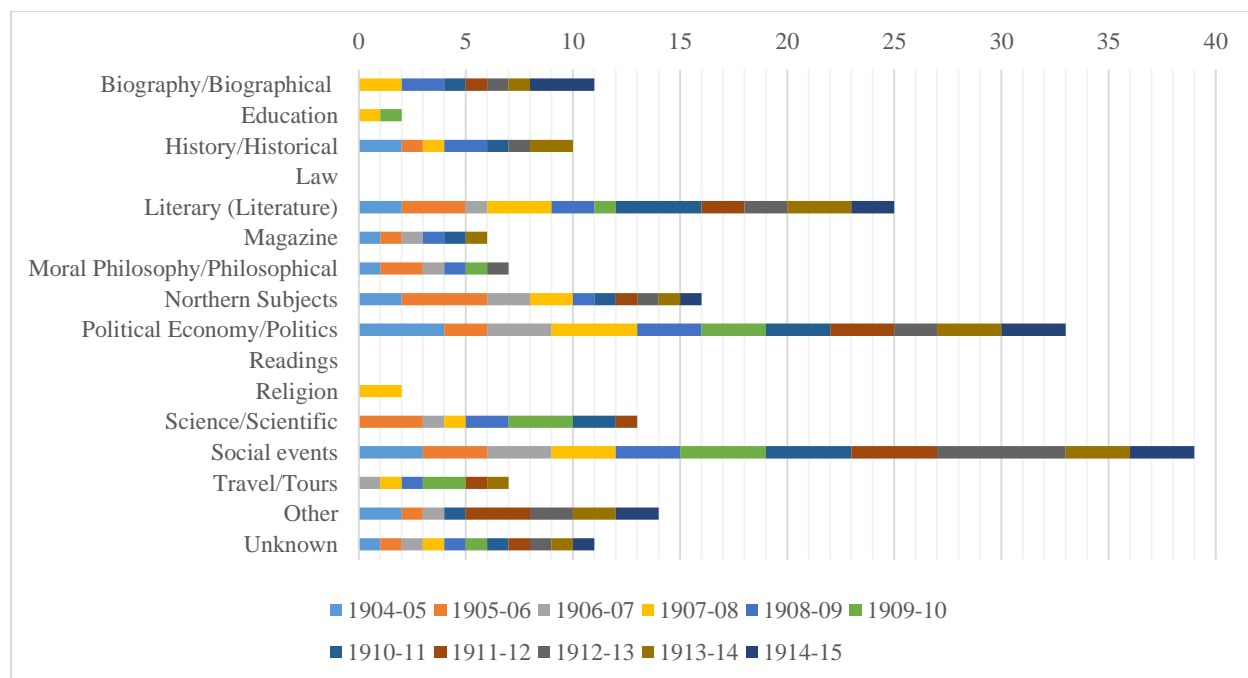


Figure 5.6: Subjects of the Talks, Papers, Essays, and Debates, Etc. of the Syllabi for the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Session 1904-05 to Session 1914-15

The second most frequent subject of the syllabi was ‘Political Economy/Politics’. As noted above, this topic was usually banned from discussion in the meetings of the majority of literary clubs, but the Glasgow and Orkney society included it with some frequency during the early period. This trend increased in the early twentieth century, and the association had at least two meetings on this subject each session. Surprisingly, there were not more meetings on politics prior to the start of the First World War, particularly as several of their members would go off to serve.³⁶⁷ It was only in the 1910-11 and 1913-14 sessions that increasing international tensions or the subject of war were discussed, but these meetings address the contemporary political crises through the lens of ‘peace’ rather than war. For example, on 26 November 1910, an ‘inter-debate’ was held with the Edinburgh University Orcadian Association, their subject being ‘That the awakening of the East is a greater peril to the peace of Europe than the rivalry of Great Britain and Germany’.³⁶⁸ Similarly, on 22 November 1913, the association again hosted an ‘inter-debate’ with the Edinburgh University Orcadian Association, their subject being “Is the Accumulation of Armaments conducive to the Preservation of Peace?”³⁶⁹ While international relations and politics were the focus of three of its meetings, national politics were more frequently discussed.

The next most frequently scheduled subject for the meetings was literature. This is a drop from the first to the third most frequent subject when compared to the early period of the association. Even though this category included the annual ‘Magazine Night’, the tendency to include meetings on literature or literary subjects declined, which might have been accompanied by a decline in the interest of its members: this slight decrease might be attributed to what could be seen as an overindulgence in papers on authors that had been discussed in several meetings in many previous sessions. The authors that were the subject of the essays and meetings during this period included such standard literary society fare as Chaucer, Shakespeare, Samuel Johnson, Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and George Eliot. Only four talks in this last decade discussed contemporary authors and the present state of the literary scene. These included papers on Robert Louis Stevenson, Lafcadio Hearn, ‘The Theatre – Past and Present’,

³⁶⁷ For a complete list of the members who died during the war, see ‘Roll of Honour of Members of the Association, 1914-1918’, in Eunson and Scott, pp. 41-2.

³⁶⁸ Syllabus, 1910-11, *Year Book, 1910-1911*, in Minute Book, No. 6.

³⁶⁹ Syllabus, 1913-14, *Year Book, 1913-1914*, in Minute Book, No. 6.

and a symposium on ‘Living authors: Maeterlinck, Bernard Shaw, Rudyard Kipling, Arnold Bennett’.³⁷⁰

Also included in the ‘literary’ category was a ‘Dialect Night’, which was held on 6 January 1906, when there was one ‘Orcadianic Paper’, and one ‘Shetlandic Paper’ were given.³⁷¹ While members strove to improve their rhetorical skills by giving talks and engaging in debates, they valued—and perhaps strove to preserve—the dialect of their homes. In addition to the meeting in 1906, there were (at least) three ‘readings’ in dialect, which took place in 1875, 1880 and 1890. There are also several examples of poems, letters to the editor, and a fictional newspaper extract in the association’s magazines. While dialect could be used for poetry, and fictional, humorous newspaper extracts and letters to the editor, it was not used for original essays in prose—fiction or non-fiction—even where it might have been used to good effect, as in the fictional essay, ‘A Leaf from a “Hobo’s” Diary. An Orkney Lad’s adventure in the United States’.³⁷²

As was the case with the syllabi from the 1862-63 session until the 1872-73 session, the ‘Readings’ category in the syllabi in the later period is greatly under-represented. Although only two meetings in the first two sessions were devoted entirely for this purpose, they continued to be included until 1905. At ‘ordinary meetings’, short readings of pre-selected texts often followed the main talk, and were given by speakers chosen for the purpose at the previous meeting. Beginning as a regular feature in 1872, speakers chose a range of materials to read aloud at the meetings. The purpose was to practice their rhetorical skills, but these were also meant to be entertaining and humorous. Several of the pieces, in fact, were published in popular anthologies that were published exclusively for this purpose. For example, on 28 January 1873, David Garriock read ‘The Sailor Boy’s Dream’ to the association. This piece was included in popular journals, and educational works intended for students, for example, *An Essay on Elocution: Designed for the Use of Schools and Private Learners* and *Practical Elocution: Containing Illustrations of the Principles of*

³⁷⁰ Syllabus, 1907-1908, *Year Book, 1907-1908*, in Minute Book, No. 6; Syllabus 1910-11, *Year Book, 1910-1911*, in Minute Book, No. 6; Syllabus 1913-1914, *Year Book, 1913-1914*, in Minute Book, No. 6; and Syllabus, 1914-1915, *Year Book, 1914-1915*, in Minute Book, No. 6.

³⁷¹ Syllabus 1905-1906, *Year Book, 1905-1906*, in Minute Book, No. 5.

³⁷² This is the title of an essay read on the Magazine Night held on 2 February 1907. This essay was then typed and bound with the other papers given on the night. These papers are bound together with contributions from other Magazine Nights held in sessions 1903-04, 1904-05, 1905-06, 1906-07, and 1908-09 (‘A Leaf from a “Hobo’s” Diary. An Orkney Lad’s adventure in the United States’, typescript magazine, annual Magazine Night submissions, Sessions 1903-04 through 1907-08, pp. 1-10, D58/2/9).

Reading and Public Speaking.³⁷³ Much like the talks on literature during this period, the authors chosen were fairly standard choices: Shakespeare, Goldsmith, Shelley, Burns, Scott, Tennyson, and Dickens. Nevertheless, besides Burns, Scottish authors and poets like John Malcolm, Thomas Campbell, Dorothea Primrose Campbell, and Robert Leighton were also included on a fairly regular basis.

Reader Response: Evidence from the Annual Reports and Minute Books

To return to the Annual Reports, it is apparent from the first report that ‘criticism’ was an integral part of the Association’s meetings from the very beginning. William Cowper, the Secretary, gave an overview of that first year’s meetings:

The Meetings were, throughout, of a very satisfactory nature, and the remarks on the papers showed that the Members could pass a criticism, were they but inclined to do so. Even supposing we had derived no benefit from our Meetings – which is not the case – we can all look back upon a few happy evenings anything but ill-spent. In our Syllabus, we had two debates and a reading, as well as essays. The subjects of essays were varied and instructive, and upon the whole successfully handled.³⁷⁴

Here, Cowper gives us to understand that the members were sufficiently educated, cultured and/or literary to provide feedback, even if this activity wasn’t engaged in as much as it should have been. Indeed, the remarks, or criticism, on the papers were one ‘benefit’ to be had from the meetings. Cowper himself even provides his own criticism on the essays’ subjects, reporting that they ‘were varied and instructive, and upon the whole successfully handled’. The first year’s activities seem to be one of the few exceptions to the rule: most years’ meetings were generally characterised as having ‘spirited debates, able essays, lively criticisms and general enthusiasm’.³⁷⁵

³⁷³ This piece appeared in *The Nithsdale Minstrel (The Nithsdale Minstrel: Being Original Poetry, Chiefly by the Bards of Nithsdale* (Dumfries: C. Munro & Co., 1815), pp. 121-4). It was also included in *The Scots Magazine and Edinburgh Literary Miscellany*, Vol. LXXVII, (Edinburgh: 1815), pp. 932-34; Henry T. Coates, *The Children’s Book of Poetry: Carefully Selected Works of the Best and Most Popular Writers for Children* (Philadelphia: Porter & Coates, 1879), pp. 154-56). In addition, there is a broadside ballad of same title: (‘Sailor boys dream’, *Broadside Ballads Online* <<http://ballads.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/search/title/Sailor%20boys%20dream>> [accessed 16/04/16]).

³⁷⁴ ‘Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association’, Session 1862-63, in *Minute Book*, No. 1, p. 28.

³⁷⁵ ‘[Annual] Report 1875-6’, Session 1875-76, 15 April 1876, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 20.

These ‘spirited’ and ‘lively’ discussions were designed to stimulate a desire to learn and to ‘improve’. As the 1876-77 Annual Report proclaims:

Whatever stimulates the desire for, and helps in attaining to mental culture, deserves encouragement and support. Valuable aid in this direction is rendered by the contact of mind with mind in discussion and criticism [...].³⁷⁶

It was frequently stressed that it was incumbent upon each individual member to conscientiously prepare for the meetings so that he (and later, she) might be primed to take an active part in them, and thus to feel a ‘personal responsibility’ for the Association’s ‘future success’:

[...] each individual Member should feel that the future success of the Association rest with *him*, and thus conscious of his own personal responsibility, he will be regular and punctual in his attendance at the meetings, and having carefully studied the subject under discussion, be ready at any time to give his fellows the benefit of his opinions.³⁷⁷

This element of individuality in the discussions and criticisms that were, arguably, central to the meetings is, unfortunately, not recorded in the minute books.

During the fifty-two years of the association considered in my study, the Secretaries rarely record the comments of individual members from the meetings. Instead, they give general or even vague descriptions of the discussions that took place, the members’ criticisms in particular being glossed over. We are only given a nondescript idea of what the criticisms involved and what points in particular the members were addressing. The minute entry for 10 November 1864 is a typical example: after John Matches read his essay on ‘Education’ to the association, ‘[t]he members criticised the Essay and awarded a cordial vote of thanks to the Essayist’.³⁷⁸ Alternatively, criticism could be vague yet generally complimentary, for example, essays were ‘criticised’ as being ‘instructive’ or better yet, ‘highly instructive’. ‘Able and interesting’ was often used to describe papers that were given by members.³⁷⁹ Any dissention or contentious points that may have come up in the discussions are largely lost. For example, at a meeting held on 9 January 1863, John G.

³⁷⁶ ‘[Annual] Report 1876-7’, Session 1876-77, 14 April 1877, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 21.

³⁷⁷ ‘[Annual] Report, 1880-81’, Session 1880-81, 16 April 1881, D58/4a/1.

³⁷⁸ Minute entry, 10 November 1864, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 84.

³⁷⁹ To give two examples, Mr. Oman’s paper on ‘The Influence of Shakespeare on French & German Literature’ was ‘criticised’ as ‘a highly instructive paper’, while James Thomson’s essay on ‘Samuel Laings Heimskringla’ was described as ‘able & interesting’ (Minute entry, 18 September 1888, Minute Book, No. 4; Minute entry, 12 October 1889, Minute Book, No. 4).

Stobbs read an essay on Shakspeare, and in the minute book, the Secretary gave a summary of the paper which ended with his recording that ‘[t]he meeting expressed themselves highly satisfied with the able manner in which the Essayist had treated his subject’.³⁸⁰ The criticisms are recorded here collectively, and individual responses are lost in this general account of the meeting.

On the other hand, from this minute entry, we might deduce the elements of the essay that *were* thought to be important to criticise in this particular forum (i.e. the association’s meetings), and thus we can glean the constituent elements in members’ literary criticism. The Secretary’s minutes could arguably be said to be a record of the compositional and rhetorical components of a literary style that was broadly shared amongst the association’s members. This collective, communal response was nurtured by the social nature of the meetings and their accompanying discussions. In the case of the essay on Shakespeare, these components included the ‘correct’ handling of the subject matter, along with an implicit regard for the essayist’s ‘able’ style: the members are described as being ‘highly satisfied’ with Stobbs’s ‘able manner’ specifically in regards to the subject, perhaps with the additional intention of conveying the scholarly and skillful sense of his ‘treatment’. These two separate critical elements of subject and style are again used in the criticism of James Thomson’s essay on ‘Snorro Sturlson’:

The members present not being acquainted with the subject could not speak much on the Essay[;] with they way in which the paper was written the members expressed their appreciation[.]³⁸¹

Although general, the minutes do allow us to build up a picture of the literary criticism that accompanied the essays, debates and magazines. In March of 1863, an essay by George Drever on ‘Self taught men’ was praised ‘as being very intelligently & ably written’.³⁸² While seemingly generic, from this, it can be adduced that commendable literary qualities include a well-researched and/or cleverly executed paper and a laudable style in its composition. More seldom, specifics are given, as in the minute entry of 18 February 1893:

³⁸⁰ Minute entry, 09 January 1863, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 10.

³⁸¹ Snorro Sturlson, as the Secretary records in the minutes on Thomson’s paper, was a ‘Norse Poet & Historian who was born in the western Province of Iceland [...] [and was the] gifted Author of the “Heimskingla”’ (Minute entry for 27 April 1865, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 119).

³⁸² Minute entry, 06 March 1863, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 16.

Mr Clouston read his biographical essay on “Hugh Miller” which was carefully prepared and very accurate in detail. It was extensively criticised and supplemented by the members, and Mr Clouston replied.³⁸³

Where ‘very intelligently & ably written’ were used before, the criticism on Clouston’s essay may elaborate on these commendable qualities in that it was ‘carefully prepared and very accurate in detail’. His essay even elicited ‘extensive’ criticism, instigating a discussion amongst the members, who were apparently knowledgeable in the subject. However, as in the case of many entries, the first part of this criticism could more accurately describe the (positive) response of the Secretary, and may or may not denote a partiality towards the essayist. The second sentence may in fact be recording the criticism—positive or negative, as in this case—of the other members. What this minute entry does highlight is the fact that criticism was a dialogue between the essayist, debater, etc. and the other members, alternatively, the critical reading community of the association.

Not all criticism was complimentary, and the minute entries that record criticism in our modern sense of the term help to establish this association’s negative parameters regarding critical style. Just as it was laudable for an essay to be ‘carefully prepared’, it was not acceptable to write in haste whatever the reason. Notwithstanding his explanation for the short notice given him for filling in for another essayist, the members took exception with George Drever for not presenting a better review:

Mr George Drever[,] after explaining that he appeared a week earlier than the date fixed on the Syllabus owing to the Essayist of the evening not coming forward, he craved the indulgence of the members as his essay was got up in a few hours [.] He then read the Review of the part third of the M S Magazine which was a cursory glance at the articles and wished for the Magazine a long and successful career [.]

The members present criticised the Review and expressed their dis-satisfaction with it and expressed their regret that Mr Drever had not spent more time in its preparation [.]³⁸⁴

In other cases, it is less clear to what extent the essay did not meet the listeners’ expectations, and although not common, a paper could be ‘severely Criticised’.³⁸⁵ Just as there were ‘unacceptable’

³⁸³ Minute entry, 18 February 1893, Minute Book, No. 4.

³⁸⁴ Minute entry, 02 February 1865, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 103.

³⁸⁵ An essay given by Robert Corse on ‘Mental Ability’, with no seeming sense of irony, was ‘severely Criticised’ by the members, and as was the custom, ‘Mr Corse replied’. No further details of the discussion are recorded (Minute entry, 12 March 1892, Minute Book, No. 4).

styles in the composition as well as in the presentation of a paper (i.e. unskillful in style, and being underprepared), there were also unacceptable subjects:

Secry intimated that Mr Clouston was unable to be present & deliver his Lecture as per Syllabus but that he had sent another paper to be read instead if the asson wished to do so. It was thought that as the subject of Mr Cloustons paper was strange to most of us that we had better ask Mr Robert Wilson to read his paper on Ambulancy which he very kindly consented to do the essay was most interesting throughout & received a very warm criticism from many of those present. after which Mr Wilson with the aid of Mr Deerness gave a few practical demonstration[s] in bandageing which was much enjoyed.³⁸⁶

There is no other reference to this ‘strange’ subject in the minutes, and considering the wide range of subjects that were considered acceptable to read papers on for this association, there is the suggestion Clouston’s choice was yet still unfamiliar to other members. ‘Ambulancy’ was less strange, and the ‘practical demonstration[s] in bandageing’ were ‘much enjoyed’.

There were also norms regarding the criticism itself. John Garriock, then President of the Association, gave the closing address for the session on 31 March 1877, ‘taking as his subject “The writings of Robert Burns”’. After giving the address:

Mr Garriock asked the members to discuss it. During the discussion Mr T[homas] S. Garriock having spoken of Mr Holland’s criticism as “disgraceful language”, Mr Holland asked him to withdraw the expression, which he refused to do. The chairman decided that Mr Garriock should withdraw the expression, which he still refused to do. A vote of censure was passed upon him by the chairman, as instructed by the Association. Mr John Garriock then replied. A vote of thanks was passed to him for his address.³⁸⁷

The language used to criticise—or in this case, to counter a criticism—appears to be regulated in this association by the same contemporary societal and professional standards of polite conversation. In addition, the censure could also imply that there was a violation of customary practice, which did not allow for abusive behavior and/or language.

Further, from the evidence of the minute books, the language used to criticise the speaker—and perhaps the criticism itself—depended upon the speaker. There was a difference in the language used to describe the criticism of the essays given by Ordinary Members, and that used to

³⁸⁶ Minute entry, 24 January 1891, Minute Book, No. 4.

³⁸⁷ Minute entry, 31 March 1877, Minute Book, No. 3, p. 43.

describe the criticism of a guest speaker, particularly if they were an invited lecturer and not a member. For instance, when Reverend James Nicoll, M.A. of Free Saint Stephens Church gave the opening lecture for the 1878-79 session, ‘his lecture being “The Ballads of Scotland in themselves, and in their influences on the character of the Scottish people”’, the response of the members was very enthusiastic:

this was evinced by rapt attention with which he held his audience; at times, by his humorous and delightful illustrations kept alive with laughter, and simultaneously by the reading of ballads, such for instance, as the Widows lament entitled “The fa’ o’ the year” he would create a marked feeling of sorrow and sympathy among his hearers[.]

The Chairman, when the Lecturer had finished, proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the Lecturer for his able, instructive and entertaining address, which was most heartily responded to. —³⁸⁸

This minute entry could be the Secretary’s ‘official’ response of the association to an invited speaker, and may not be an entirely accurate representation of the members’ (collective) responses. Nonetheless, the response of the audience seems to be clearly an affective one. While echoing the more familiar criticism given to Ordinary members, in addition to being ‘able, instructive and entertaining’, the address ‘was most heartily responded to’. The different language used in this report, and thus perhaps the group’s different socio-cultural mannerisms, could be seen here as indicative of a group recognition of the different, higher status of the speaker.

There was a further difference in the criticism that was recorded in the minute books for essays given by ‘Lady Members’ and male Ordinary Members. Once women were allowed to join, the first papers were given by Miss Lucy Isbister and Miss Eliza Allan on 6 January 1900:

The President called upon Miss Lucy Isbister to read her paper upon “Writers & Readers”. Miss Isbister’s paper was thoroughly appreciated, and was an excellent summary of the doings of English literary giants, with comparison of their work and genius. [...] The various speakers who followed were unanimous in their praise of the study and excellence of the paper. The President next called upon Miss Allan who read a paper entitled “Favorite Holiday Resorts”. [...] The speakers who followed all expressed the pleasure they had had in listening to Miss Allan’s paper [...].³⁸⁹

³⁸⁸ Minute entry, 24 September 1878, Minute Book, No. 3.

³⁸⁹ Minute entry, 06 January 1900, Minute Book, No. 5.

Similarly glowing language is only used in the minute books for guest speakers, as in the example above in the response to Reverend Nicoll's address. Allan's paper also elicited an affective reaction. Responses recorded for the guest speakers and for the 'Lady Members' in effect distances them from other Ordinary Members by providing a separate set of language cues to establish and mark their differences. As late as 1913, when women made up just over 30% of the membership, the language used to record the criticism given on their papers did not change. For example, the Secretary recorded that the lecture given by Miss Jeanie Tomison was 'charming, and much appreciated'.³⁹⁰ A newspaper article from the *Shetland Times* testily remarked that '[t]he discussion which followed was much more complimentary than critical', but credited Tomison as she 'pertinently replied to the points raised'.³⁹¹ While it might be expected that a guest speaker would not be subject to the same scrutiny as members, the difference noted for women speakers suggests that they were not considered 'Ordinary': the status of women within the association during this period is reflected in their exemption from the same language and behaviour of other male members, effectively excluding them from the socio-normative leveling that the criticisms were designed to induce.

One further difference was also noted: between 1869 and 1885, the procedure for giving criticism on association debates changed. Prior to 1869, the speakers would give their arguments then members would vote for or against the subject under discussion. From 1869, the minutes record a change in the voting system: members would first vote on the merits of the subject, and then on the merits of the debate, with two votes being taken on every debate. This difference marks the importance given to the 'merits' of the speakers' arguments, giving preference to those whose rhetorical skills came foremost in the debate, while separating out the subject matter itself. After 1885, this procedure was dropped. This was, presumably, not to the diminution of the importance given to rhetorical skills – the continuation of the short readings that followed the main essay until (at least) 1905 attests to value that continued to be placed on this skill.

³⁹⁰ Minute entry, 25 October 1913, Minute Book, No. 6.

³⁹¹ [Newspaper clipping from *Shetland Times*, hand-written date of 01 November 1913], following minute entry for 25 October 1913, in Minute Book, No. 6.

Manuscript Magazines: 1864-1913

History of their production

The minutes for 30 October 1863 record the first suggestion of the ‘desireableness’ of founding a manuscript magazine for the association. The idea, however, was not a popular one. In fact, it appears to have been the cause for a good deal of contention:

The desirableness of having a Manuscript magazine in connection with the Association was suggested by the Chairman. After being fully discussed by the members, the following motion and amendments to were duly moved and seconded.

Motion – That the consideration of a M. Magazine be deferred till next meeting.

Ist. Amendment – That its consideration drop in the meantime. &

IInd. Amendt – That the Association have a M. Magazine, and a Committee of management be appointed.

There having been put to the meeting, the IInd Amendment – names, “That its consideration drop in the meantime”, was carried by a majority. –

Notwithstanding this decision, Mr Wood gave notice, that at next meeting, the subject of a manuscript magazine would be brought forward by him.³⁹²

Not only was the suggestion to be deferred, but discussion on it was to be dropped from the evening’s meeting altogether. Nonetheless, the discussion continued and ‘names’ were suggested for the management committee, which seemed to instigate further debate, until a majority voted for the discussion to desist. Mr Wood appears to have been one of its stronger supporters, for despite the spirited discussion, he introduced the motion again at a meeting held on 27 November 1863.³⁹³ The Second Annual Report even commented upon the magazine’s slightly rocky beginnings, stating that even ‘[t]hough there took place at its outset a little bickering, in arranging the various details’,³⁹⁴ the magazine’s supporters were able to (eventually) convince the other members of its ‘desireableness’, setting the foundations for an institution that would continue in various forms until 1956.

A set of rules was drawn up and presented to the association at a meeting in December 1863. After being ‘carefully considered, clause after clause’, the following were agreed:

³⁹² Minute entry, 30 October 1863, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 36.

³⁹³ Minute entry, 27 November 1863, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 39.

³⁹⁴ ‘Second Annual Report’, Session 1863-64, 6 May 1864, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 69.

Rules – [...]

1. That the Magazine be called the “Ultima Thule”.
2. That it be conducted by an Editor and sub Editor.
3. That it contain Historical – Philosophic – Literary – Scientific & general articles.
4. That articles intended for insertion in the Magazine be written expressly for it and that the signature appended to each contribution be left to the descretion of the Contributor.
5. That it be issued the first week in Jany April July and October.
6. That two copies of the Magazine be circulated & that each contributor furnish a duplicate of his contribution.
7. That articles intended for insertion be given to the Editor not latter than 10 days (ten days) previous to the issue of the Magazine.
8. That four days be allowed for perusal & that a fine of three pence be imposed for each day it is kept beyond that time.
9. That a contribution containing many grammatical errors or mistakes in spelling be corrected and sent to its Author to be re-written but that no member’s contribution be excluded on the ground of its inferiority in talent.³⁹⁵

The first title proposed for the magazine, ‘Ultima Thule’, was changed at a meeting held in January 1864:

These three new names were suggested

Our Island Home

The Norseman[s] Banner

The Manuscript Magazine of the G. O. & S. Literary & Scientific Association[.]³⁹⁶

While the last suggestion was ‘almost the unanimous choice’, the three options reveal the strong ties as well as the conflicting tensions felt by the members between their northern, Norse home, their new adopted home in Glasgow, and their literary aspirations.

The magazine was to be issued four times a year, continuing outside the ‘work’ of the session (i.e. the inclusion of a summer issue in July), and to contain a range of articles that reflected the subjects of the papers read and discussed in the meetings, as shown above. The initial intention was that articles be written expressly for the magazine rather than to be read at the meetings. This decision would eventually be reversed (see below). It was left up to the contributors whether or not the articles were to be anonymous. Contributions were accepted from association members,

³⁹⁵ ‘Rules’, Minute entry, 11 December 1863, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 43.

³⁹⁶ Minute entry, 08 January 1864, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 49.

but according to the Second Annual Report, this could include the offerings ‘of any generous friend’.³⁹⁷

The association opted to have two copies of each magazine produced and circulated, which was an unusual decision. This is the first literary group that I have come across that chose to produce each issue of their magazine twice. Each contributor was thus required to write his (and later her) article twice, and the editors had to edit and produce not four but eight magazines each year, a time-consuming endeavour for all parties. At a meeting in March 1864, ‘[t]he plan of Circulation [was] agreed upon’:

that the Roll of membership be divided in the centre, and the distribution of the present number commence at the beginning of each division, and at the End of each with the second number. This method of circulation to be observed each succeeding number. The members upon perusal, returning the Magazine to the Editor, that it may be delivered by him to each member.³⁹⁸

In 1864, the first year of the magazine’s production, as there are no official membership lists nor lists of readers in the magazines, I estimate there were approximately 30 members.³⁹⁹ This would mean that each copy would be circulated—if not read—by about 15 members who had four days each to peruse them before passing the copy on to the next member, with each magazine being in circulation around two months.

Of particular interest is rule 9: ‘That a contribution containing many grammatical errors or mistakes in spelling be corrected and sent to its Author to be re-written but that no member’s contribution be excluded on the ground of its inferiority in talent.’ This rule underlines the ‘improving’ ethos of the association, and ‘grammatical errors or mistakes in spelling’ and/or ‘inferiority in talent’ were no bar to their (eventual) inclusion in the magazine. Rather, upon the correction of errors, and, it was hoped, an improvement in talent, members would effect an improvement in their literacy and literary skills. The association’s explicit motivations for the founding of the magazine, however, are at best vague. As noted above, the magazine was seen to

³⁹⁷ ‘Second Annual Report’, p. 69.

³⁹⁸ Minute entry, 04 March 1864, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 57.

³⁹⁹ As discussed above, official membership lists are no longer extant from the 1863-64 session until the 1893-94 session.

be something desirable, and the ‘Second Annual Report’ is equally ambiguous yet nonetheless confident ‘that it cannot fail to accomplish much good’.⁴⁰⁰

The published prospectus for the 1864-65 session set out the amended ‘Rules of the Magazine’:

1. The Magazine shall be named the “Pole Star.”
2. To be conducted by an Editor and Sub-Editor, who shall be elected annually.
3. To contain papers on scientific and general subjects, and critiques on literary works.
4. Original articles only admissible, with the name of the Author or motto affixed.
5. The Magazine to be issued in the beginning of January, April, July, and October.
6. Two copies of the Magazine to be circulated, and each contributor to furnish a duplicate of his article.
7. Articles intended for insertion to be sent in not later than the 20th of the month previous to publication.
8. The Society to be divided into two sections, and one copy of the Magazine to be allotted to each. Members to be allowed four days for perusal. A fine of Three pence to be imposed for each day it is kept beyond time.
9. The Association to appoint four Members to review each number of the Magazine, on the dates specified in the Syllabus.
10. Alterations may be made on the By-Laws, and Rules of the Magazine, from time to time as the Association shall find occasion – notice having been given at the previous Meeting.⁴⁰¹

Not only the name had changed, but the subject range of the articles too. The rules appear to give precedence to ‘scientific and general subjects’—subjects that figured last in the previous list—and latterly to ‘critiques on literary works’. The magazine was to feature ‘original articles only’. This might suggest that transcribed works, a feature of commonplace books, would not be accepted.

Rule 9 of the previous list, which implied the magazine was a forum to develop and encourage literary skills, was notably dropped. Instead, a new rule was added wherein four members would be appointed to review each issue, and these reviews would be part of the syllabus. This rule highlights the role that criticism of the magazine was assigned from early on. In February 1894, it was decided ‘[a]fter a good deal of discussion [...] that the contents of each Number be subjected both to the verbal or written criticism of any member of the Association.’⁴⁰² At the very

⁴⁰⁰ ‘Second Annual Report’, p. 69.

⁴⁰¹ ‘Rules of the Magazine’, Prospectus, Session, 1864-65, in Minute Book, No. 1, p. 70.

⁴⁰² Minute entry, 19 February 1864, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 54.

next meeting, this motion to drop this rule was ‘carried by a large majority.’⁴⁰³ It was during this meeting that a ‘Review of the Magazine’ was introduced.

The first four members that were selected to give reviews read them aloud at meetings held for the purpose in October, December, February and April in the 1864-65 session. These reviews themselves were also subject to criticism by the members. While James B. Laurence’s ‘Review of part II of the Manuscript Magazine [...] was written with considerable ability and fairness’, George Drever’s review of the third part (see above), for which he had insufficient time to prepare, elicited ‘dis-satisfaction’ and ‘regret’.⁴⁰⁴

It appears that the considerable labour that was involved in the production of eight copies in total per year along with their belated reviews induced Mr Wood, one of the initial fervent supporters of the magazine, to give notice that he would propose a motion that would reduce the amount of work in the production and reviewing of the magazine.⁴⁰⁵ The magazine was then singly issued three times a year and their reviews were dropped from the syllabi. In 1873, a motion was passed for the magazine to be ‘published’ only twice a year ‘and contain the essays read during the session and other papers of interest.’⁴⁰⁶ According to the session’s Annual Report, it was ‘hoped that by this method, papers of permanent value, which would other wise have been lost, will be preserved for future reference.’⁴⁰⁷ Articles were no longer written specifically for the manuscript magazine but were first and foremost papers and essays to be read aloud—and criticized—within the association’s meeting. This set the precedent for the rest of the magazines produced up to (at least) 1914.

The inclusion of criticisms within the magazines began with the January 1869 issue (see further discussion below). A few blank pages were usually left at the back of the magazines, but this was most likely due to space being left over after all the contributions were assembled. It does appear that these pages were the result of an editorial decision to encourage readers to add their responses. Only one of the two copies of the January 1869 issue has survived, and in this copy, there are only three short comments which appear to be written by the same author. Unlike later

⁴⁰³ Minute entry, 04 March 1864, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 57.

⁴⁰⁴ Minute entry, 15 December 1864, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 93; minute entry, 02 February 1865, Minute Book, No. 1, p. 103.

⁴⁰⁵ Minute entry, 29 April 1865, Minute Book, No. 1, pp. 128-9.

⁴⁰⁶ Minute entry, 21 October 1873, Minute Book, No. 2, pp. 277-78.

⁴⁰⁷ ‘Twelfth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1873-74, in Minute Book, No. 2, p. 305.

issues, there is no formal heading of ‘Criticisms’ at the top of the page. This suggests that these comments were the result of one readers’ decision to annotate their copy.⁴⁰⁸ The April 1869, October 1870, and another issue produced in (March?) 1870 all include blank pages at the back but do not have any written criticisms.

The editorial practice of leaving space for criticisms was more formally introduced at some point between a year-and-a-half and two years later, perhaps as early as January 1871. The Annual Report for 1870-71 tells us that the magazine was ‘improved’ during this session, and that a new ‘feature of interest’ was the space for criticisms. Changes were also made to the material format, and both improvements were designed with contributors and readers in mind:

The MSS. Magazine has been improved this Session, a larger and more suitable size of paper being substituted for the old edition; also a feature of interest, and one conducive to the improvement of contributors and readers, is the space left for criticisms.⁴⁰⁹

Among the extant issues, only the April 1871 and January 1872 issues include a formal section entitled ‘Criticisms’, the latter being the last surviving copy of the manuscript magazines. It is unknown if the practice continued much beyond this session. The magazines continued to be produced in manuscript up to the 1872-73 session (at least), with Honorary Members also contributing articles to its numbers.⁴¹⁰ Thereafter, the magazine seemed to fall out of favour with the members and mention of it in the minutes and annual reports is omitted.

The institution is picked up again in the 1897-98 session after a lapse of twenty-four years. There remains the possibility that the magazine continued to be produced in some form during this time, and the fact that the issues no longer exist might be explained as being due to the Property Committee’s purging of the Secretary’s Box in 1906 (see above). However, given the consistency

⁴⁰⁸ Here, I am tempted to think the reader who annotated their copy of the association’s magazine at the very back without being directed by a formal, editorially-sanctioned space was perhaps familiar with other manuscript magazines of similar organisations of about the same period. For example, Kent Road United Presbyterian Church Young Men’s Institute produced a manuscript magazine in April 1872, and there are known to be two issues that were produced prior to this date. The extant issue demonstrate that there was a very well-developed critical voice established amongst its members: the criticism section covers 20 pages at the back of their magazine in addition to having a separate ‘Correspondents’ Column’ (MLSC, Kent Road U. P. Church Young Men’s Institute, Kent Road Quarterly, No. 2, Vol. 3, 1 April 1872, Mitchell (AL) 725431).

⁴⁰⁹ ‘Ninth Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1870-71, 2 May 1871, in Minute Book, No. 2, p. 199.

⁴¹⁰ ‘Eleventh Annual Report of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary & Scientific Association’, Session 1872-73, in ‘Literary Scraps and Cuttings Book’, p. 17.

and general rigour of the association's secretaries in recording the minutes of the meetings, it seems unlikely. The Annual Report for the 1897-98 session supports this conclusion in announcing that:

a Magazine night was introduced with a view to encouraging younger Members to take part in the work of the Association. This proved an entire success, a large number of contributions having been received by the Editor.⁴¹¹

Instead of producing a material product, a Magazine Night—a night wherein papers of 'lighter' subject matter were read aloud by the Secretary and criticised by members as a form of entertainment—was introduced into the syllabus.

In the following session, an evening was set aside in the syllabus for a Ladies' Magazine Night. The introduction of a separate night for women members might have been offered to encourage others to join the already growing number of women members of the association. The 1898-99 session had 11 women (11.22%), an increase of 4 members from the previous session, from whence their numbers continued to grow. The association may have hoped to extend the popularity and success of the Magazine Night. Notwithstanding the special arrangements, the Ladies' Magazine Night held on 28 January 1899 was not a success, at least this was the implication of William Slater, the Secretary. In the Thirty-Seventh Annual Report, Slater informs us that amongst the meetings held during the session, there was one 'Social Evening, which was intended for a Ladies' Magazine Night.'⁴¹² Instead, the ladies organised a 'Social', at which:

Songs, Games, & a varied programme was discoursed the meeting breaking up at 10 o'clock after all had joined in singing "Auld Lang Syne"[.] All present testifying to the enjoyable evening.⁴¹³

This 'Social' became the ladies' 'Social Parlour', which was held every year until the 1914-15 session (and beyond).

Early in 1900, a motion was carried to have the articles read aloud on Magazine Nights collected and preserved:

⁴¹¹ 'Thirty-Sixth Annual Report', Session 1897-98, D58/4a/9.

⁴¹² 'Thirty-Seventh Annual Report', Session 1898-99, D58/4a/10.

⁴¹³ Minute entry, 28 January 1899, Minute Book, No. 5.

Mr G A H Douglas moved, seconded by Mr Robt Wilson, that in future the papers shall become the property of the Assocn., that each be written on the same size of paper for the sake of uniformity, the paper being supplied by the Association, and that along with each, a letter of identification be sent in by the author. This was agreed to.⁴¹⁴

From an oral medium, the magazine became a material object once again. Anonymity disappeared and personal accountability was restored, and the uniformity of the paper allowed for a consistency in their material presentation. The collected papers from 1900 until the end of 1903 have not survived. A motion passed in February 1906 was perhaps fortuitous in the preservation of the magazine articles from 1903 onwards:

Mr C. Thomson moved that the various magazine articles now in the possession of the society be typewritten on paper of uniform size, and that the typewritten copies be bound for circulation while the originals remain in the societies archives[.] Mr Gavin Goudie seconded and the motion was carried unanimously.⁴¹⁵

At the following meeting, it was decided that the job of typing all the articles was to be handed to the library committee.⁴¹⁶ The typed articles were then bound and placed in the library where they could be circulated amongst the members. This decision most probably led to the preservation of the typescript magazines now in the possession of the Shetland Archives, and include the articles from Magazine Nights dating intermittently from 6 February 1904 through 30 November 1912, as well as eight beyond the period under study.

The re-introduction of the magazine into the syllabus in 1897 as a form of entertainment proved to be a success, and it remained a fairly regular feature on the syllabi until well beyond 1914. Type-script magazines of papers read on Magazine Nights, then collected, typed and bound together, were produced up to the mid-1950s.

MS Magazines: Their Materiality and Manufacture

Generally, contributors hand-wrote their submissions twice. The Editors would then edit and correct any mistakes in spelling and grammar. While the first set of rules in 1863 state that mistakes

⁴¹⁴ Minute entry, 03 February 1900, Minute Book, No. 5.

⁴¹⁵ Minute entry, 03 March 1906, Minute Book, No. 5.

⁴¹⁶ Minute entry, 10 March 1906, Minute Book, No. 5.

were to be corrected, re-written by the author, then presumably re-submitted, this was simply not the case. There are several articles that clearly show the Editor's penciled annotations next to what appears to be corrections in the author's own handwriting. A good example is the essay entitled 'The Advantages of Criticism', by James Louttit, in the very first issue of March 1864. In his essay, Louttit advocates the necessity and importance of criticism—both verbal and written—in a person's improvement. He writes:

This is my first paper for any magazine, [annotation, comma crossed out] and its readers will, I doubt not see in it very many defects, which I may not be able to detect [...] will it not be pleasanter for me to have my errors pointed out and explained in a friendly spirit, by those qualified to detect them, when I will endeavor [annotation, 'u' added above, between the 'o' and the 'r'] to avoid them in future, than to have the same defects sneered at every time I am ambitious enough to attempt any humble contribution to the magazine.⁴¹⁷

While Louttit understood the need for feedback or criticism in the meetings *and* in the magazines, 'criticisms' as a feature were largely absent from the magazines. Thus, this society differs from the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society discussed in Chapter 4, in that the latter group saw the readers' written responses to the contributions in the magazines as an essential part of the 'improving' process.

Criticisms were only officially included in the April 1871 and January 1872 issues, and even then only a few readers responded (see below). Not daunted by what he might have seen as an omission prior to these dates, an 'unofficial' criticism section appears at the back of the January 1869 issue, where one anonymous reader took the liberty of starting his own section for this purpose. On the other hand, annotations that reflect readers' responses and critical voices feature intermittently in the early magazines. After the anonymous article, 'Friendship', in the July 1864 issue, one reader (or Editor?) wrote 'Good' at the end of the essay, while a reader of 'A Summer Holiday in Rousay' clearly disliked a particular descriptive passage regarding the roar of the waves, adding in pencil next to the text 'Bosh'.⁴¹⁸

⁴¹⁷ James Louttit, 'The Advantages of Criticism', *The Manuscript Magazine of the Glasgow Orkney & Shetland Literary & Scientific Association*, March 1864, re-issued May 1865, pp. 29-34 (pp. 29-30) (SA, The Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, *Pole Star*, Manuscript Magazine, May 1865, D58//2/2).

⁴¹⁸ [Anonymous], 'Friendship', *The Manuscript Magazine of the Glasgow Orkney & Shetland Literary & Scientific Association*, July 1864, re-issued May 1865, pp. 29-39 (p. 39), D58/2/2; 'Jupiter Fring', 'A Summer Holiday in Rousay', *The Pole Star. A Quarterly Manuscript Magazine. In Connection with the Glasgow Orkney & Shetland Literary & Scientific Association*, January 1869, pp. 1-12 (p.5), D58/2/3.

Readers of the MS Magazines

From a combined total of 21 manuscript magazines, and magazines consisting of articles collected from ‘Magazine Nights’, there are only six—the January 1869, April 1869, [March?] 1870, October 1870, April 1871, and January 1872 issues—that contain lists of readers or members. The October 1870 issue has the highest number of (listed) readers, with 28 members (see *Figure 5.7*). The other five lists were relatively stable, with each issue (in theory) having approximately 20 readers. Most of the readers continued to be listed over the three year period, which suggests that the association’s membership during this time was fairly stable.

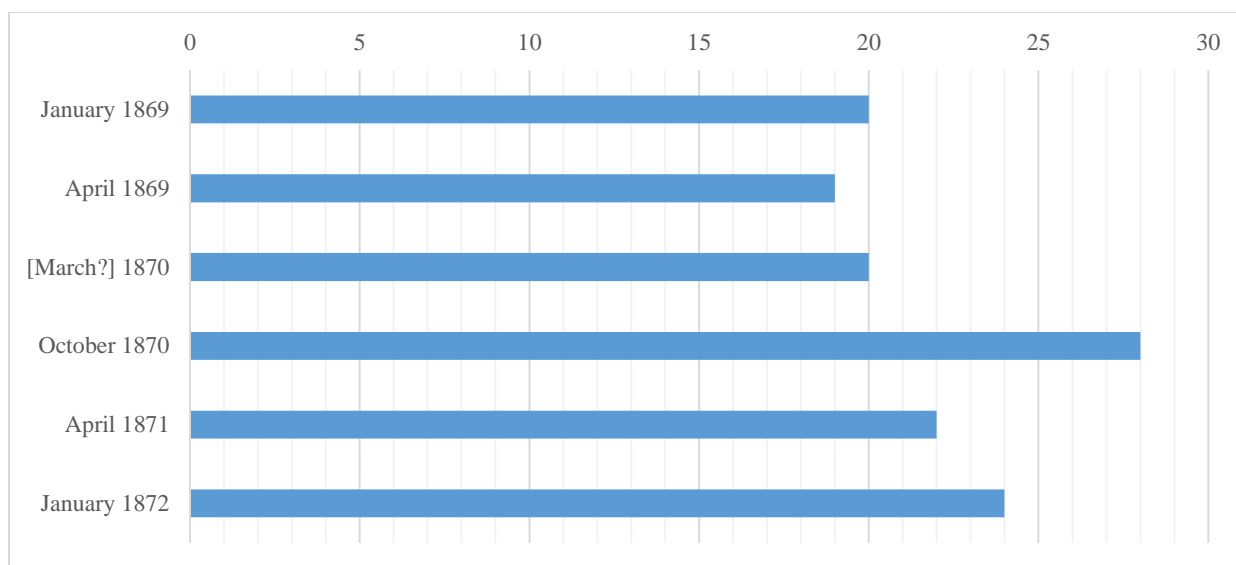


Figure 5.7: Number of Magazine Readers, Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, 1869-1872

Future work on this society could include a full search for the biographical details of each of these readers. However, a preliminary search of the Glasgow Post Office directories provided some information on two members of the association that were listed as readers of their magazines. James Louttit, quoted above, was one of the founding members of the association when it formed in 1862. The Post Office Directory for 1863-64 gives his address as 56 George Street in the city centre, and tells us that he was ‘boot and shoemaker’.⁴¹⁹ In 1862, Wemyss Walls worked as a

⁴¹⁹ ‘General Directory’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1863, 1864*, p. 179. Provided he did not have a son of the same name who was also a member, Louttit continued to be a member until the 1907-08 session (until his death?), which was the last time his name appears in the roll of Ordinary Members. This would mean that he was a member

warehouseman for the merchants J. & W., & Co. on Ingram Street in the commercial district of the city.⁴²⁰

From an association that was founded in part by working-class members, within the first two decades of the twentieth century, it appears the association became more prominently composed of middle-class members. The Post Office Directory for 1913-14 lists J. R. L. Corrigan, a member of the association since the 1895-96 session, as an agent for the Union Bank of Scotland.⁴²¹ Similarly, in 1914, Robert Deerness, a member since at least the 1893-94 session, was a ‘machinery, metal and hardware agent’. While working in the city centre, his residence was listed as being 17 Highburgh Road, in the more affluent West End of Glasgow.⁴²²

Some of the female members also held jobs during this period. Two sisters, Bella and Jeannie Frisken, joined the association in 1903. In 1914, they appeared to have had their own shop, where they worked as drapers and dressmakers.⁴²³ While the Friskens were running their own business, Lili Williamson Halcrow was earning her Master’s degree from the University of Glasgow, graduating in 1914.⁴²⁴ Halcrow was a fairly recent member of the association, only first appearing in the list of Ordinary Members in the 1913-14 session. This would mean she had already commenced her studies by the time she joined.

for 45 years, a term that was not particularly extra-ordinary for this association. Four other original members—W. A. Clouston, Thomas Stout, Wemyss Walls and Adam G. Horne—also remained members until their deaths in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

⁴²⁰ ‘General Directory’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1862, 1863...* (Glasgow, William MacKenzie, 1862), p. 84; ‘Street Directory’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1862, 1863*, p. 385). Even though his name does not appear in the list of Ordinary Members from the 1893-94 session onwards, it seems he might have kept his connections up with the association since his participation in the early years of the group: the minute entry for 6 January 1912 records that along with two other founding members, William Muir and A. G. Horne, he was elected as an Honorary Member of the association (Minute entry, 06 February 1912, Minute Book, No. 6).

⁴²¹ ‘General Directory’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1913-1914, Arranged as General, Street, Commercial, and Suburban, with an Appendix Containing Useful Local and General Information* (Glasgow, Aird & Coghill, Ltd., 1913), p. 183. Corrigan continued in this profession for at least the next two years, as the listing remains the same in the subsequent Directories.

⁴²² ‘General Directory’, *Post Office Glasgow Directory for 1914-1915...* (Glasgow, Aird & Coghill, Ltd., 1914), p. 207.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, p. 260.

⁴²⁴ University of Glasgow Archive Services, Records of the University of Glasgow, Scotland, p. 73, GB 0248, R3/2/1.

Contributors and Contributions to the Magazines

One objective in my study of the magazines was to see if there were any patterns in the type of materials that were included in them during the fifty-two years under study. I first sub-divided all the materials into the following categories: table of contents; list of readers/ members; editorial contributions; original contributions, which were divided into prose and poetry; transcriptions of materials, either in whole or in part, beyond very short quotations; any other various types of materials; and criticisms.

The largest number of contributions to any issue were submitted for the Magazine Night held during the 1910-11 session (see *Figure 5.8*). This did not correspond with the session with

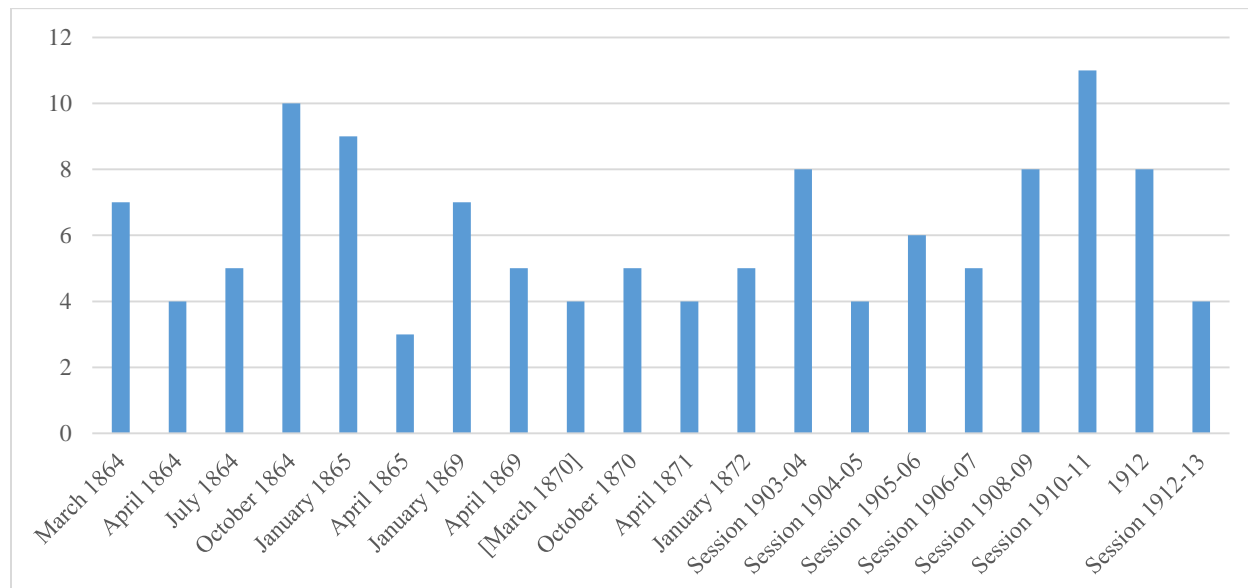


Figure 5.8: Original Contributions to the Literary Magazines of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, 1864-1913

the largest membership, which was in 1907-08. The magazine with the second highest number of contributions was the fourth magazine produced in October 1864, at the very beginning of the association's history. More generally, the number of contributions dropped slightly in the late 1860s and early 1870s, but rose slightly in the first decade of the twentieth century, which corresponded only marginally with the substantial rise in membership during these later years. In effect, it suggests that the vast majority of new members in the early twentieth century did not

attach the same importance to the association's magazine as they did not feel compelled to contribute to it. Indeed, it appears that the value attached to the magazine had changed.

This conclusion gains further support when I compare the percentage of the total number of members to the number of contributions for each issue. It is not possible to determine exactly how many members there were between March 1864 and April 1865 as the membership rolls for these years are no longer extant. This was a period of intense activity when a total of six magazines were issued. Nonetheless, if I take the average of the members from the years before and after (i.e. the 1862-63 session, and the list of readers/members from the January 1869 issue), and use the lists of readers/members where available, I can get a rough idea of the percentage of members who contributed to the magazine for all the issues.⁴²⁵ The results are interesting, but not particularly surprising (see *Figure 5.9*).

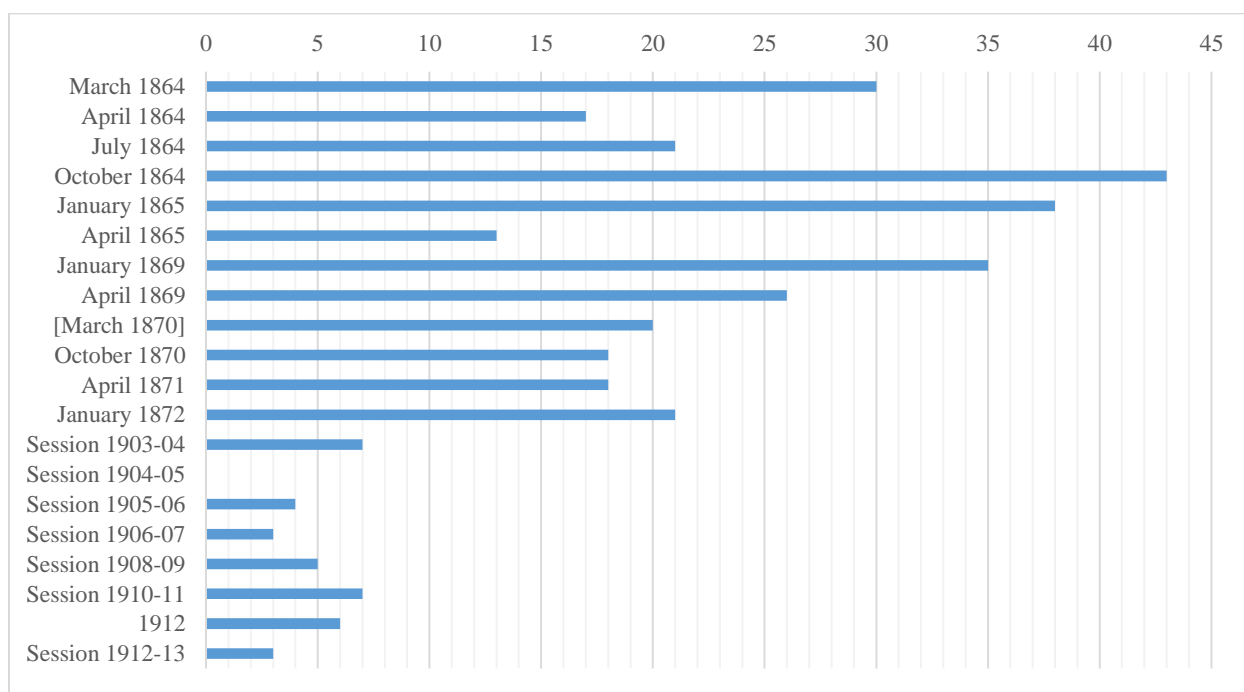


Figure 5.9: Percentage of Members of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association who Contributed to their Literary Magazines

⁴²⁵ It must be noted that these numbers are only an approximation used in order to draw some general conclusions from an imperfect dataset. All of the magazines include at least some contributions by authors who are anonymous or use pen-names, and I found it was not possible to determine whether a single author might have made multiple contributions under more than one name.

This table suggests that there was a one to one correlation between the number of members and contributions, but there was not: there are several cases throughout the run of the magazine where members (or friends) submitted more than one contribution to a magazine using the same name or pen-name. Even so, there is a pronounced difference in the percentages of members who contributed to the magazines before and after the January 1872 issue. While the early years of the magazine's existence represent the most active period of the association's members, at no point did over half of them contribute, but approximately one-fifth *did*, and with consistency. After 1872, the percentage of contributions never reached ten percent, with the nadir of the magazine's existence being the 1904-05 session, when the percentage of members contributing was negligible. Not only did the format change from a quarterly material magazine, to an annual event where contributions were read aloud, but the magazine's significance within the association appears to have decidedly altered. The reasons for this might be found in my assessment of the genres and subjects of the magazines' contributions.

I assessed the twenty issues of the association's magazine in a similar manner to the Prospectuses in the analysis described above. The genre and subject matter of each article was quantified, and in the case that an article covers multiple subjects, it was counted in each category accordingly. The results are shown in *Figure 5.10*. The table shows that throughout the course of the magazine's existence, members (or friends of members) used the magazine as a means to publish their original poetry. This trend was most pronounced in the first years of the magazine's publication, and towards the end of the period under study, during the 1910-11 session. This contrasts with the incidences of original prose, which never reached more than one fictional piece in any magazine.

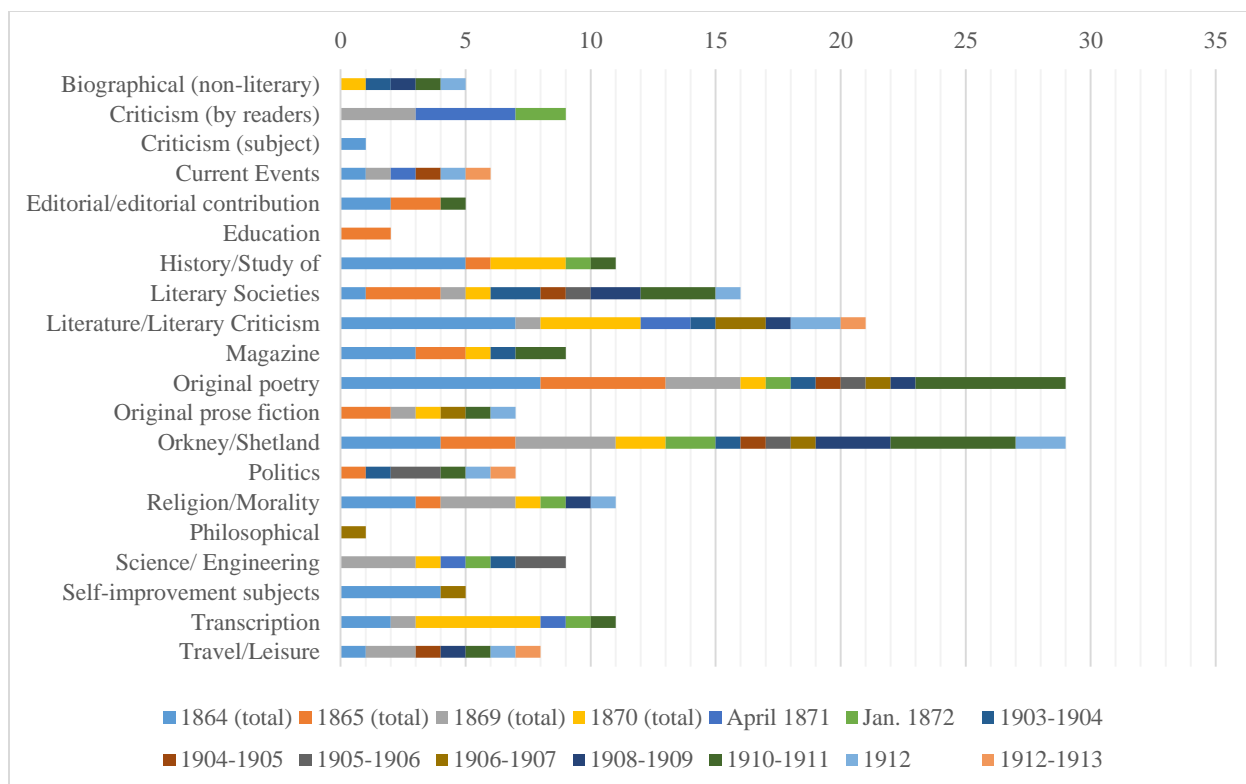


Figure 5.10: Subjects of the Literary Magazines of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, 1864-1913

In terms of subject matter, Orkney and Shetland topics were the most frequently represented. This contrasts with the subject matter for the meetings in both the first and last decades of the period under study discussed above. While ‘Northern’ topics were not uncommon as the subject of the association’s meetings, members used the magazine to frequently discuss their ‘patriotism’, or their love of their former homes in Orkney and Shetland, and to indulge their feeling of nostalgia and homesickness, particularly through the medium of poetry. Literature and literary criticism was the second most frequent subject of the contributions, and this is comparable with the subjects of their meetings during the early and later decades. This bears testimony to the ‘literary’ objectives and aspirations of the association, and both their meetings and magazines upheld these.

The magazines were also a medium for members to discuss the function and purpose of literary societies like their own. In the issues after 1900, contributions on this topic most frequently discuss the members’ lack of motivation and failure to contribute to the ‘work’ of the society. Essays that lament ‘The Good Old Times’ (as one contributor entitled his/her article) often offer suggestions regarding the society’s improvement. Magazine Nights, and later, the typed articles

that were potentially circulated between members, offered a platform for these (mostly anonymous) views to be aired. As with the majority of this association's meetings, the articles read on Magazine Night were also subject to criticisms, which followed each reading.

Readers' Responses: 'Criticisms'

As noted above, there are only two (consecutive?) magazines that include a separate section for criticisms, those issued in April 1871 and January 1872. This number increases to three if I include the 'unofficial' section started at the back of the January 1869 issue. On a blank page after the last article in this issue, there are three lines of anonymous criticism in the same handwriting:

No 1 good subject, ill expressed.
 49 "Hope". Seen worse, but not much
 No 4 A powerful & spirited attack on the subject it treats on⁴²⁶

The first criticism refers to the first essay in this issue by 'Jupiter Fring' entitled 'A Summer Holiday in Rousay'. This is the same essay that was annotated, and the handwriting is not dissimilar to this criticism. Thus, it may be that one reader found not only the descriptions but the grammar and syntax to be 'ill expressed'. '49' refers to the poem, 'Hope', by 'Aspirant', on page 49. This contributor has two poems in this issue, the other, 'Song', which follows the first, is not commented upon.

In the first poem, the speaker is in his room and it is dark and stormy outside. He is lonely, remembering the past and fretful about his future. He hears a voice and thinks it's 'Him' telling him to cheer up. He is comforted and thanks God for giving him hope. The second poem uses the metaphor of being in a boat on the ocean of life, but Hope, like a lighthouse, shows the way, thus the message is that we must look to the future and not the past. Hope is seen here to be from God or Heaven. While the sentiments are clichéd and the rhyme scheme is simple, the criticism in this case seems rather harsh. It may be that its jarring effect was intended to be humorous, aimed at a selective audience delimited by the magazine's circulation.

With 'No 4', the critic refers back to an earlier essay entitled 'Modern Spiritualism' by 'X.Y.Z.', and he seems to approve of the author's vehement, moralistic attack on his subject.

⁴²⁶ [Anonymous 'criticisms'], *The Pole Star*, Manuscript Magazine, January 1869, [p. 87], D58/2/3.

‘X.Y.Z.’ denounces the then contemporary interest in spiritualism as being the work of ‘the great enemy of our race’, or ‘the Evil One’. The essay advocates the use of one’s rationality and reason so that we do not become another one of Satan’s ‘numerous and easy prey’:

we would act like fools were we to rush to the conclusion that those “manifestations” were caused by spirit agency without first giving them a careful investigation in the light of reason, science, and scripture.⁴²⁷

When considered with the previous line of criticism, the anonymous critic’s comment on the essay’s ‘powerful & spirited attack’ could just as well be tongue-in-cheek.

The first official ‘Criticisms’ section appeared in the back of the April 1871 issue. There are four criticisms from three identifiable members of the association, and one unlisted ‘Reader’ identified as ‘R.D.’. The Editor begins the section by requiring that ‘Criticisms must be signed by the critic[.]’⁴²⁸ Underneath this, ‘R.D.’ wrote ‘If so – why should the articles not be signed by the Authors – ’.⁴²⁹ His humorous riposte is a (negative) response to the decreasing tendency for the articles to be signed by the authors with their own names. The Criticisms section may have been seen as an appropriate site for humorous as well as more ‘serious’ commentary, offering an opportunity for a critic to display his wit as well as apt his literary criticism.

Following ‘R.D.’ was a lengthy criticism by ‘W.R.’ that covered over five-and-a-half pages. This critic was likely to be William Reid, one of the listed readers since the March 1870 issue. Reid takes issue with one line in the essay, ‘Memory Imagination & Association’, by ‘PR’:

“But it is only in a restricted sense that the term “creative” can be applied to imagination, for imagination does not create or originate any new elements”[.]⁴³⁰

Reid argues at length that creativity is most definitely a product of man’s imagination and not an ‘appropriation’ of the work of God:

Where is the original model in any of the things that are? I ask. From which was copied that ideal of perfection existing in a locomotive. Will Adam find it in Eden & hand it down to posterity? Was there anything in a single element in nature to suggest it? Thereby making

⁴²⁷ ‘X.Y.X.’, ‘Modern Spiritualism’, *The Pole Star, a Quarterly Manuscript Magazine*, January 1869, p. 6.

⁴²⁸ Editor [either Samuel S. Eunson or David Holland], ‘Criticisms’, [*The Pole Star*], April 1871, [p. 105].

⁴²⁹ ‘R.D.’, ‘Criticisms’, [*The Pole Star*], April 1871, [p. 105].

⁴³⁰ ‘PR’, ‘Memory Imagination & Association’, [*The Pole Star*], April 1871, p. 19.

it a second rate production. No I say it is the embodiment of an imagination which might truly be said to have no image or parallel in the heaven above or the Earth beneath. You may say it is a production of the physical & not the imaginative, but I say again that it is the physical embodying the creation of the imagination. [...] Giving man credit for such as creative power might be thought at variance with the prerogatives of the Creator, but I think not seeing that such is only the display of those talents he has got which can never fail to glorify rather than be looked on as an appropriation.⁴³¹

He ends by applying his argument to literature:

Let anyone read Byron's "Manfred" & when they are done say if the imagination ere created anything or not. But it is useless to enumerate Authorities as Sir William Hamilton may say no, but no matter the heading (criticism) tells me that I may have my say. The field is open ~~follow~~. [annotation in pencil:] advance[.]⁴³²

This last statement is a defense of his own critical voice. Under the rubric of Criticisms, Reid invokes and flouts the spirit of diplomacy, citing such 'Authorities' as Sir William Hamilton, the eighteenth-century Scottish diplomat, who may deny him what he sees as his right. It is a provocative challenge to its readers. But while Reid sees himself as a leader, directing others to 'follow', this challenge is met by another reader, who corrects and, in effect, nullifies Reid's bid.

Hereafter, the next reader, 'DH', possibly David Holland, one of the magazine's Editors, adds his (editorial?) criticism that 'Mr Wm Reid has had too much to say.'⁴³³ Holland's reply points up a particular unwritten rule that criticisms are to be kept short. The fourth and last criticism follows this injunction. 'TLL', possibly Thomas L. Leask, wrote what could be seen as a conciliatory comment in the form of a rather nebulous nicety: 'I think the latter part of the book decidedly the best[.]'⁴³⁴ While Leask's use of the term 'book' might be a slippage in language, it equally might be an eliding of the two media, which suggests that a manuscript magazine might have had a slightly fluid definition amongst its readers.

The January 1872 issue was the last to include Criticisms as a feature. Here again the Editor requests readers' appellations, but the tone is decidedly more deferential: '(Members are respectfully requested to affix their own name to their criticisms)'.⁴³⁵ From a total of twenty-four

⁴³¹ 'W.R.', 'Criticisms', [The Pole Star], April 1871, [pp. 107-09].

⁴³² *Ibid.*, 111.

⁴³³ 'DH', 'Criticisms', [The Pole Star], April 1871, [p. 111].

⁴³⁴ 'TLL', 'Criticisms', [The Pole Star], April 1871, [p. 111].

⁴³⁵ [Editor], 'Criticisms', *The Pole Star*, Part 4, January 1872, p. 101, D58/2/8.

listed readers, there are only two criticisms at the back of this issue. Both of them are identifiable but only one is a member. The first is by Peter Wick, who is not listed as a reader nor a member. He criticises the essay, ‘Reminiscences’, by James M. Mcbeath of Kirkwall, for his slightly ‘strained’ style: ‘The Author might write pleasantly did he not strain too much after effect.’⁴³⁶ Wick then records his own affective response: ‘His language is painfully sublime at times.’ In addition, he affects outrage for the author patronising his readers:

Unfortunately he [the author] falls into one unpardonable error – he writes for “school-boys” not for grown men – take for example page 98. The sentence commencing – “One word more to our youthful readers. Every boy should act &c” Fie! fie! Mr Essayist – on page 94 you tell us your mind reverts to a period rather more than twenty years in the past when as yet your school-boy days were only commencing – & judging from this we must come to the conclusion that you are lecturing your elders & equals as school boys –⁴³⁷

The second criticism is by ‘WR’, who is possibly William Reid as in the former issue. Reid once again assumes the role of a literary critic. He points out what he sees to be various faults in the anonymous poem, ‘Orcadian Antiquities II’. Specifically, he critiques the author’s imagery:

The term “everlasting waters” is a very wide and ambiguous one. Had it went that the flow of water was continual or everlasting there would not have been much wrong with it. The hills or Rock around which it flows might be said to be everlasting: an appellation well known. It is very doubtful though whether the water there then, has returned yet, or may ever Return!

Might not the word evercircling be supplied or eversurging &c whereby the couplet would be rendered unique as the following one which is beautiful.

We trust “Antiquities” will stick a little better to his text in production No III[.]⁴³⁸

Here again, Reid uses the Criticisms section as a forum designated for the offering of ‘serious’ critical advice for the poem’s ‘improvement’. Peter Wick’s previous comments would seem to reinforce this, for what could be seen as a general perception among the magazine’s readers. However, the 1869 and April 1871 issues demonstrate that humour could also be one of the functions of, as well as a foil to, the ‘serious’ literary criticism in the magazines.

⁴³⁶ Peter Wick, ‘Criticisms’, *The Pole Star*, Part 4, January 1872, p. 101, D58/2/8.

⁴³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁸ ‘WR’, ‘Criticisms’, *The Pole Star*, Part 4, January 1872, pp. 101-2, D58/2/8.

By debating and ultimately choosing not to include criticisms at the back of most of their magazines, the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland association was different from other literary societies in Glasgow. For example, as discussed in Chapter 4, the Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society had an established critical community for their literary magazines from 1883-88, with many of its readers offering criticism on individual contributions as well as the magazine itself. For the Glasgow and Orkney society, there were very few criticisms for the number of readers, and these were only officially included in two of the extant twenty issues. Criticisms were predominantly, if almost exclusively, an immediate, interactive and public phenomenon which took place in their meetings, and were by and large not considered an appropriate feature within a material medium.

Future Work, and Future 'Improvement': Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Society's Legacy

The magazines offer an excellent means by which to explore not only the literary aspirations of its members, but also their personal motivations for joining the association and for contributing to the magazines. There are several essays in the various issues that tell us a good deal about their motivations, indeed, what it meant to them to be 'literary'.⁴³⁹ This aspect could be explored in more detail in future, along with a more detailed look at the fluid notion of reading in this association at the *fin de siècle*: the elision from material magazines to Magazine Nights back to material magazines, and from solitary reading to public readings, reviews and discussions, then back again to solitary reading.

The Glasgow Orkney and Shetland society differs from the Wellpark society in that it was a county society (as defined in Chapter 2) rather than a church group. From the evidence we have, it appears to have been running for over twenty years before the Wellpark society was running. The momentum in its larger membership and very pro-active methods of recruitment allowed the society to continue well beyond the life of the smaller group in the East End of Glasgow whose

⁴³⁹ A particularly good example is an anonymous two-part story entitled, 'Education & no education [or George & William – In two Parts]', that follows the story of two young boys. George's father does not want his son to be better than himself and therefore does not let him learn his letters. William, on the other hand, receives encouragement from his father to educate himself. William soon becomes a monitor in the 'Institution for Mutual Instruction', and ultimately becomes a lawyer. He successfully defends his childhood friend, George, who gets arrested due to an entanglement he gets in from not being able to read ('Education & no education [or George & William – In two Parts]', *Pole Star*, Manuscript Magazine, May 1865, pp. 9-19, pp. 12-22, D58/2/2).

membership was largely confined to its congregation. Nonetheless, members' 'improvement' was squarely at the heart of both societies, whose 'objects' were almost identical even if they ultimately differed in one means by which it was brought about, namely, through the inclusion of 'criticisms' in their magazines or not.

Glasgow Orkney and Shetland society's magazines also helped to consolidate a critical community of readers whose moral ethos of improvement (as opposed to Wellpark's specifically religious one) was enhanced by their feelings of loyalty and nostalgia, a reverence even, for their former northern homes. Members expressed these feelings in their manuscript magazines. Even while ultimately rejecting written criticisms, the magazines nonetheless were seen to be an essential, material means by which members' improvement was facilitated. This was a powerful, long-standing belief evidenced by the continuation of their production (albeit in typescript) until 1956. This society, too, is a case study of a Scottish way of consuming texts within Glasgow's culture of 'improvement'.

Chapter 6:
Literary Society Magazines:
Glasgow, and Other Scottish and English Productions

Introduction

This chapter is an initial survey and an attempt to draw some general conclusions from the archival research I conducted on manuscript (which included some published) magazines produced by literary societies across Scotland and England during the long nineteenth century.⁴⁴⁰ While my work initially focused on Glasgow literary societies and their magazines, during my studies I extended my research beyond Glasgow's groups to include a range of different organisations from across the country that founded an eclectic mixture of 'improving' society periodicals. The overall benefit of this additional research was that it allowed me to place my Glasgow findings in a much broader context.

Specifically, literary society magazine production in Glasgow was part of a national, indeed international trend for founding local, (mostly) internally-motivated manuscript magazines.⁴⁴¹ The societies that produced them were part of the larger mutual improvement society movement which reached its height during the second half of the nineteenth century. On the larger scale, I establish that there are many similarities and characteristics shared between these periodicals. There are also important differences between them that suggest there were internal, local and/or regional factors that influenced their materiality as well as their contents. Throughout this chapter, using the examples of other Scottish and English magazines, I discuss some of the ways Glasgow's similarly diverse range of society magazines fit these national trends (or not) and possible reasons why, and explore the scope for future work based on these initial finds.

⁴⁴⁰ Due to the limited time, as well as financial and linguist constraints, no attempt was made to include Welsh or Irish societies in my study. Future work could include Wales and Ireland, perhaps with special consideration given to any societies whose magazine productions were written in part or entirely in their respective national languages.

⁴⁴¹ In July 2017, I travelled to Toronto, Canada to conduct exploratory archival research on the magazines produced by societies in Ontario. As a result of this preliminary research, I found that there is evidence that at least some societies in Ontario and New Brunswick used manuscript culture in a similar manner to literary societies in Scotland and England, for 'improvement' (Lauren Weiss, 'Findings Report X: Canadian Manuscript Magazines. Ontario and New Brunswick Societies' (unpublished doctoral report, University of Stirling, 17 July 2017)).

Archival Research Results and Developments

I was able to visit archives and local history departments from Shetland to London which housed collections of manuscript and published magazines produced by various groups. Beginning in February 2016, I visited collections in Shetland, Orkney, Wick, Elgin, Aberdeen, Dundee, Lochgilphead, Paisley, Edinburgh, Airdrie, Hawick, Dumfries, Preston, Manchester, Chester, Shrewsbury, Hertford and London. In London, I visited the British Library, London Metropolitan Archives, Hackney Archives, Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives, Westminster City Archives, and the National Archives. However, I have yet to visit the collections in Newcastle, Halifax, Oldham, Liverpool, Sheffield and Bristol which house a combined total of 57 issues of these magazines. The fruits of this research are as follows: inclusive of Glasgow's magazines, I discovered a total of 652 issues produced by a range of different groups whose stated objects, with very few exceptions, included 'improvement'. Of these, 551 (85%) were produced by what I categorise as either church or secular mutual improvement/literary/young men's association magazines (see below). In consequence, this research significantly expands the scholarship of mutual improvement societies, their magazines and working-class authorship during the long nineteenth century.

Distribution of Groups and Societies that Produced Magazines

In Scotland, various formal and informal societies from across the country produced their own magazines, of which less than eleven percent of those I examined were in print (see *Figure 6.1*). Most of these, perhaps unsurprisingly, were concentrated in the central belt and in the largest urban

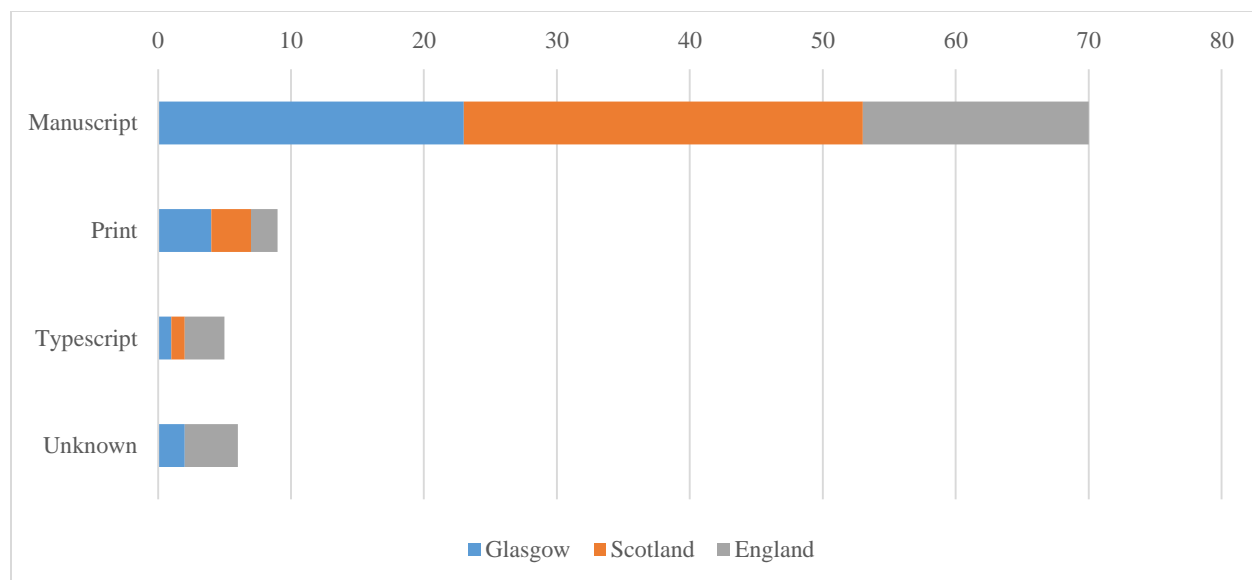


Figure 6.1: Formats of Magazines Produced by Literary Societies in Glasgow, the rest of Scotland and England, 1823-1914

areas, for example, in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee (see *Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3*). This distribution pattern might, in part, be a reflection of the state of my own research: the focus of my project has been on Glasgow, thus I spent considerably more time searching the online and particularly the in-house catalogues and resources that are available across the city. The discovery of magazines produced by other societies across Scotland and England was the result of numerous online searches, e-mail exchanges and visits to archives and local history departments across the country. In addition, *The Waterloo Directory of Scottish Newspapers and Periodicals, 1800-1900* (1989) was a good source for locating some of the materials in the Scottish archives that were not listed in the online catalogues.



Figure 6.2: Distribution of Scottish Magazines

| City/Town | Number of Groups/Societies with Magazines |
|---------------------------------------|---|
| Kirkwall | 1 |
| Wick | 1 |
| Elgin | 2 |
| Aberdeen* (*includes Lentush Club) | 4 |
| Dundee | 8 |
| Helensburgh | 1 |
| Edinburgh | 12 |
| Airdrie | 1 |
| Glasgow | 30 |
| Paisley | 1 |
| Melrose | 1 |
| Dumfries | 2 |
| Total | 64 |

Figure 6.3: Number of Scottish Groups and Societies that Produced Magazines by Town or City

While a preponderance of societies might be expected to be located in the central, most urban region of the country, magazine-producing societies in the most northern, arguably peripheral region might not. What my research on the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association—along with my examination of the records of the Shetland Literary and Scientific Society, the magazines and records of the Kirkwall Young Men’s Literary and Scientific Association, the minute books from Sanday Young Men’s Literary Society and the Sandwick Mutual Improvement Society, and the records from the Glasgow Caithness Literary Association—reveal is that these northern regions had developed their own active mutual improvement society cultures based in those regions. Societies in Shetland, Orkney and Caithness were also in regular contact with literary and benevolent societies in the central belt (and elsewhere) over the course of the century (and beyond). Glasgow and Edinburgh both had county associations formed of

migrants from these areas that came to the cities looking for work.⁴⁴² In this context, the sharing of a magazine culture is not surprising.⁴⁴³

In England, the distribution pattern shows that magazine-producing societies were concentrated in the northwest of the country, and in and around London, with a couple of outliers (see *Figure 6.4*). As was the case in Scotland, the largest numbers of magazines were produced in the larger urban areas (see *Figure 6.5*). Again, this represents only those magazines that I discovered to date through a search that was not fully comprehensive due to time constraints. From my experience, further, targeted searches in the local and regional archives across England will no doubt produce further examples of these magazines.

⁴⁴² For example, while Glasgow had county associations and benevolent societies whose members hailed from Shetland, Orkney and Caithness (e.g. Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association; Glasgow Caithness Literary Association; and Glasgow Caithness Benevolent Association, see Appendix I), Edinburgh also had its own groups whose members had ties to these areas (e.g. Orkney and Shetland Edinburgh Association; Edinburgh and District Shetland Association; Edinburgh, Leith and District Orkney Association; and Edinburgh Caithness Mutual Improvement and Provident Association).

⁴⁴³ Very recently, I discovered that there was also a manuscript magazine produced by the Caithness Benevolent and Literary Association/Glasgow Caithness Literary Society from at least the early twentieth century (Wick, Caithness Archive Centre, Wick Library, John Mowatt Collection, *Caithness Sketches: contributed to the MS. magazine of the Glasgow Caithness Literary Association*, 820.8 1912 1597767). To date, I have not yet had a look at this material.



Figure 6.4: Distribution of English Magazines

| City/Town | Number of Societies with MS Magazines |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Newcastle | 1 |
| Halifax | 1 |
| Oldham | 1 |
| Manchester | 5 |
| Warrington/St Helens | 1 |
| Liverpool | 1 |
| Sheffield | 2 |
| Shrewsbury | 1 |
| Hertford | 2 |
| London | 10 |
| Bristol | 1 |
| Total | 26 |

Figure 6.5: Number of English Groups and Societies that Produced Magazines by Town or City

Future work might consider whether the heavy concentration of societies that produced their own magazines in the northwest could be linked to the rapid growth and industrialisation of the region in the nineteenth century, the area being a centre for shipping, manufacturing and the textile industry. As in Glasgow, as the opportunities grew, Manchester and Liverpool saw large number of migrants into their cities. Competition for jobs might have fueled the need for better educated, better trained workers, and voluntary associations would have helped aspirational working-class men to improve their literacy skills. But it wasn't just the improvement of the fundamentals that were sought: the ability to express oneself through writing must have been seen to be a particularly covetable skill in this region and beyond.⁴⁴⁴ Society magazines offered a forum for practising and improving one's writing and compositional skills, and this opportunity wasn't necessarily restricted to society members: societies across Scotland and England frequently allowed non-members to contribute to their magazines (see below). Another possible reason for this distribution pattern will be discussed below.

⁴⁴⁴ Here I am indebted to Dr Michael Sanders (University of Manchester) and the discussions that we had during my visit to Manchester. Sanders pointed out that self-expression would have been a key component of these society magazines. In a newly impersonal, industrialised society, it would have been particularly valued, and opportunities where it could be asserted and cultivated would have been sought after.

Classification of Manuscript and Published Magazines

To assist further analysis, I took all the magazines that I examined from across the country that were produced between 1800 and 1914 and placed them into different categories based on the type of group that founded them. I divided the manuscript and published magazines into the following categories:

- Sunday school;
- (grammar) school;
- adult school;
- college/university;
- women's college/university;
- church mutual improvement/literary/young men's society;⁴⁴⁵
- secular mutual improvement/literary/young men's society;
- mixed-gender mutual improvement/literary society (founded as such)
- formal and informal literary institutions (i.e. those similar to Mechanics' Institutes, or less formal groups using the designation of 'institution')
- scientific (i.e. groups that included science topics as well as literature in their syllabi);
- company staff;
- social club (i.e. groups who designated themselves as 'literary' societies, but whose predominant reason for meeting was sociability rather than 'improvement')
- currently unknown or unnamed groups.

The last category was included as there was a small number of magazines where I was not able to identify the group that produced them from the records or from the magazines themselves. However, as I have yet to do an in-depth study on the majority of these magazines, it is possible that a future, more thorough examination of the entire contents of each of the magazines in this category might reveal more information on their producers.

I first categorised the Glasgow magazines. While a small number were produced by colleges, and a couple by a scientific and a social club, the majority of the magazines I examined (77%) were founded by church and secular mutual improvement, literary or young men's societies (see *Figure 6.6*). Glasgow was home to particularly active communities of voluntary associations:

⁴⁴⁵ Literary societies are one type of mutual improvement society, and the majority of these for most of the nineteenth century consisted of young men. It was almost always the case that a literary society or young men's association specifically included 'improvement', particularly mutual improvement, as part of their society's stated objects, thus these associations were all grouped together.

(at least) thirty formal and informal groups produced their own journals between 1828 and 1913, of which most were specifically for their members' 'improvement'. This is almost the same number of groups as the whole of the rest of Scotland, which had (at least) 34 groups during a slightly longer period (1823-1914). At this stage, it appears that church groups and secular societies outside Glasgow were founded in equal measure during this time, but full details on nine societies have yet to be determined (see *Figure 6.7*).

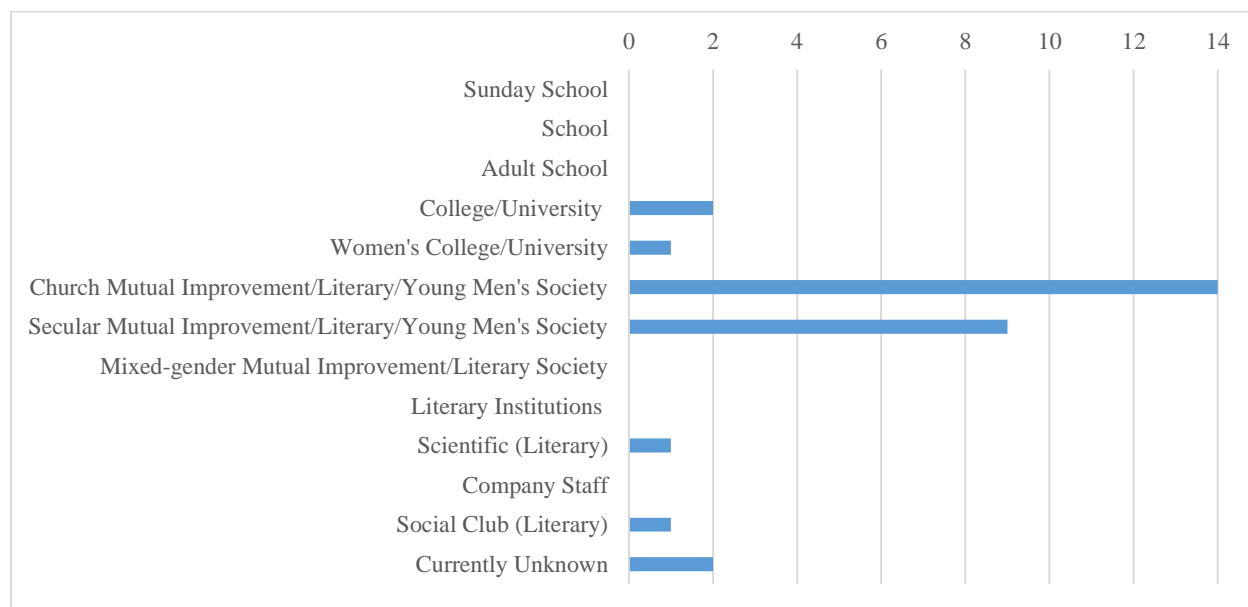


Figure 6.6: Magazines Produced by Various Glasgow Groups, 1828-1913

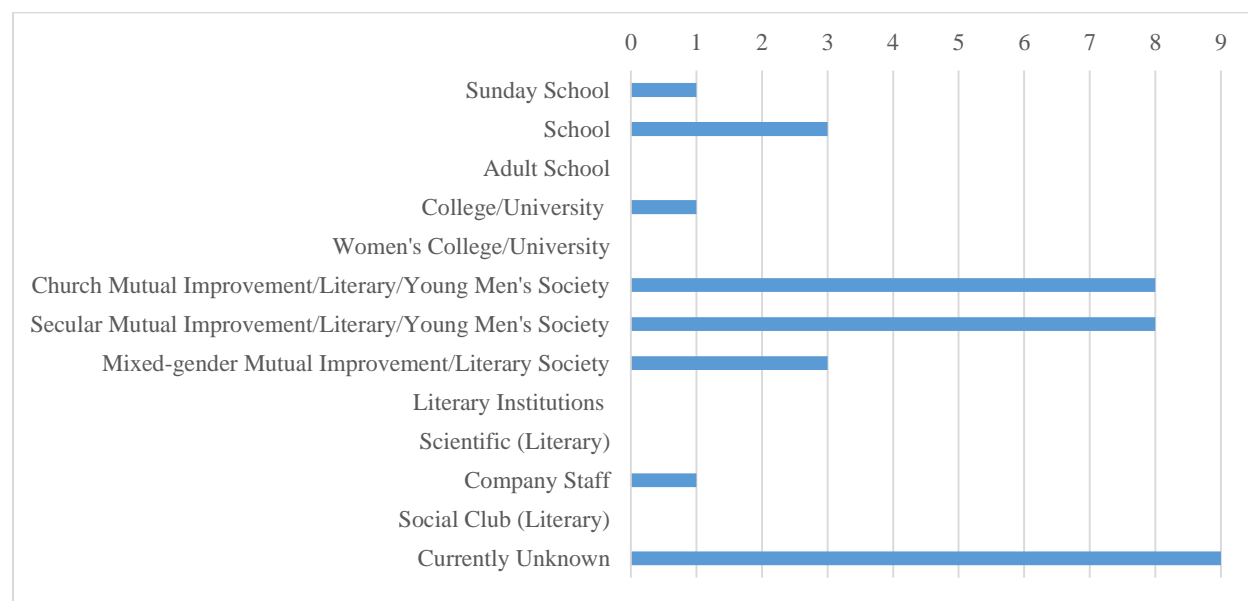


Figure 2.7: Magazines Produced by Various Scottish Groups, Excluding Glasgow, 1823-1914

When the number of Glasgow's and the rest of Scotland's societies are combined, we can get an idea of the manuscript magazine-producing culture for the country as a whole between 1823 and 1914 (see *Figure 6.8*). Although both church and secular groups were regularly starting up magazines as part of their activities, the largest number of journals were founded by mutual improvement, literary society and young men's associations that were running through local churches. If this is compared with English groups (see *Figure 6.9*), the same pattern emerges, but

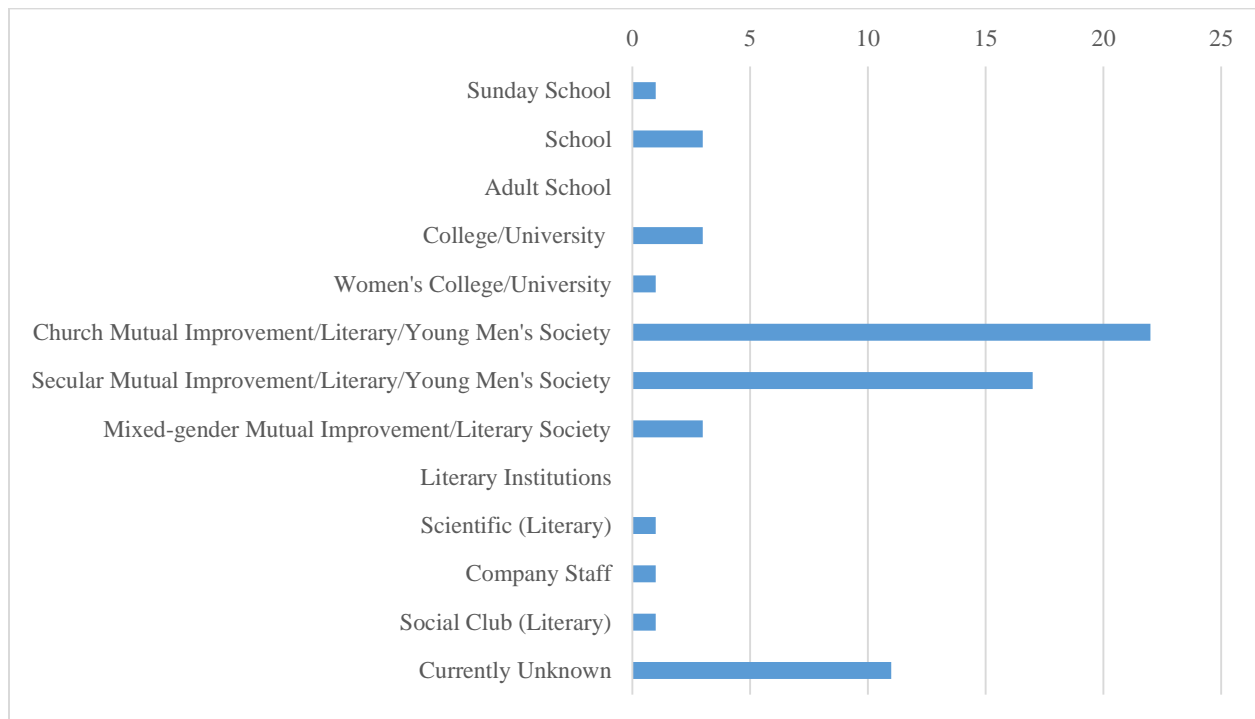


Figure 6.8: Magazines Produced by All Scottish Groups, 1823-1914

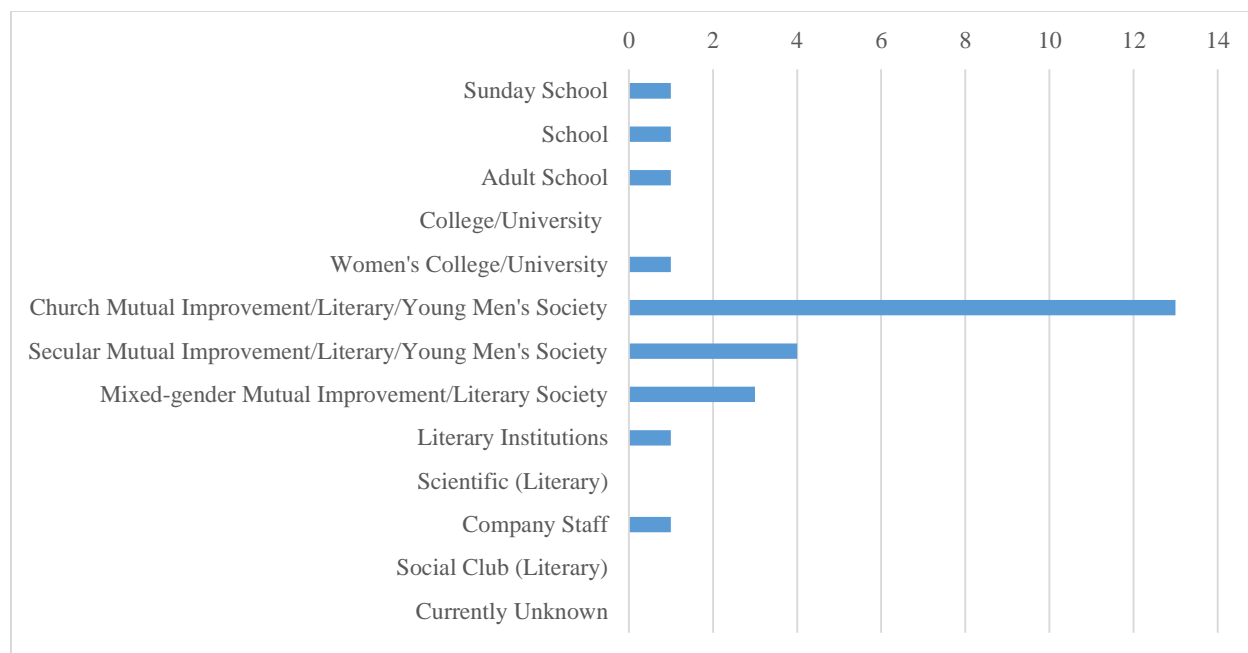


Figure 6.9: Magazines Produced by Various English Groups, 1827-1914

is even more pronounced. Further, when the total production figures from Scotland and England are compared, it appears at this stage that this phenomenon was more commonly practiced in Scotland (see *Figures 6.3* and *6.5*).

It wasn't just the fact that groups were producing their own journals, but they were producing them primarily in manuscript rather than in print. These literary societies, and mutual improvement groups more generally, clearly demonstrate that manuscript culture extended well beyond the early nineteenth century. Not only that, it was the *preferred* method of magazine production throughout the nineteenth century, and manuscripts would continue to be used well into the next century (see below).

Alongside advances in print technology that made reading materials cheaper and easier to procure over the course of the century, Glasgow's readers were continuing to employ more traditional means by which to acquire their reading materials, which included library borrowing.⁴⁴⁶ In addition, I argue that they were responding to the availability of (more) affordable print magazines and newspapers aimed at the working classes by choosing to produce their own *handwritten* productions, with the magazines sometimes even being handmade. These societies

⁴⁴⁶ I address this issue in my recently published article in *Library & Information History*, from which sections of this discussion are used (Lauren Weiss, 'All are instructive if read in a right spirit': Reading, Religion and Instruction in a Victorian Reading Diary', *Library & Information History*, 33 (2017), 97-122).

were largely using manuscripts for the same general purpose: to facilitate contributors' (and implicitly readers') improvement.

Manuscripts magazines were easier and cheaper to produce than print journals. But perhaps more importantly, unlike most printed books and magazines that were collectively owned (e.g. by libraries, book clubs, and more informal groups that pooled their resources to buy printed materials), I estimate over half of the society journals I examined to date were intended for readers' responses and annotations to be written into their pages. After consuming, these magazines were then to be fed back into the communications circuit.⁴⁴⁷ Darnton's description of how the circuit worked for print materials could also explain the process for literary society manuscripts:

The reader [...] influences the author both before and after the act of composition. Authors are readers themselves. By reading and associating with other readers and writers, they form notions of genre and style and a general sense of the literary enterprise, which affects their texts, whether they are composing Shakespearean sonnets or directions for assembling radio kits. A writer may respond in his writing to criticisms of his previous work or anticipate reactions that his text will elicit. He addresses implicit readers and hears from explicit reviewers. So the circuit runs full cycle. It transmits messages, transforming them en route, as they pass from thought to writing to printed characters and back to thought again.⁴⁴⁸

While the society might have provided the paper, the author could also be the editor, the publisher,⁴⁴⁹ the reader, as well as the distributor, passing the magazine on when s/he finished with it. And as I've shown above in the case of the Wellpark magazines, this process could be repeated with the same actors through a different circuit within the lifespan of a single issue.

⁴⁴⁷ The interconnected links between authors, publishers, printers, suppliers, shippers, booksellers, binders, and readers, concurrently with their socio-economic, intellectual, political and legal influences is systematised in a model proposed by Robert Darnton that he termed a 'communications circuit' (Robert Darnton, 'What is the History of Books?', *Daedalus*, 111 (1982), 65-83 (67)). While admitting the enormity of the task, Darnton advocated a 'holistic view of the book as a means of communication', such as that outlined by his model, which had an 'emphasis on people', also 'stress[ing] the importance of studying the activities of book people in order to understand the history of books' (*Ibid*; Robert Darnton, "'What is the History of Books?'" Revisited', *Modern Intellectual History*, 4 (2007), 495-508 (p. 504)).

⁴⁴⁸ Darnton (1982), 67.

⁴⁴⁹ Some manuscript magazine editors painstakingly re-wrote all the contributions to their magazines themselves while others left the pieces they received in the author's own handwriting.

Dates of Production: Glasgow, Scotland and England Compared

From the evidence I collected to date on societies in Glasgow, I found that there is good evidence for a number of correlations between the founding years of literary societies and significant historical moments (see Chapters 2 and 3). If an increase in the number of literary societies can be said to be connected to these larger social and political movements, I hypothesised that there might also be correlations between local and national events, and the founding of magazines by these same societies.

To test this, I first considered the evidence from Glasgow societies' magazines. Where available, I used the year in which a society's magazine was founded, or, in the absence of such evidence, the year of the earliest extant issue, or the earliest evidence of its production from the primary and secondary sources. The results can be seen in *Figure 6.10*.⁴⁵⁰ To see if there were any correlations between the increased number of society magazines being founded towards the end of the century, and the more active periods in the founding (or earliest evidence) of literary societies, I plotted the two charts together. The results are shown in *Figure 6.11*.

⁴⁵⁰ *Figure 6.10* shows the founding year or earliest evidence for 29 of the 30 Glasgow societies that produced magazines. There is one group where it is unclear if the society ever fulfilled their plan to found one: in 1873, the Kelvinside Literary Association had a number of discussions regarding the founding of a society manuscript magazine, but I have not found definitive evidence whether or not it was ever produced (Minute entries for 24 March 1873, 7 October 1873, and 14 October 1873, Kelvinside Literary Association Minute Book, 1871-84 (GCA, Glasgow, Kelvinside, Free Church, U.F., Literary association minutes, 1871-84, CH3/1012/11).

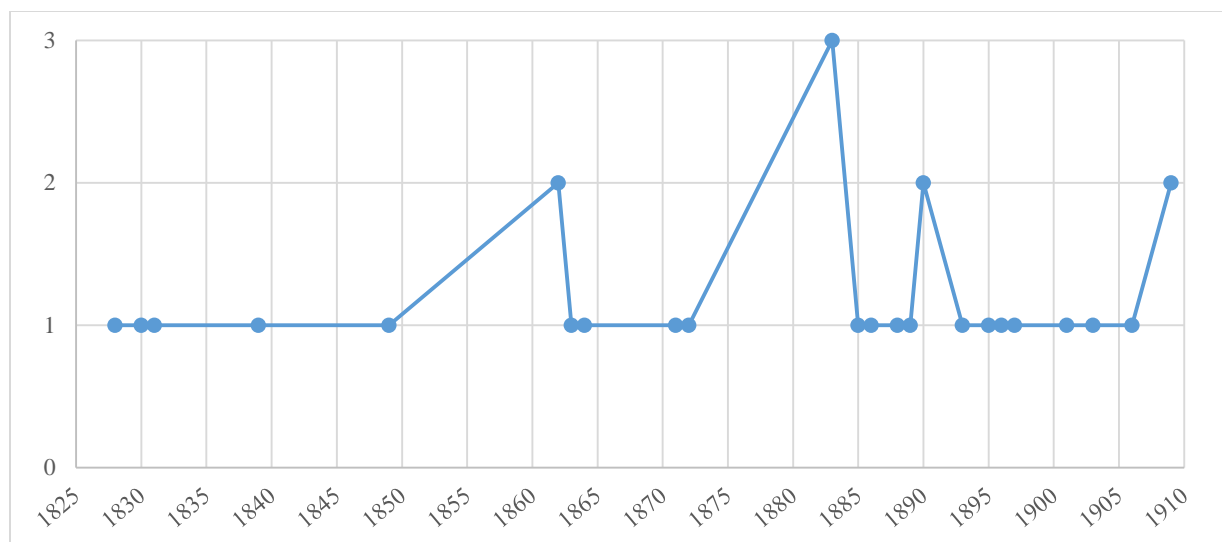


Figure 6.10: Number of Glasgow Literary Society Magazines by Founding Year or Earliest Appearance in the Records

There were two correlations found between them. The first was between 1870 and 1889, when both the number of societies and society magazines were increasing. This roughly corresponds with what I've called the third phase in literary society development in Glasgow, which was the height of group activity in the city, and therefore is not particularly surprising. But while the number of societies founded or running in the city continued to increase in the 1890s until the end of the century, society magazines were starting to decrease slightly. The number of literary societies themselves began to decline around the start of the twentieth century, which correlates with the slightly reduced number of new or existing magazines during that same period.

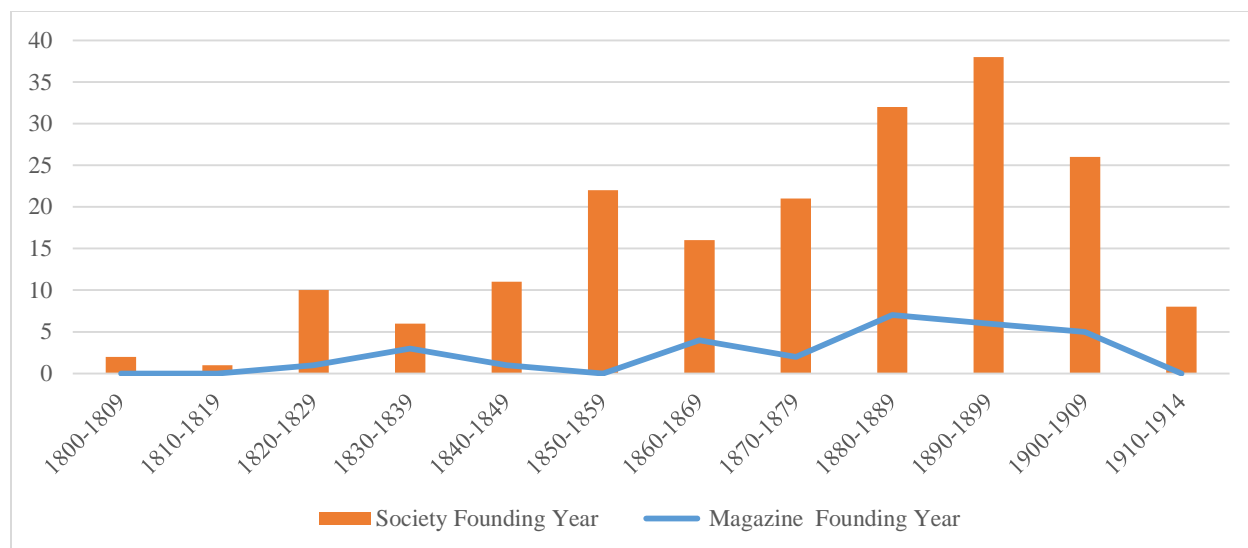


Figure 6.11: Glasgow Literary Societies and Literary Society Magazines Compared by Decade in which they were Founded or from Earliest Evidence, 1800-1914

Next, I compared Glasgow's magazines with other literary society journals across Scotland in order to place them in a national context. Specifically, I wanted to see if there might be a similar increase in the production of literary society magazines outside the city at the end of the nineteenth century. The results are shown in *Figure 6.12*.⁴⁵¹ These preliminary figures (i.e. until a fuller, more comprehensive study is done in future) show that the production of society magazines appear to have started about the same time across the country in the 1820s. However, the earliest magazine that I've found that specifically gives their members' 'improvement' as an object for starting their journal comes from Dundee in the 1840s with the founding of the *Dundee Literary and Scientific Institute Magazine* (1844-47). This is approximately twenty years before the earliest extant issue of *The Literary Bond* (1862) was produced by the Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society for the same purpose.

⁴⁵¹ While there were (at least) 34 literary societies that produced magazines across Scotland (exclusive of Glasgow), *Figure 6.12* shows the data for 33 of them. The contents of the Manuscript Book of the Paisley Literary and Convivial Association (1823-1834) were all added accumulatively after the group had been founded for a number of years, and thus it was not possible to place an exact date on it (Paisley, Paisley Central Library, Literary & Convivial Association, Vols. 1-2, [manuscript book, undated], Heritage 366 PA PC20134 Archives). See also Paisley Literary and Convivial Association, 1823-34, minute book, manuscript, Heritage 651.77 PA PC22140 Archives.

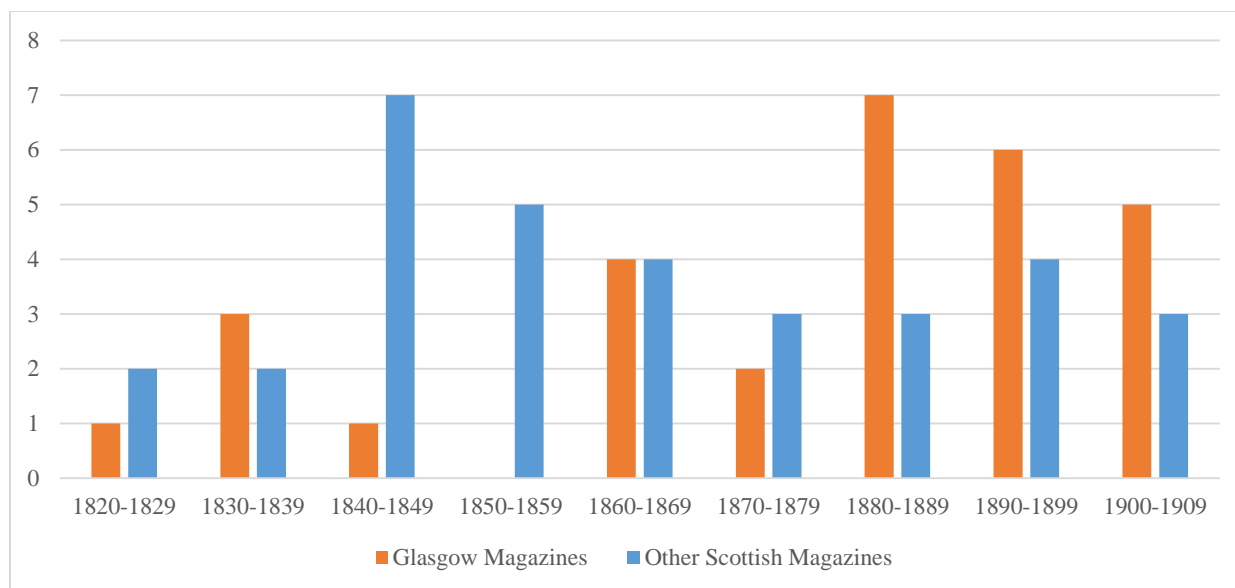


Figure 6.12: Founding Year or Earliest Evidence for Glasgow and Scottish Literary Society Magazines Compared, 1800-1914

In fact, the Dundee Literary and Scientific Institute wasn't an anomaly: the city had a particularly active literary culture from the 1830s at least. Both Scottish manuscript magazines from the 1830s come from this city, with both *The Wreath of Flowers* (1834?-1836?) and *Gems of Poesy* (1834?-1836?) being produced by currently unknown or unnamed literary groups. Six of the seven Scottish magazines from the 1840s were all established in Dundee. In addition to the *Dundee Literary and Scientific Institute Magazine*, there was also the *Dundee Diagnostic Society's Volume for 1846*, *The Dundee Literary Society's Magazine* (1847-1854), *Dundee Natural History and Literary Magazine* (July 1846-?), *The Attic Journal* (1848?-?), and *La Bouquet* (1848?-?). Moving into the early 1850s, if the Lentush Club (1850?-) of Aberdeen, and an as yet unnamed group that produced *The Elgin Magazine and Review* (1851?-?) are included, it can be said that on the whole, improving societies in the northeast of Scotland appear to have been more active at an earlier period than the rest of Scotland and England. Later in the century, similarly to Glasgow, there was a slight rise in the number of literary society magazines being produced, but at this stage in my research, it seems that the height of literary society magazine production across Scotland occurred from approximately 1840 until 1870, just at the point when Glasgow's society magazines were about to take off.

Finally, to put these findings in an even broader context, I compared English mutual improvement society magazines with Glasgow's and other Scottish societies' productions (see

Figure 6.13). While there was a steady rate in the creation of English magazines after the 1850s, it appears that more societies founded or were running their magazines after the turn of the century. This contrasts with my results from all across Scotland. Again, a future, more comprehensive search in English archives and local history departments for other examples of society magazines will no doubt help to develop these initial findings.

The overarching result from the evidence I have uncovered to date is that while more generally it can be shown that literary society magazines, predominantly in manuscript, were regularly being produced across Scotland and England from the 1860s until just after the start of the twentieth century (at least), their history is more complicated when broken down by country, and distinctive differences appear when considered by region and even further by city. While the founding of societies in Glasgow could be said to be correlated with national reforms in the franchise and in education, the establishing of society magazines across Scotland was perhaps subject to differing regional reactions to these reforms, if in fact they can be said to be related at all. While ‘improving’ groups were very active in the northeast of Scotland in founding their own magazines from an early period, other Scottish cities like Glasgow, and England on the whole, may have been slower to adopt this trend.

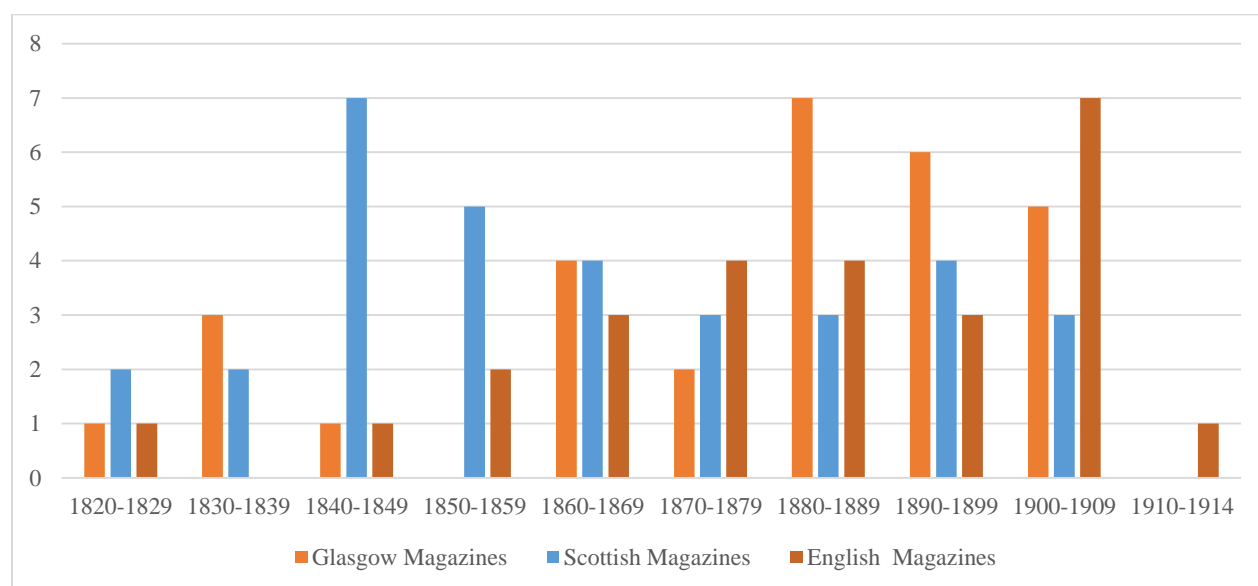


Figure 6.13: Number of English Society Magazines by Founding Year or Earliest Appearance in the Records by Decade

The most likely scenario is that there was a combination of factors at work on a local, regional and national level that had an impact in the way that ‘improving’ societies developed over the course of the century. It is quite plausible that the repeal of the ‘taxes on knowledge’, or taxes on the press in 1855, and the subsequent exponential rise in the number and variety of periodicals after the mid-nineteenth century—particularly those aimed at the working-classes—were related. Thus one could argue that print culture played a significant, influential role in the development of these societies through their adoption of periodical culture as a means to cultivate ‘improvement’ in their members. As I’ve shown in the case of Glasgow, the rate at which they adopted this practice and the different forms that this took varied by parishes or even neighbourhoods across the city.

Further Trends and Analysis

By having the opportunity to visit archives across the country to compare the different groups that produced their own magazines, I made some important initial discoveries. For example, among the materials I examined were the manuscript magazines produced by literary societies organised through various local churches. As discussed above, the majority of these magazines were produced by voluntary associations of aspirational young men, most of whom were part of their respective churches’ congregations. Nevertheless, I found that the producers and contributors to these magazines were not confined to young men, to their congregations, nor to their local communities. Similarly to the magazines produced in Glasgow, these periodicals were manufactured by and contributed to by men *and* women from a surprisingly wide age range. While contributors largely came from the local neighborhoods in which their church was based, it was not unusual to find that the network of contributors and readers could extend well beyond the communities in which they were produced.

For example, as I’ve shown in Chapter 4, the Wellpark Free Church Young Men’s Literary Society produced manuscript magazines from 1883 until 1888 at least. Inside the three extant copies are lists of ‘Readers’ of each issue, which were all comprised of men whose ages ranged from 17 to 50.⁴⁵² The contents, however, were composed by both men *and* women.⁴⁵³ Contributions were accepted from non-members who didn’t live in the local community, indeed,

⁴⁵² Weiss (2016), *Figure 4.1*, p. 57.

⁴⁵³ Contributions to the three magazines included original poetry, prose, artwork in various media and music.

nor in Glasgow: two contributors who appended their names to their poems were respectively from Alloa and Alva, towns in Clackmannanshire located approximately 30 miles east of Glasgow.⁴⁵⁴

Another Scottish example of a magazine's circulation amongst readers who were neither members nor local residents comes from Dumfries. The enigmatically-named monthly magazine, *The Dragon*, was produced by a local group of men and women. While the Wellpark magazines include lists of readers, *The Dragon* includes lists of 'Postages'. To use the December 1872 issue as an example, the list provides evidence that this magazine's circulation was on a truly national scale. Readers and contributors circulated this issue between the Dumfries area, to Swansea, Wales ('Mr Madden 3 George street Swansea and friends (Welsh contributors)'), to Manchester, England, then to Whithorn and Castle Douglas in Dumfries and Galloway, before sending it northeast to Edinburgh, then on to Glasgow, before it was sent to 'Mrs Coope, Staff College, Farnboro' Station Hants, England'.⁴⁵⁵ Similarly, the manuscript magazine produced by a group associated with the Freethinking Christians in London was circulated to readers not only within the city but was also sent to a family in Cheltenham who read and contributed to it.⁴⁵⁶ These examples demonstrate that communities of magazine readers and writers could extend well beyond literary society members, and could include other local and national networks of friends and family.

I also examined a range of other manuscript magazines produced by Sunday schools, grammar schools, adult education classes, and one working women's college. The *Friends' Hall Literary Society* (London) *Manuscript Magazine*, and St Paul's Literary and Educational Society (Manchester) demonstrate cases where a literary society's activities had a direct and long-term impact on its members. While a number of manuscript magazines produced by Glasgow societies claim that their contributors benefitted from submitting to their journals, both the Friends' Hall Literary Society and St Paul's Society offer clear cases of a society's impact on their members'

⁴⁵⁴ Alloa and Alva are only about three miles apart, which suggests that James Walker and John Thomson might have known each other and their contributing to the same issue was no coincidence.

⁴⁵⁵ 'Postages', *The Dragon. A Monthly Magazine*, December 1872, 335 (Dumfries, Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council Library Service, Ewart Library, [EWK] DB151 (05)).

⁴⁵⁶ The November 1844 issue of *The Manuscript Magazine of the Church of God at the Meeting House St John's Square London* includes a letter to the Editor from John Dobell. Through his postscript we learn that he and his family were both readers and contributors (John Dobell, 'Can a Trinitarian be admitted into the Ch:', *The Manuscript Magazine of the Church of God at the Meeting House St John's Square London*, Vol. IV, No. 25, 3 November 1844, pp. 271-79 (p. 279) (London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), CLC/197/MS02199)).

careers: these societies could count amongst their former members prominent novelists, poets, politicians, scholars, and eminent members of their communities.⁴⁵⁷

The College for Working Women (London) produced a magazine and its intended audience was to consist of students, teachers and other supporters of the college. I found that *The College News* offers a good comparative example for the magazine produced by Queen Margaret College in Glasgow during the same period, and that they shared similar objectives. For example, Francis Martin, the Editor of *The College News*, wrote an introductory ‘Address to the Readers’ in the magazine’s first issue in March 1886 in which she lays out her vision of the magazine and its purpose:

The time therefore seems to have arrived when there ought to be a means of communicating to all, that which concerns us all.

We ought to be able to give an account of work done and pleasure enjoyed within these walls, and to record events of interest. We ought to be able to communicate with each other on points of interest connected with our work, or the work of others; as well as on matters that affect the social and moral well-being of College members and students.⁴⁵⁸

To compare, Queen Margaret College Reading Union ‘Report for Session 1907-1908’ records the progress of the Union in its first year. It gives its objects as being twofold: ‘[...] one, to suggest to past students the real need for continuous and, if possible firsthand reading; the other to tempt its

⁴⁵⁷ Arthur Hadley, a former President of Friends’ Hall Literary Society (1906-15), wrote a memoir as well as a history of the society. In the history, ‘A little Athens in the slums’, he includes a detailed account of members’ careers after the society folded in December 1915. Just to name a few, Edmund Dutton became a councillor of the City of London, Samuel Cottage published two works before his death in the first world war, William Kean Seymour became a prolific writer for popular journals, and Alfred C. Ward was an historian and literary critic (Arthur Hadley, ‘A little Athens in the slums: the story of the Bethnal Green Literary Society, 1906-1916’ [unpublished manuscript], [October 1958], pp. 6-7; pp. 14-22 (Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives, P/MIS/376/2). Similarly, St Paul’s Mutual Improvement Society, later St Paul’s Literary and Educational Society, could also boast famous and influential former members. In an article published in the *City News* in October 1904, a report is given of a speech given by George Milner, a former President of the society. In recalling the origins of the society magazine and the afterlives of its contributors, he states: ‘Many of the contributors to *Odds and Ends* had made their mark in life. A least half a score of them had become editors of journals and magazines. Others had sent forth volumes in prose and verse of their own, while several had attained fame in scholastic, artistic, and musical circles. Among the authors of verse was the late Mr. William Hoyle, the founder of the Lancashire and Cheshire Bank of Hope Union, and the writer of temperance songs, which had been sung by hundreds of thousands of people both in England and America’ (‘Societies. St. Paul’s Literary. Modern Literature: Its Irresponsible Nature’, *City News*, 15 October 1904 ([Annotated newspaper clipping], St Paul’s Literary and Educational Society, Bennett Street Sunday School, Scrapbook of newspaper clippings (Manchester Archives and Local History (MALH), M103/19/8).

⁴⁵⁸ Francis Martin, ‘Address to the Readers’, *The College News, A Quarterly Magazine*, ed. by Francis Martin, March 1886, pp. 2-6 (p. 3) (LMA, A/FMC/CM/001).

readers, where they possess some ambition, to write'.⁴⁵⁹ In addition, the report echoes Francis Martin's aspirations for *The College News* in the magazine being a means to forge ties and to share news: '[...] the Committee appeal to all members to exert themselves to retain their interest in the Union. It will serve as a bond between themselves and their old college, and it will keep them, in a way, in touch with old College friends'.⁴⁶⁰

A particularly important discovery was that while women were allowed as members of some nineteenth-century literary societies in the first half of the nineteenth century, they were largely prohibited from joining almost any society that was founded after mid-century until around 1880. The Rusholme Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society (Manchester) (1842-1895?), provides not only an uncommon example of a long-running literary society, but also an example of a society where half of its earliest members were women.⁴⁶¹ Compared with evidence of society membership lists where extant, similar levels of women members in this society—or in other, shorter-lived societies across the country – would not be seen until the end of the century. A further discovery was a 'literary' group entirely constituted of women who produced a manuscript magazine, *La Bouquet or Dundee Ladies Miscellany* (1848), which is the earliest example of this type I've seen, the next earliest (excluding *The College News*) being *The Highbury* (London) *Magazine*, in 1901. The history of women as literary society members or even founders was non-linear: while there were short-lived progressive trends in cities like Dundee and Manchester, societies that were running at the same time in cities like Glasgow were more traditional in that their membership was exclusively male, even if some groups allowed (limited) female participation.

In addition, I examined manuscript and published magazines produced by company staff members. These included *Budgett's Budget* (London), *The Strines Journal* (Strines, Greater Manchester), and *The North British Railway Literary Society Magazine* (Edinburgh). Further, I was able to view an example of a shipboard periodical, the *Pekin Observer*, which was produced

⁴⁵⁹ 'Report for Session 1907-1908', Queen Margaret College Reading Union, [annual report of the Queen Margaret College Reading Union, printed by Bone & Hulley, Glasgow], [1908], pp. 11-12 (p. 11) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 828 169800).

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 11-12.

⁴⁶¹ The society was formed in 1842 and ran until at least 1895. The minutes of the first meeting of the Mental or Mutual Improvement Society connected with Rusholme Wesleyan Sunday School record the names of their first 10 members, five of whom were women. At the same meeting, there was a motion passed that eight people be voted 'members on Trial', with three women's names recorded (Minute for 2 June 1842, Minutes of the Mental or Mutual Improvement Society connected with Rusholme Wesleyan Sunday School, 1842-1847 (MALH, GB127.MS 374.5 M11)).

on board the S.S. City of Peking, along with magazines that were produced by more or less formal literary institutions: while the Hackney (London) Literary and Scientific Institution resembled a Mechanics' Institution, the Dundee Literary and Scientific Institute (see above), which produced a magazine in 1844(?), consisted of less than a dozen members at its height, with their weekly meetings being held in a garret in the home of a family of shoemakers. In the second volume of the *Dundee Literary & Scientific Institute Magazine*, there is an unofficial preface written on the flyleaf by George Tawse, a former member. In it, he fondly recalls the history of the society:

Although possessing so high sounding a name it was a very small and humble affair. It was a mere collection of 8 or 10 mere lads who once a week (on Mondays) met on an evening in a mere garret (and a very poor garret – as garrets go –) and discussed the literary affairs of the world, the scientific concerns of the universe, and influenced and controlled the affairs of the great British Empire besides. It would appear that in 1845 we had an existence of 4 years. I can scarcely believe that we began our momentous labours so long ago and when we were so young – not a beard or moustache – not even the downiest of down upon any of us – nor the whole lot of us. The Institute was hatched in a workshop of the Cramb family, who were all shoemakers of a political and intellectual cast of mind (as shoemakers so often are) and it was because they kindly offered us the use of a garret, bare of furniture and barely 10 x 8, that the great Institute was born.⁴⁶²

This institute offers a very useful example of a case where a group's appellation belies its traditional historic associations, in this case a literary and scientific institution.

Scottish (and English) Ways of Consuming Texts

To come to my final point, I wish to return to one issue in particular in my initial appraisal of the current state of the field in the Introduction: the lack of research on literary societies. The absence of any comprehensive histories of mutual improvement societies more generally may be due to larger issues within the field. Douglas Sutherland has pointed out that '[a]dult learning has a rather peripheral position in the historiography of Scottish education'.⁴⁶³ Unlike the subjects of elementary, secondary and university education, it is just recently that it has become the focus of

⁴⁶² George Tawse, [preface and notes], *Dundee Literary & Scientific Institute Magazine*, Vol. II, 1846-47, pp. i-ii (p. i) (Dundee Local History Centre, 265(17)).

⁴⁶³ Douglas Sutherland, 'Adult Education, c. 1750-1950: A Distinctive Mission?', in *The Edinburgh History of Education in Scotland*, ed. by Robert Anderson, Mark Freeman and Lindsay Paterson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2015), pp. 246-64 (p. 246).

study in its own right. According to Sutherland, this is due to three factors: 1. the difficulty in defining adulthood, particularly from the mid-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries; 2. the range of education provided (i.e. from basic literacy skills, to university education) through a variety of institutions and organisations; and 3. ‘the pervasive, sometimes controversial, place of tradition in its educational culture’.⁴⁶⁴ This last point I will return to below. It was only in 2006 that Anthony Cooke published what Sutherland called ‘the first extensive synthesis of research in this area’.⁴⁶⁵

Cooke embraces Laurance Saunders’s term ‘popular enlightenment’—or ‘characteristically Scottish forms of self-improvement’—exemplified by Samuel Brown’s itinerating library scheme in the first decades of the nineteenth century that began in East Lothian, Thomas Dick’s calls for institutes and organisations to provide adult education and influential publication of the *Christian Philosopher*, and George Miller’s publication of cheap educational reading materials at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Dunbar, East Lothian—as the basis for his own study.⁴⁶⁶ His synthesis of the history of Scottish adult education, particularly during the late eighteenth to the early twentieth centuries, convincingly supports a general narrative of Scottish differences (here read as ‘superiority’) to the English system.

And this list of Scottish differences and achievements is considerable. Its earliest free public library was founded in 1680 in Innerpefferay. In Britain, Scotland really led the way in the provision of libraries: Allan Ramsay’s circulating library, founded in Edinburgh in 1726,⁴⁶⁷ was the first of its type, while the Leadhills Miners Library (founded in 1792) was the first working-class library in the country. Scotland has a claim to founding the Sunday school movement, and Cooke cites two early examples: one Church of Scotland minister offered Sunday evening classes to impoverished children at Brechin in Angus in 1761, and another offered classes in 1774-75 to the poor in Calton, located in the east end of Glasgow.⁴⁶⁸ With the assistance of the General Session and private citizens of the city, Glasgow town council set up eight Sunday schools in November

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid*, p. 246.

⁴⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 247.

⁴⁶⁶ Cooke, p. 2. See also Laurance James Saunders, *Scottish Democracy 1815-1840: The Social and Intellectual Background* (Edinburgh and London: Oliver and Boyd, 1950), pp. 248-58.

⁴⁶⁷ The *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* gives 1725 as the probable date for the founding of Ramsay’s circulating library (Murray G. H. Pittock, ‘Ramsay, Allan (1684–1758)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. by H. C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison (Oxford: OUP, 2004), online edition ed. by David Cannadine (May 2010) <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23072>> [accessed 11/10/17].

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 39.

1787.⁴⁶⁹ By the mid-nineteenth century, these schools would develop the number as well as the variety of educational classes—including mutual improvement societies—they had on offer in an appeal to young adults, but secular Sunday schools were also available.⁴⁷⁰

With the founding of the Edinburgh School of Arts in April 1821 (later to become Heriot-Watt University), Scotland also claimed Britain's first Mechanics' Institute. Mutual improvement groups were in fact *part of* the history of three Mechanics' Institutes in Scotland: they were started *within* the Edinburgh School of Arts,⁴⁷¹ the Mechanics' Institute in Aberdeen (the Mutual Instruction Class, founded May 1835)⁴⁷², and the Watt Institution in Dundee, the latter group founded when it 'fell on hard times and opted for the same solution [as Aberdeen] of mutual instruction'.⁴⁷³ These types of societies could also serve as the basis for the founding of an institution: in 1823, the Mutual Improvement Society in Haddington, East Lothian, became the local Mechanics' Institution.⁴⁷⁴

Scotland had more universities at the beginning of the eighteenth century than England, Ireland and Wales combined (numbering 5, 2, 1 and none respectively).⁴⁷⁵ In addition, Scottish universities accepted Dissenters: unlike Oxford or Cambridge, they did not require their students to sign the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. Comparatively across Europe, its fees were cheaper, and were 'less dominated by those from aristocratic, professional, or official backgrounds than those in England, France or Germany'.⁴⁷⁶ The fact that its staff was more reliant upon student fees for their income had the effect of making them more 'open': the University of Glasgow and Andersonian Institute both offered courses that were open to the general public—including women—at the end of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁷⁷ Evening schools

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

⁴⁷¹ Cooke, p. 52. The group that formed within the Edinburgh School of Arts was a class for mathematics that was led by a joiner. Cooke describes this as a 'self-help group'.

⁴⁷² Alexander Bain discusses the origins of this class in his autobiography (Alexander Bain, *Autobiography* (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1904), pp. 26-28).

⁴⁷³ Cooke, p. 57. For a fuller history of the Watt Institution, see James Vernon Smith, *The Watt Institution Dundee, 1824-29* ([Dundee] ([c/o Honorary Publications Secretary, Department of History, The University, Dundee DD1 4HN]): [Abertay Historical Society], 1978).

⁴⁷⁴ Cooke, p. 57.

⁴⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 30. Scotland's universities included the University of St Andrews (founded 1413), University of Glasgow (1451), King's College, Aberdeen (1495), University of Edinburgh (1583), and Marischal College, Aberdeen (1593). English universities here include the University of Oxford (prior to 1167) and University of Cambridge (1209). The Irish university referred to here is Trinity College, Dublin (1592).

⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33, p. 51. See also 'Philo.', 'Anderson's Institution. Class for Females', *The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine; and Annals of Philosophy*, Vol. IV, No. CXIV, 25 February 1826, pp. 441-42.

had a history in Scotland going back to the late eighteenth century, which Cooke again attributes to ‘a combination of the Scots’ enthusiasm for learning and self-improvement and the poverty of the schoolmasters, who augmented their meagre salaries by teaching evening classes and Sunday schools’.⁴⁷⁸ Adult education was not only different, the ethos of popular enlightenment in Scotland found closer parallels to Scandinavian countries and Germany than to England and Wales.⁴⁷⁹ Cooke grounds these differences in Presbyterianism, and particularly Calvinism: ‘Calvinism seems to have had a particularly strong attachment to ideas of thrift, self-denial, and ‘getting on’ in life or self-improvement’.⁴⁸⁰

Sutherland largely follows Cooke’s assessment, citing the autodidact tradition that grew over the course of the eighteenth century, which ‘became widely established across a broad range of Scottish communities’.⁴⁸¹ This ‘cult’ of self-improvement’ would continue and develop in the nineteenth century. With a similar assessment of Scotland’s achievements, notwithstanding ‘some romantic exaggeration’, and George Davie’s contested claims on universities in the nineteenth century in his otherwise laudatory book on Scotland’s achievements,⁴⁸² Sutherland affirms that ‘there can be little doubt that Scottish education in this period had characteristics that distinguished it significantly from education elsewhere in the United Kingdom.’⁴⁸³

Cooke’s study is persuasive as he calls upon a wide range of sources, and adeptly incorporates first-hand accounts by using 62 autobiographies written by Scottish authors, thus extending the work of Jonathan Rose to include working-class Scottish readers in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸⁴ However, R. A. Houston’s influential *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity* offers a warning about the historic and contemporary claims for the superiority of Scottish education,

For a history of the Andersonian Institute, see A. Humboldt Sexton (Alexander Humboldt), *The First Technical College: A Sketch of the History of ‘The Andersonian’ and the Institutions Descended From It, 1796-1894* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1894), and James Muir, *John Anderson: Pioneer of Technical Education and the College He Founded* (Glasgow: J. Smith, 1950).

⁴⁷⁸ Cooke, p. 93.

⁴⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 3.

⁴⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁴⁸¹ Sutherland, p. 249.

⁴⁸² See George Elder Davie, *The Democratic Intellect: Scotland and Her Universities in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1961).

⁴⁸³ Sutherland, p. 263.

⁴⁸⁴ Cooke credits his approach to Jonathan Rose whom he found particularly influential (Cooke, p. 2). See Rose (2001). Rose’s work, however, has since come under criticism for not interrogating his sources carefully enough, in the sense that their autobiographies are seen to be transparent, accurate accounts of their authors’ lives. Daniel Allington advocates approaching the genre of autobiography through literary criticism, for example, by using the same techniques as you would in the assessment of a novel as a work of fiction (Allington, pp. 11-28).

and the ‘legend of Scottish literacy’ in the construction and reinforcement of an idealised national identity:

Without searching too closely for evidence of this aspiration being put into practice, the Scots have developed a sentimental notion of ‘lads o’ pairts’ – poor but gifted boys able to pursue upwards social mobility through education. This notion forms an important part of their national self-image.⁴⁸⁵

The crux of his argument is that the legend of superior levels of education and literacy didn’t necessarily tally with all the facts for the entire period he investigates (1600 to 1800). However, as Sutherland (in citing Lindsay Paterson’s work on *Scottish Education in the Twentieth Century*) rightly points out, ‘the power and influence of tradition is not always contingent upon its truth: the fact that those involved in shaping educational provision were influenced by it may be as significant as the tradition’s accuracy or overall truth’.⁴⁸⁶ While it was ‘generally conceded that by mid-century approximately 75 per cent of Scottish people were literate to some degree, well ahead of the European average for the same period’, the Highlands, in places like Western Inverness and Ross, were nonetheless behind this national average both in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁴⁸⁷ But I argue it’s not the point whether or not Scotland had superior literacy rates and education levels, or whether this national self-image was ‘true’, it’s what they *believed* to be true, which is more potent.

As discussed in previous chapters, the interrogative approach to texts that readers took in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was part of dissenting culture more generally, and was part of the Presbyterian tradition of education in Scotland. Its application is illustrated in autodidact culture, which features in Rose’s study of working-class (mostly) English readers and in Cooke’s work that includes the Scottish working-class.⁴⁸⁸ But in the nineteenth century, I argue that this national self-image and respect for education was spread and supported by the media, through newspapers and periodicals, the materials that were most commonly read:

⁴⁸⁵ Houston, (*passim*).

⁴⁸⁶ Sutherland, p. 246.

⁴⁸⁷ Bell, p. 7; Houston, p. 264.

⁴⁸⁸ Cooke breaks down the religious backgrounds of the parents of the autobiographers that he studied and found that ‘of those whose parents’ religious background is known, a majority (53 per cent) came from a Dissenting/Free Church background’ (Cooke, p. 10; see also ‘Table 1: Religious backgrounds of parents of autobiographers born between 1741 (John Macdonald) and 1891 (Harry McShane)’, p. 10).

[...] the book was not the predominant form of text and, more than likely, was not therefore the thing most commonly or widely read [...]. The most common reading experience, by the mid nineteenth century at latest, would most likely be the advertising poster, all the tickets, handbills and forms generated by an industrial society, and the daily or weekly paper.⁴⁸⁹

If we take the Scottish (and by extension, as shown in Chapter 2, the Canadian) definitions of literary as being roughly synonymous with advanced literacy and culture, the use of the term itself in newspapers and magazines across Britain (as shown in the examples from ProQuest's *British Periodicals* and the *British Newspaper Archive*'s databases given in the Introduction) demonstrate that the press had a vested interest in promoting both the notion of advanced Scottish literacy and its inter-related concept of the literary. Further, the media itself featured reader response: as Margaret Beetham points out, 'many periodicals invited readers to intervene directly – by writing letters, comments, and other contributions. This may help to account [...] for the immense resilience and popularity of the form'.⁴⁹⁰ Thus in some ways it was a self-perpetuating cycle.

This Scottish national image was also spread by a mutually-supportive circuit of mutual improving groups. These communities of readers also acted as communications circuits (a point which Darnton understood) for these ideals, and William C. Russell's views espoused in the excerpted article from the 1897 Christmas issue featured at the start of this thesis can serve as an example. The inter-relation of the press and mutual improvement societies should also be seen as mutually supporting. To illustrate, I give the following example. Using the data from *ProQuest: British Periodicals*, it was in the 1820s that the use of the term 'literary' in the periodical press reached its apex across Britain. In Glasgow during the same period, the Town Council was reconstructing the city's physical and intellectual landscape. It was during this decade that there was a rise in the number of literary groups in the city. In the 1830s (if not earlier), local churches in Glasgow were also starting to run educational groups for its congregations, as seen in the

⁴⁸⁹ Eliot, 'The Reading Experience Database; or, what are we to do about the history of reading?' (para. 10 of 25).

⁴⁹⁰ Beetham, 98. The interactivity of the Victorian Press is also the focus of work by more recent scholars. See Kirstie Blair, *The Poets of the People's Journal: Newspaper Poetry in Victorian Scotland* (Glasgow: Association for Scottish Literary Studies, 2016); Kirstie Blair, "'A very poetical town": newspaper poetry and the working-class poet in Victorian Dundee', *Victorian Poetry*, 52 (2014), 89-109; Andrew Hobbs, 'Five Million Poems, or the Local Press as Poetry Publisher, 1800-1900', *Victorian Periodicals Review* 45 (2012), 488-92; Michael Sanders, *The Poetry of Chartism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); N. M. Houston, 'Newspaper Poems: Material Texts in the Public Sphere', *Victorian Studies* 50.2 (2008), 233-42.

example of Calton Wesleyan-Methodist Congregational Young Men's Society, which was founded in 1839. What I'm suggesting is that there may in fact be a connection between all these factors.

A second example to illustrate this point comes from the 1890s. It was during this period that the second peak in the use of 'literary' by the periodical press across Britain occurred. By this time, Glasgow had dramatically altered its physical landscape in a massive re-structuring of the cityscape through multiple, various improvements and updates to its infrastructure, and in the 1890s, began to improve its public services across the city which coincided with a continued expansion of its population. It was also during this decade that literary society founding reached its peak in Glasgow. These factors—Glasgow's growth and development as a city, the dramatic growth in the number and variety of literary groups in the city, the rise in the availability of more affordable reading materials, and the promotion of literary culture in the press—were all inter-related. Bill Bell illustrates some of these links:

While new modes of communication were bringing outlying areas into the world of mainstream print, they also encouraged mass migration to the cities. Thus there was an increasing concentration of the population in and around the Central Belt as the century progressed. Central Scotland was home to 56 per cent of the population in 1801 and it had risen to 71 per cent by 1881 (Osborne: 3). The concentration of the population was to have a corresponding effect on the public sphere. While pockets of local print culture survived, largely in the form of newspapers and jobbing printing, urbanisation served in turn to concentrate an increasing proportion of the means of cultural production, giving even greater priority to Glasgow and Edinburgh, and eventually to London, as sources of news and information.⁴⁹¹

Scotland had a vested interest in maintaining its national ethos of improvement and legend of superior education. Various circuits helped in its promotion which extended down to the micro or local level, which included mutual improvement and literary groups.

A final point: it may be that we should not think of Scotland's borders—thus its social, cultural, economic and political borders—as being as solid and impermeable as the above assessment seems to suggest. Houston's study shows for the early modern period:

[a]s one would expect in geographically contiguous regions, there were strong economic ties between northern England and southern Scotland. Scotsmen were commonly to be

⁴⁹¹ Bell, p. 10.

found in Cumberland, Westmorland and Yorkshire [...] As well as people and products, ideas about religion, politics and education trafficked in both directions.⁴⁹²

Further, he points to the fact that literary levels in northern England and southern Scotland in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were not that dissimilar. He cites this, and other ‘cultural patterns’, as evidence against the legend of a nationally superior education system and the influence of Calvinism, and that it might have more to do with ‘less significant social customs’.⁴⁹³ Again, it had less to do with the evidence, and more to do with what people believed.

The evidence for literary society manuscript magazine production becomes highly relevant here. The distribution patterns for their production at this stage show that they were largely—but not exclusively—a Scottish phenomenon. While there were English societies that produced their own magazines, there were more than twice as many of these groups in Scotland. Quite significantly, one of the so-called outliers in the distribution pattern of English magazine-producing societies shown in *Figure 6.4* is from London, and adds weight to my argument: *Aemulus*, a manuscript magazine produced between 1866 and 1878 (at least), was created by the Islington Presbyterian Church Young Men's Association (21 October 1869-1893(?)), a group of Scottish young men who attended the Islington Presbyterian Church, which was known as the Scotch church (see Appendix V). The Scots not only emigrated to London in large numbers, it appears that they brought their magazine culture with them.

Closer to home, the clustering of societies in the northwest of England suggests similar if not direct Scottish influences. Houston’s assessment of a larger cultural zone that comprised Lowland Scotland and the four northern counties of England during the early modern period,⁴⁹⁴ which might reasonably be said to have extended into the nineteenth century, offers a compelling account for the distribution of manuscript magazines in Scotland *and* the north of England. Possible support for this larger cultural zone in the nineteenth century comes, interestingly, from the history of reading. Specifically, James Secord’s individual case study of Thomas Archer Hirst of Halifax, Yorkshire, provides some weight to this argument. His study of Hirst, a reader from a dissenting background, illustrates a pattern of reading and study that would be of the ‘kind [...]

⁴⁹² Houston, p. 16.

⁴⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 257.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 264.

recommended in the learned traditions of Congregational Dissent'.⁴⁹⁵ As a young man, Hirst was a teacher at the local Mutual Improvement Society. He borrowed books from the society library along with that of the Mechanics' Institute. Secord describes Hirst's reading as a distinctive type of historical reading:

Almost no one reads like this any more. It is the reading practice of a self-improving autodidact, shaped by traditions of Bible-reading among Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and the other denominations of learned, liberal Dissent [...] In the Dissenting traditions that dominated practical education in Yorkshire and Lancashire, the Bible provided a template for how all books should be read: slowly, line-by-line, and with utmost attention to the nuances of the readers' relationship (or lack thereof) with God.⁴⁹⁶

Hirst's reading for self-improvement could accurately describe the practices employed by some 'improving' readers in literary societies in Glasgow. If readers can be said to be similarly consuming texts in a manner advocated by evangelical tradition and dissenting religion, a similarly shared culture of manuscript magazine production would not be out of place in this larger cultural zone. This Scottish practice of consumption however, might arguably be called a Scottish and northern British practice. The term 'North British', used variously since the seventeenth century, should be reclaimed to refer to this geographical area as well as its shared socio-cultural attributes.

⁴⁹⁵ Secord, p. 340.

⁴⁹⁶ *Ibid*, p. 343.

Chapter 7: **Conclusion**

In an influential article, one of the caveats Simon Eliot offers for the history of reading is ‘that any reading recorded in an historically recoverably way is, almost by definition, an exceptional recording of an uncharacteristic event by an untypical person’.⁴⁹⁷ What I have aimed to show in this thesis is that literary societies, and mutual improvement groups more generally, were a quite typical cultural phenomenon and a ubiquitous feature of communities not only in Glasgow, but across Scotland and England, and even internationally. They engaged in characteristic, routine events like discussions, debates, readings, and socialising at their regular meetings over their yearly sessions that formed traditions that could span decades. Recording their meetings in both manuscript books and the providing of accounts of these meetings to the local and national press were standard practices for many groups. These events are recoverable through public and private archives, and through various online open access websites and databases with links and/or lists of bibliographic resources that are available for consultation. This evidence is neither ‘obscure’ nor ‘hidden’ (at least for the most part), but yet still ‘scattered and fragmentary’.⁴⁹⁸ These last elements I intend to address in my forthcoming projects.

Eliot also recommends that we move beyond the individual case study, that these in themselves are not enough. While important, ‘[a]ny number of individual studies would not be sufficient, because you could never be certain that you had assembled a reliable sample that did justice at large to the particular period or area that you were studying.’⁴⁹⁹ In this thesis, I have presented summary evidence for a considerable amount of archival material for one city in Scotland, as an example of a substantial amount of other materials in archives across Scotland and England that are still largely unexplored and in need of examination. The sheer volume and richness of the records of mutual improvement societies and literary societies might indeed go some way ‘to provide a reliable sample that did justice at large’ to research on historic reading in groups and nineteenth-century readers, and most especially those in Scotland, for which there is

⁴⁹⁷ Eliot, ‘The Reading Experience Database; or, what are we to do about the history of reading?’, *The Reading Experience Database, (RED), 1450-1956* <<http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/RED/redback.htm>> [accessed 02 October 2017] (para. 11 of 25).

⁴⁹⁸ See Eliot’s discussion of some caveats and truths regarding the evidence for the history of reading (*Ibid*).

⁴⁹⁹ Simon Eliot ‘Very Necessary but Not Quite Sufficient: A Personal View of Quantitative Analysis in Book History’, *Book History*, 5 (2002), 283-93 (p. 284).

currently a dearth in both areas.⁵⁰⁰ In addition, I have provided two case studies to start things off. These records go some way towards what Katie Halsey reaffirms as the perpetual problem of researchers working in this area, the ‘problem of evidence’, which ‘preoccupies all historians of reading to a greater or lesser extent’.⁵⁰¹ She reminds us of Robert Darnton’s advice in setting out the ‘First Steps Toward a History of Reading’ in 1986, which accords with my own consideration of the future direction of the field and seems particularly timely: ‘we should go back to the archives’.⁵⁰²

The quantitative aspects of my project were an initial, crude attempt to come to terms with the wealth of data that remarkably continued to accumulate over the course of my study. These preliminary results should be carried out more rigorously with the use of statistical tests.⁵⁰³ In this way, the results will bear more authority when comparing with other groups and their reading patterns. The difficulty will be to devise a method of extracting data from these incomplete records in such a way that will concurrently allow for lacunae yet give a fluidity to the evidence we do have.

Along with my own results, this research should be added to the breadth of evidence of both individual and particularly group reading in The UK Reading Experience Database (UK RED).⁵⁰⁴ At my last check, a search of this site for ‘group reading’ brings up six ‘hits’, which turn out to be two entries listed twice and four times respectively under different readers’ names.⁵⁰⁵ A search for ‘literary society’ bears similar results.⁵⁰⁶ There is enormous scope for developing this

⁵⁰⁰ In 2000, James A. Secord also declares his surprise that there weren’t more studies on nineteenth-century readers, particularly as the ‘material—thanks to increased readerships, the popularity of diary keeping and the evangelical revival—is more extensive than anything else before or since’ (Secord, p. 336).

⁵⁰¹ Katie Halsey, ‘Preface: The History of Reading, The State of the Discipline’, *Forum*, 23 (2016), 1-15 (p. 2) <<http://www.forumjournal.org/article/view/1708/2201>> [accessed 12/08/17].

⁵⁰² *Ibid.* See also Robert Darnton, ‘First Steps Toward a History of Reading’, *Australian Journal of French Studies*, 23: 1 (1986) 5-30.

⁵⁰³ For an overview and examples of how statistical analysis can be applied to book history, see Eliot’s ‘Very Necessary but Not Quite Sufficient’ (2002).

⁵⁰⁴ *UK Reading Experience Database* Homepage <<http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/index.php>> [accessed 12/08/17].

⁵⁰⁵ Using the search function of the website using the keyword ‘group reading’ resulted in two separate listings of the entry for Frances Burney, along with the minutes of a meeting of the XII Book Club of which there are four entries for the members of the group who were present that evening (‘Evidence’, ‘Group reading’, *UK Reading Experience Database* <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/search_basic_results.php?keyword=group+reading> [accessed 12/08/17]).

⁵⁰⁶ A search in the UK RED for ‘literary society’ brings up six ‘hits’, two involving the reading of Mrs Henry Wood’s novels along with Mary Braddon’s novels, one of which was obtained through a ‘pub Literary Society’ (‘Evidence’, ‘Literary Society’, *UK Reading Experience Database* <http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/search_basic_results.php?keyword=literary+society> [accessed 12/08/17].

aspect of the database. Future work on these groups will help in furthering my initial attempts here to try to answer the questions of who was reading what, where, and how, that included a focus on their motivations for doing so.

I established that literary society members' reading took place in company as well as alone, that they read silently, but also frequently aloud, and that this was followed by more or less intense discussions with and 'criticisms' from other attendees at their meetings. These participants largely consisted of upper working-class and lower middle-class men and increasingly women as the nineteenth century progressed. These meetings were usually held at least once a month in the evenings in pubs, public halls, hotels, churches, and private homes across Glasgow (and beyond). The materials that they discussed covered a wide range of works in both manuscript and print, and, given the more limited evidence available, these were obtained from a variety of sources. I compared all these aspects and features for a diverse range of groups across the city. Through discussion of their literary magazines, I was able to extend my analysis to a national and even an international level. In regards to the latter, I performed an exploratory review of magazines produced by societies in Ontario and New Brunswick.⁵⁰⁷ Future work could continue to connect these magazines on all these levels while firmly placing them in their respective local social, cultural, economic and political milieu.

Given the difficulties in simply finding evidence for historical reading practices, the discovery of not only a hitherto little-known range of new materials, but ones that included a large quantity of readers' first-hand responses was extremely significant, in that it allowed me to begin to collect and assess data for a sizeable number of reading groups. In general, readers responded to the contributions in literary society meetings and magazines within a particular horizon of expectations.⁵⁰⁸ However, a more nuanced approach was needed as the variation in members' responses to texts more accurately describes what Susan Suleiman calls 'the "multiplication" of horizons of expectation': 'even in the distant past and in a single society there was no such thing as a single homogeneous reading (or listening) public'.⁵⁰⁹ These horizons were not static, were

⁵⁰⁷ See n. 256 and n. 441. For a full report of the results of this research, see Weiss, 'Findings Report X: Canadian Manuscript Magazines. Ontario and New Brunswick Societies'.

⁵⁰⁸ Hans Robert Jauss argued that readers have a 'horizon of expectations' which establishes rules and/or limitations to the literary conventions that are 'acceptable' for different genres, and that these are historically contingent (Jauss, 11-12),

⁵⁰⁹ Susan R. Suleiman argues that 'Jauss's notion of the public and its expectations does not allow for enough diversity in the *publics* of literary works at a given time'. In order to study the variation within audiences and their reception of literary works in the past, she suggests that a "multiplication" of horizons of expectations is needed

mutually constructed through the circuits of communication that took place in the society meetings, and were formalised through the manuscript magazines (i.e. magazines could potentially circulate multiple times between contributors, readers, critics, editors and producers, any of whom could fulfill multiple roles). Listeners'/readers' responses, or 'criticisms', were intended as a dialogic feature to enhance both contributors' *and* the listeners-cum-readers' improvement. In helping to re/shape their collective horizons of what constituted 'good' literature, art and music, the criticisms themselves were also being shaped: Mikhail Bakhtin stresses that [a]ll rhetorical forms, monologic in their compositional structure, are oriented toward the listener and his answer'.⁵¹⁰ The discourses that he describes as existing between the speaker or author and the listener or reader elucidate the dynamic exchanges that took place at society meetings and within the pages of the magazines' 'Criticisms':

The word in living conversation is directly, blatantly, oriented toward a future answer-word: it provokes an answer, anticipates it and structures itself in the answer's direction. Forming itself in an atmosphere of the already spoken, the word is at the same time determined by that which has not yet been said but which is needed and in fact anticipated by the answering word. Such is the situation in any living dialogue.⁵¹¹

These dynamic, elastic circuits can be seen as illustrative examples of Stanley Fish's 'interpretive communities'.⁵¹² But reconstructing each group's rhetorical and material circuits is only the beginning. For example, in the above case study of Wellpark Young Men's Literary Society, this group should ideally be placed amongst the context of other, similar circuits that were constructed by other groups respectively with which they interacted. As I have shown in Chapter 6, these circuits could extend to include regional and national networks. By taking them all into consideration, it will be possible, to some extent, to begin to reconstruct the larger, overlapping

(Susan R. Suleiman, 'Introduction: Varieties of Audience-Oriented Criticism', in *The Reader in the Text: Essays on Audience and Interpretation*, ed. by Susan R. Suleiman and Inge Crosman (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 3-45 (p. 37).

⁵¹⁰ Mikhail M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays*, ed. by Michael Holquist, trans. by Caryl Emerson and Michael Holquist (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1981), p. 280.

⁵¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵¹² Stanley Fish proposed that all readers are part of specific 'interpretive communities' which have self-established cultural norms by which they interpret texts. He underlines the importance and primary necessity to historicise readers' responses (Fish (1980)).

interpretive communities of individual groups. In this case, there is a long way to go with respect to work on reading groups and group reading.

In focussing on one Scottish city, I wished to emphasise the importance of place when studying readers and reading in the past. As James Raven *et al.* affirm, '[t]he places in which reading happens, and the company the reader may keep undoubtedly change the nature of that reading'.⁵¹³ This applies not only to the physical location of the literary society meetings and the practice of reading in groups, but more broadly to the very specific geographical location in which those activities took place. As Andrew Hobbs emphasised in his own study of Preston, '[t]he “where” of reading is more important than one might think'.⁵¹⁴ I believe there is enough evidence to say that there is a particularly Scottish way of consuming texts in the long nineteenth century, which can be defined as: 1. the active cultivation of an oral and written culture in both private and public which is particularly manifested in the formation and participation in clubs and societies; 2. the promotion of a manuscript culture well into the twentieth century that actively encouraged critical reading and writing; and 3. a specific, religiously-infused form of improvement, both self- and mutual,⁵¹⁵ that was encouraged in dissenting churches, particularly Scottish Presbyterian churches; and was accompanied by a distinctive Scottish self-image of superiority in its educational system that was encouraged and facilitated by the local and national press. This Scottish practice of consumption however, might arguably be called a Scottish and northern British practice. I argue there is good evidence for reclaiming the seventeenth-century use (and onwards) of the term 'North British' to refer to this geographical area as well as its shared socio-cultural attributes.

To conclude, I return to one of the underlying concepts of this research, which is that reading was fundamental on many levels to the members of these historic literary groups. Members would have heartily agreed with a recent, twenty-first century assessment: books have a

⁵¹³ James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor, 'Introduction: the practice and representation of reading in England', in *The Practice and Representation of Reading in England*, ed. by James Raven, Helen Small and Naomi Tadmor (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1-21 (p. 12).

⁵¹⁴ Robert Darnton, as quoted in Andrew Hobbs, 'The Reading World of a Provincial Town: Preston, Lancashire 1855-1900', in *The History of Reading, Volume 2: Evidence from the British Isles, c. 1750-1950*, ed. by Katie Halsey and W. R. Owens (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp. 121-38 (p. 121).

⁵¹⁵ Both self-improvement and mutual improvement could be concurrent modes that readers employed in the furthering of their own literacy skills and more general development to their education. David Vincent tacitly implies this when he elides the two in his seminal work, *Literary and Popular Culture*. Cf. his usage on pp. 190, 260, 262, and 267-68 (David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture: England 1750-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)).

‘transformative’ power, and reading is ‘often the most deeply engaged act in the construction of an individual’s identity’.⁵¹⁶ It was only in posthumous editions of Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* that the term ‘literary’ specifically included literature, for example, as ‘[r]especting letters; appertaining to literature; regarding learning’.⁵¹⁷ Even this was a foreshortening of what historic literary societies and mutual improvement groups in Glasgow saw as being an essential part of their process of improvement: to become literary was a purposeful, dynamic social activity that involved intensive and extensive reading and reading practices in the assimilation of a larger, fluid socio-cultural ideal of improvement that would develop and change over the course of the long nineteenth century. The concept of improvement is the heart of the ‘how’ and why’ in the list of questions that historians of reading would like to ask readers in the past.

⁵¹⁶ Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone and Katie Halsey, ‘General Introduction’, in *The History of Reading: A Reader*, ed. by Shafquat Towheed, Rosalind Crone and Katie Halsey (London and New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 1-8 (p. 1).

⁵¹⁷ Samuel Johnson, John Walker, and R.S. Jameson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: William Pickering, 1827), p. 435. Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language* was first published in 1755. According to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, the term ‘literary’ was not included in the editions published between 1755 and 1775 (‘Literary’, *The Oxford English Dictionary*, 2nd edn, 20 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989) VIII, p. 1027). The same source lists a number of eighteenth-century historical authors that *did* include literature in their usage of the term (amongst others) but it appears that it was only in the early nineteenth century that this broader definition was added to Johnson’s earlier listing, which was more scholastic in flavour.

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UK Reading Experience Database Homepage
<<http://www.open.ac.uk/Arts/reading/UK/index.php>>

Appendix I: Glasgow Literary Clubs, Societies and Associations, 1800-1914*

| No. | Name | Date(s) of Existence | Source of info. | Repository/ Location | Shelf Location/Web Address |
|-----|---|--------------------------|--|------------------------------------|--|
| 1 | Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow (developed out of Glasgow Literary Society) | circa 1800 (1806?)? | 1. <i>Sketch of the origin and progress of the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow, with ... plans for the publication of a portion of its transactions; being the substance of an essay read before it in January, 1831</i> (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu22-b.25); 2. <i>List of essays read by the members of the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow, from session 1806 to session 1830</i> (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu22-a.8); 3. Watson, James, <i>A paper on the present railway crisis: read at the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow held on the 26th March 1846</i> (Glasgow: W. Lang, 1846) (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu22-c.6); 4. Watson, James, <i>Remarks on the opening of the British trade with China, and the means of its extension: being the substance of a paper read to the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow</i> (Glasgow: John Smith & Son; Edinburgh; London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1843) (UGSC, Sp Coll Robertson Bf66-d.18); 5. Wardlaw, Ralph, <i>An essay on benevolent associations for the relief of the poor: of which the substance was read to the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow, April 1817</i> (Glasgow: Printed by Young, Gallie and Co, 1818) (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu18-d.25); 6. Bannatyne, Dugald, <i>Observations on the principles which enter into the commerce in grain, and into the measures for supplying food to the people: being the substance of an essay read to the Literary and Commercial Society of Glasgow</i> (Glasgow: Printed by James Hedderwick, 1816) (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu54-e.35); 7. <i>Laws and regulations of the Glasgow Literary and Commercial Society</i> ([Glasgow]; [s.n.], [s.d.]) (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu22-a); Kilpatrick, James A., <i>Literary Landmarks of Glasgow</i> (Glasgow: Saint Mungo Press, 1893), p. 28 (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu24-a.34); Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1856-57 ('Educational and Literary Institutions'), p. 85; 8. 'Glasgow Literary & Scientific Institutions', <i>The Western Luminary</i> , Vol. I, No. 3, 17 January 1824, p. 19 (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu60-f.31, Sp Coll Bh12-e.12) | UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 2 | Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow (This is not the same as Philosophical Society) | 29 November 1802-present | 1. Terry, Charles Sanford, <i>A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies...1780-1908</i> (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1909) (UGSC, History Bibliog DV300 1909-T 1780-1908); 2. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1854-55 ('Educational and Scientific Institutions'), p. 132; 3. (Also various Glasgow PO Directories); 4. 'Glasgow Literary & Scientific Institutions', <i>The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette</i> , Vol. I, No. 3, 17 January 1824, p. 19 (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu60-f.31, Sp Coll Bh12-e.12) | UGL, UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 3 | Anderston Social Club (not the same as the Anderston Club) | 13 June 1813-? | M'Dowall, John K., <i>The People's History of Glasgow. An Encyclopedic Record of the City From the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day</i> (Glasgow: Hay Nisbet and Co. Ltd., 1899), p. 92 | ML | Mitchell (AL) MCD; Mitchell (GC) 941.443 MCD |
| 4 | St. Rollox Debating Society | (prior to) 1822-1823? | St Rollox Debating Society, Minute book, 27 September 1822-2 December 1823 | GCA | GB243 TD1943 |
| 5 | Glasgow Literary Forum (aka Glasgow Public Literary Forum) | 1822?-1840? | 1. Minute Books, 1822-25; 1837-40 (latter minute book becomes minute book for cricket club) (MLSC, 56245, 327348) ; 2. Houston, William, <i>Account of the origin, progress and present state of the Glasgow Public Literary Forum ...</i> (Glasgow, 1824) (ML, Mitchell (GC), CD378.24 HOU 51071) | MLSC, ML | (see Source of information) |
| 6 | Bridgeton Association for Religious and Intellectual Improvement (also charity reading school under this association) | 1824-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1870-71 ('Religious and Moral Societies'), p. 81; 2. 'Declaration of Mr Andrew Thomson, Relief Congregation, Barony Parish, Glasgow, 13th April 1836'; Report of the Commissioners of Religious Instruction, Scotland, Vol. 2, p. 441 < https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=p-NHAQAAMAAJ > [accessed 20/08/17]; 3. Records for Glasgow: Bridgeton Friendly Association (NRS, FS1/16/51) | ML (PO Directories); NRS | (see Source of information) |
| 7 | Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement (instituted 1824; in 1877, this society amalgamates with Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association (aka Y.M.C.A.) (instituted 1841) to become Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association in 1877 (Note: in 1824, there were 14 associations connected with this society in Glasgow) | 1824-1877 | 1. Wardlaw, Ralph, <i>Sermon: [for] the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement</i> (Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement (1825)) (ML, Mitchell (GC), 41446); 2. <i>Catalogue of the circulating and reference libraries. Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement. 1873</i> (ML, Mitchell (GC), 017.2 9368); 3. Douglas, John D., <i>The advantages of the adoption of the Public Libraries Act: first prize essay: Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement</i> (1874) (ML, Mitchell (GC), 027.4 9372); 4. Annual Report of the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association, 1865-83, 1893-1937 (ML, Mitchell (GC) 267.3 43136); 5. Binfield, Clyde, <i>George Williams and the Y.M.C.A.</i> , online resource: < http://www.thirdsector.co.uk/brand-report-y-mca-glasgow-becomes-y-people/communications/article/1053222 > [accessed 23/03/15]; 6. Thirty-fifth annual report of the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement: read 24th February, 1859 (Printed by K. & R. Davidson, 1859) (UGL, Library Research Annexe, B4-4-g.10); 7. Address delivered at the reunion of those who were members of the Regent Place Young Men's Society; subject: Dr. Heugh ... 23d March, 1852, by David Young, United Presbyterian minister at Glasgow (1852) (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu39-h.32); 8. Wardlaw, Ralph, <i>Religion the duty, the happiness, and the hope of youth: a sermon, delivered in Greyfriars' Chapel, Glasgow, on the evening of Lord's-Day, May 27th, 1838, in behalf of the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement</i> (Glasgow: Printed for the Society by Aird & Russell, 1838) (UGSC, Sp Coll T.C.L. 3953); 9. Heugh, Hugh, <i>The importance of early piety: a sermon preached for the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement: January 8th, 1826</i> (Glasgow: Printed by W. Lang, for the Glasgow Young Men's Religious Tract Society, 1826) (UGSC, Sp Coll T.C.L. 3982); 10. Wardlaw, Ralph, <i>The divine dissuasion to the young, against the enticements of sinners: a sermon preached in George-Street Chapel, Glasgow, on the evening of Sabbath, 19th September, 1824: in behalf of the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement</i> (Glasgow: Wardlaw & Cunninghame, [etc.], 1825) (UGSC, Sp Coll T.C.L. 4010); 11. Campbell, J., <i>Memoirs of David Nasmyth, his labours and travels in Great Britain, France, United States and Canada</i> (London, 1844) (NLS, NF.1346.e.11) | ML; UGL Research Annexe, UGSC; NLS | (see Source of information) |
| 8 | Royal Society of Literature | 1824?-? | 'Art, Science, &c.', 'Royal Society of Literature', <i>The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette</i> , Vol. I, No. 9, 28 February 1824, pp. 71-2 | MLSC | Mitchell (AL) 310427 |
| 9 | Select Literary Society | 1824?-? | 'Notices to Correspondents', <i>The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette</i> , Vol. I, No. 3, 17 January 1824, p. 24 | " | " |
| 10 | New Literary and Philosophical Society | 13 January 1824-? | 'Glasgow Literary & Scientific Institutions', <i>The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette</i> , Vol. I, No. 3, 17 January 1824, pp. 19-20 | " | " |
| 11 | Speculative Society | 4 February 1824-? | 'Glasgow Societies', <i>The Western Luminary, or Glasgow Literary & Scientific Gazette</i> , Vol. I, No. 3, 7 February 1824, p. 42 | " | " |
| 12 | University Printing Office Literary & Scientific Institution | 19 March 1825-? | 1. McConechy, James, 'An introductory address ... on the formation of a literary and scientific institution among the workmen of the university printing office' (Glasgow, 1825) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 374 53662--Copies are also available in UGSC and NLS); 2. 'Literary and Scientific Institution at the University Printing Office, Glasgow', <i>The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine; and Annals of Philosophy</i> , 3 (1825), pp. 341-4 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 19 GLA 52873-- for full holdings apply to staff); 3. 'University Printing Office', <i>The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine</i> , 3 (1825), p. 217 (<i>Ibid</i>) | MLSC; UGSC; NLS | (see Source of information) |
| 13 | Gas Workmen's Institution (employed by Gas Light Company) | 1825-? | 1. 'Glasgow Gas Workmen's Institution. Re-opened for the Season. Introductory Address', <i>The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine; and Annals of Philosophy</i> , Vol. IV, No. XCVII (29 October 1825), pp. 169-72 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 19 GLA 52873-- for full holdings apply to staff); 2. 'History of Mechanics' Institutions. Glasgow. The Gas Workmen's Institution', <i>The Glasgow Mechanics' Magazine; and Annals of Philosophy</i> , Vol. III, No. LXXII (7 May 1825), pp. 216-7 (<i>Ibid</i>) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 14 | Glasgow Clerical Literary Society | 1826-1839? | Glasgow Clerical Literary Society Minute Book, 1826-39 | MLSC | Baillie's Library, 35790 (G 206 CLE) |
| 15 | Palaver Society | 28 May 1831-1834? | Palaver Society Minute Book, 1831-34 | MLSC | 891491 |
| 16 | Original Union Club | 1831?-? | (Newspaper clipping, annotated.) 'Times, 9 Dec. 1908' [re. MS scrapbook of verse, c. 1831-32] (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 21, p. 54) | MLSC | Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 21 |
| 17 | Western Literary Club (currently unknown if this is Western Club, founded 1825) | 1834? (possibly 1841)-? | Mr. Wordsworth's Connections with the Literary Institutions of Glasgow', <i>Morning Post</i> (21 November 1846), p. 6 [reference to meeting of 1841] | | |
| 18 | Eclectic Literary Society (not same as St. John's Parish Church Eclectic Literary Association) | February 1838-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1854-55 ('Educational and Scientific Institutions'), p. 132; 2. 'Eclectic Literary Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (12 February 1844), p. 4; 3. 'Eclectic Literary Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (9 February 1846), p. 4; 4. 'Eclectic Literary Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (4 May 1846), p. 4; 5. (Also numerous newspaper articles: see <i>The British Newspaper Archive</i>) | | |
| 19 | Glasgow Shakespeare Club | 1838-? | <i>Laws, Articles and Regulations of the Glasgow Shakspeare Club, Instituted 1838</i> (Glasgow: Printed by Muir, Gowan, & Co. 1839) (also includes manuscript 'Bye & New Laws', list of Honorary Members, and Ordinary Members with dates admitted, names, 'cognomen', and 'remarks') | MLSC | Mitchell (GC) 822.33 324627 |

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|----|---|--|--|---------------|--|
| 20 | Calton Wesleyan-Methodist Congregational Young Men's Society | 1839-1840? | <i>Calton Wesleyan-Methodist Congregational Young Men's Society Magazine</i> , ed. by G. Currie, Mar. 1839-Jan. 1840, with Supplement to Dec. 1839; Mar. 1840-May 1840 | MLSC | NFF1 24/6/81, 585510-585510a |
| 21 | Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association (in 1877, this association amalgamates with the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement, instituted 1824, to become Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association) | 1841-1877 | 1. <i>Northern Star</i> (31 July 1841), and 2. <i>Scottish Patriot</i> (30 January 1841) (these references are from Fraser, W. Hamish, <i>Chartism in Scotland</i> (Pontypool, Wales: Merlin Press, 2010), p. 256). | ML; MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 22 | Literary and Scientific Association (associated with the Chartist Church, Glasgow) | at least 1841-? | (Newspaper clipping, annotated): 'Times. 3 May 1907. Thomas Lugton' ([Thomas Lugton], 'An Old Glasgow MS. Magazine. Lucubrations of the "Western Scientific Association"', <i>The Evening Times</i> (3 May 1907), p. 4 (MLSC, Young's Scrapbook, Vol. 16, p. 77) | MLSC | Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 16 |
| 23 | Western Scientific Association | 1843-? | 1. Free St. Peter's Young Men's Literary Society, <i>Behind the Scenes, A Special New Year's Number of Holm M. S. Magazine</i> , January 1871 (MLSC, 321129, G052 BLY); 2. <i>Free St Peter's Literary Society magazine</i> . 1883 (Dunn & Wright, 1883?) (UGSC, Sp Coll Robertson Bf68-b.23); 3. Fergusson, Alex. A., St. Rollox, Glasgow, [Diaries], 1851-53, 1854-56 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 891398-99); 4. Goodwin, John, <i>History of Free St Peter's Church, Glasgow: with personal reminiscences, from origin till jubilee</i> (Glasgow: Printed by James C. Erskine, 1886) (ML, Mitchell (GC) CD285.241443 STP 761767) | MLSC; UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 24 | Free St. Peter's Young Men's Young Men's Association (later becomes Free St. Peter's Literary Society) (NOTE: this society is part of Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1843-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1883-84 ('Associations Too Late For Classification'), p. 128; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 193; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 131 | MLSC | Chronicles not listed in online catalogue, but |
| 25 | Bank Burns Club | 1844 - 1909; 1914 - ? | | MLSC | Sp Coll Mu1-d.13; Sp Coll RB 3049 |
| 26 | Literary and Debating Society | 1845?-? | <i>The literary magazine</i> , ed. by members of the Literary Debating Society (Glasgow: Printed by George Richardson, 1845-) | UGSC | |
| 27 | Glasgow Addisonian Literary Society | 22 May 1847-1852 | 1. Kilpatrick, James A., <i>Literary Landmarks of Glasgow</i> (Glasgow: Saint Mungo Press, 1893), p. 248 (MSC, Mitchell (AL) KIL); 2. Berry, Simon, <i>Applauding Thunder: Life, Work and Critics of Alexander Smith</i> (Inverness: FTTR Press, 2013), [passim] (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 821.8 SMI 9/BER); 3. 'Alexander Smith (poet)' <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alexander_Smith_(poet)> [accessed 20/08/17]; 4. Glasgow Addisonian Literary Society, <i>Minute Book</i> (Note: no longer housed in Dick Institute, Kilmarnock; awaiting confirmation from Ayrshire Archives if it is part of their collection (20/09/17) 5. Brisbane, T., <i>The Early Years of Alexander Smith, Poet and Essayist. A Study for Young Men, Chiefly Reminiscences of Ten Years' Companionship</i> (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1869) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 821.8 SMI 9/BRI 31794); 6. (Note: several newspaper clippings throughout Young's Scrapbooks (various volumes, e.g. Vol. 12, pp. 4-5; Vol. 14, p. 13-15) on Smith (MLSC) | ML; DI | (see Source of information) |
| 28 | Greyfriars Young Men's Institute (of Greyfriars U.P. Church) | 28 April 1847-(at least 1906, year of Diamond Jubilee Celebration) | Greyfriars United Presbyterian Church, Young Men's Institute, 'Autographs of members & friends, present at Jubilee Celebration, 7th Jan. 1897 [and] Diamond Jubilee Celebration, 10th Jan. 1907' | MLSC | Mitchell (GC) 285.241443 GRE |
| 29 | Juridical [Society] | 6 November 1847-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1854-55 ('Educational and Scientific Institutions'), p. 133; 2. Birrell, Augustine, 'The Nature of Proof in Judicial Proceedings. Address Delivered to the Glasgow Juridical Society', [18-?] (ML, Mitchell (GC) 347.06 GLA/BIR 475725; GCA, Papers of Robert Renwick, TD/490/10/6); Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1887-88 ('Literary and Scientific Institutions'), p. 117 | ML, GCA | (see Source of information) |
| 30 | Glasgow Coleridge Club | 1848?-? | Berry, Simon, <i>Applauding Thunder: Life, Work and Critics of Alexander Smith</i> (Inverness: FTTR Press, 2013), (See also Glasgow Addisonian Literary Society) | ML | SP 821.8 SMI 9/BER |
| 31 | Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society (also includes the Free Anderston Church Literary Society) (this society is part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union, listed separately) | 1849-? | 1. <i>The Literary Bond of Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society</i> , Vol. 2 (Sept. 1862)-Vol. 22, No. 6 (Mar. 1883); <i>The Literary Magazine</i> , Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan. 1896)-Vol. 2, No. 2 (Feb. 1897) (ML, Mitchell (AL) 891310-11; Dewey Class: 820.80941443); 2. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions--Religious'), p. 79 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 32 | Pollokshaws Burns Club | 25 January 1886-? (1906 'Directory' states that this club was instituted in 1850, while 1907 'Directory' says instituted 1865) | 1. Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry 30 March 1908 (MLSC, 891709, p. 18); 2. 'Directory', BC, Vol. V (January 1896), p. 141; 3. 'Directory', BC, Vol. VIII (January 1899), p. 168; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 161 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 33 | City of Glasgow Literary Society | 14 November 1850-1863? | Minute Book/City of Glasgow Literary Society, 1853-63 | MLSC | 436004 |
| 34 | Glasgow Free Church Literary Union (made up of 12 literary societies; each of these societies is listed separately in this spreadsheet) | 1850-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79.; 2. Goodwin, John, <i>History of Free St. Peter's Church, Glasgow: with Personal Reminiscences, from Origin till Jubilee</i> (Glasgow: Printed by James C. Erskine, 1886), pp. 38+ (ML, Mitchell (GC) 285.241443 STP 761767); 3. 'Free Church Literary Union', <i>The Scottish Guardian</i> , 23 (25 April 1854), 1 | ML | (see Source of information) |
| 35 | Wellington United Presbyterian Church Literary Association (became Wellington United Free Church in 1900) | 1851-? | 1. Wellington United Presbyterian Church, Literary Association [Fifth] Minute Book, 1892-1896 (GCA, CH3/1238/1-2); 2. Fleming, Alexander, <i>Historical Sketch of Wellington United Presbyterian Congregation, Glasgow (1792-1892), with an Account of the Proceedings in Connection with the Celebration of the Centenary of the Congregation and of the Rev. Dr. Black's Semi-jubilee as its Minister</i> (Glasgow: Maclure, Macdonald & Co., 1893) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 285.241443 WEL 475664); 3. <i>Jubilee of the United Presbyterian Church, Wellington Street, Glasgow. Report of Services</i> (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1878), see 'Report of Congregational Meeting, on 21st November, 1877 in Wellington Street Church, in Connection with the Jubilee Celebration' (GCA, CH3/1238/1-2); 4. Report of Wellington United Free Church, Glasgow, for the Year Ended 30th September, 1901 (GCA, CH3/1238/1); 5. Mitchell, James, <i>Lecture on the principles of the Secession Church: delivered to the Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, in connection with Wellington Street Congregation, Glasgow, on 12th May, 1863</i> (UGSC, Sp Coll T.C.L. 4126); 6. <i>Report and year book</i> , Wellington United Free Church (Glasgow: [The Church]); Notes from online catalogue: GC: 1905/06-1919/20, 1921/22-1926/27; 285.241443 (ML, Mitchell (GC), 285.241443 WEL 575166) | GCA; ML; UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 36 | Renfield Free Church Young Men's Society (currently unknown if this is the same society as Young Men's Association [Renfield Street United Presbyterian Church]) | 1851?-1869? | Glasgow, Renfield Free Church, U.F., Young Men's Society minutes (1851-69) | GCA | CH3/1166/13 |
| 37 | Free St. Matthew's Literary Society (currently unknown if this is the same society as the Free St. Matthew's Y.M.C. Union) (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious') p. 79 | | |
| 38 | Free St. Mark's Literary Society (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79 | | |
| 39 | Free Gorbals Literary Society (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79 | | |
| 40 | Free Renfield Literary Society (currently unknown if this is same society as Young Men's Association (Renfield Street United Presbyterian Church)) (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79 | | |

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| 41 | Free St. David's Literary Society (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79 | | |
| 42 | Free St. Luke's Literary Society (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79 | | |
| 43 | Free East Campbell Literary Society (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79 | | |
| 44 | Free St. John's Literary Society (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union.) | 1853?-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79; 2. 'Soiree' (Free St. John's Young Men's Association, programme, 21 April 1859, annotated) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 5, p. 122); 3. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1867-68, ('General Directory'), p. 150 (Free St. John's Young Men's Association; D. Stow Keddie, National Bank of Scotland, secretary) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 45 | Glasgow Free Tron Literary Society (part of Glasgow Free Church Literary Union) | 1853?-? | 1. (Mentioned in Minute-Book of Free Church Students' Literary Association (UGSC, Minute-Book of the Free Church Students' Literary Association, Glasgow, 1869-71, MS Gen 898); 2. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1853-54 ('Local Institutions -- Religious'), p. 79 | UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 46 | Free St. George's Literary Association (part of the Glasgow Free Church Literary Union.) | 1853?-? | (Mentioned in 'Extract from Report submitted to the Fifth Annual meeting of Sandyford Church Literary Association, 7th April 1884', in <i>Sandyford Church Literary Association MS Magazine</i> (1883)) | MLSC | 642424 |
| 47 | Young Men's Association (Renfield Street United Presbyterian Church) (later became Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association, then the Young Men's Literary Association, and, finally, the Literary Society; currently unknown if this is the same society as Free Renfield Literary Society) | 1853?-? | <i>Our Fifty Years; Being the Jubilee Book of Renfield Street United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow</i> , ed. by Andrew F. Forrest, 2 nd edn (Glasgow: Printed by Samuel A. C. Todd, 1898) | MLSC | Mitchell (GC) 285.241443 REN 189592 |
| 48 | St. Columba Literary Association (later became St. Columba Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association) | 19 July 1855?-15 September 1869? | 1. Glasgow, St Columba's Gaelic Chapel: Literary Association minute book, 1855-62; 2. Glasgow, St Columba's Gaelic Chapel: Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association minute book, 1862-69 | GCA | CH2/1519/7/4; CH2/1519/7/5 |
| 49 | Fingalian Club | 1855?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1856-57 ('Educational and Literary Institutions'), p. 85 | | |
| 50 | Glasgow Sutherlandshire Association | 1857?-? | Terry, Charles Sanford, <i>A catalogue of the publications of Scottish historical and kindred clubs and societies, and of the volumes relative to Scottish history issued by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1780-1908, with a subject index</i> (Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1909) | UG, UGSC | (5 copies, includes:) History Bibliog DV300 1909-T 1780-1908; also Sp Coll MacLehose 472 |
| 51 | St. John's Parish Church Eclectic Literary Association (not the same as Eclectic Literary Society) | 1858?-? | St. John's Parish Church Eclectic Association', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (15 February 1861), p. 4; 'St. John's Eclectic Literary Association', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (14 March 1864), p. 4 | | |
| 52 | The Literary and Artistic Society (aka Literary and Artistic Association) (possibly same society as The Literary and Artistic Club) | 1859?-1874? | 1. (Transcription of newspaper article): "The Bailie, Wednesday, May 18th. 1892" ('Monday Gossip', <i>The Bailie</i> , (18 May 1892), p. 12) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 10, p. 50); 2. (Annotated newspaper clipping) [Evening] 'News, 4 Sep. 1909' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 25, p. 61); 3. Gildard, Thomas, <i>Miscellanea</i> (MLSC, Mitchell (GC), 828 214964, pp. 34-45); 4. 'Literary and Artistic Society of Glasgow', <i>Evening Citizen</i> (8 August 1864), p. 3; 5. (For The Literary and Artistic Club see: Ballantine, James, <i>Chronicle of the Hundredth Birthday of Robert Burns</i> (Edinburgh and London: A. Fullarton & Co., 1859), pp. 81-88) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 53 | Glasgow Carrick Burns Club | 25 January 1859-2005? | 1. <i>Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896</i> (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Burns Club celebrates its 113th year', <i>Carrick Gazette</i> (7 October 2005) (13 January 2006?) < http://www.carricktoday.co.uk/news/local-headlines/burns-club-celebrates-its-113th-year-1-332641 > [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. II (January 1893), p. 190; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 194; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 175; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 132; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XII (January 1903), p. 145; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 138; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 148 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 54 | Waverly Burns Club (later became Western Burns Club) | 25 January 1860-26 March 1872 | 1. Sederunt book, Waverly Burns Club (3 notebooks), 1860-72 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 391557-59); 2. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 30 March 1908, p. 18 (MLSC, 891709); 3. [Printed papers] (Pamphlets and papers bound together) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 13 WES 644307); 4. [Minute book], (from Mitchell online catalogue: 'Handwritten records of meetings, with printed cuttings, menu cards, correspondence, obituary notices, etc., inserted Minute books nos. 3 and 4, the first two being minutes of the Waverley Burns Club. Book 3 records the change of name to the Western Burns Club in March 1872') (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 391559-60) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 55 | Albion Mutual Improvement Union | 13 September 1860-? | <i>The Albion Literary Journal: A Quarterly Magazine of Instructive and Recreative Literature, Conducted by the Members of the Albion Mutual Improvement Union</i> , No. II (April 1862), No. III (July 1862), No. IV, ((June or July 1863?)) | MLSC | Mitchell (AL) 891260/1 3 |
| 56 | Glasgow University Dialectic Society | (few years prior to)1861-2002? | 1. Records of the Glasgow University Dialectic Society (includes: Constitution and bye-laws; membership card; syllabus) (UGAS, GB 248 DC 38); 2. Records of the Glasgow University Dialectic Society (includes: Board minutes; Society meeting minutes; Membership roll books) (UGSC, GB 247 MS Gen 1307-1310); 3. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'Citizen, 4 Mch. 1912' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 33, p. 55); 4. 'University Notes', <i>Evening Citizen</i> (4 March 1912), p. 10 | UGAS, UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 57 | Brougham Literary Club (possibly same as Brougham Literary Institute) | 1861-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1863-64 ('Literary and Scientific Societies'), p. 88; 2. (For the Brougham Literary Institute see 'Brougham Literary Institute', <i>Glasgow Weekly Mail</i> (1 March 1862), 4) | | |
| 58 | Kintyre Young Men's Literary Association (later resurrected as Kintyre Literary Association) | 9 September 1862-23 December 1863; 1 November 1867-21 October 1879 | 1. Kintyre Young Men's Literary Association, Minute Book No. 1, 1862-63 (ABCA, DR1/104); 2. Kintyre Literary Association, Minute Book No. 1, 1867-72 (ABCA, DR1/105/1); 3. Kintyre Literary Association, Minute Book No. 2, 1872-1879 (ABCA, DR1/105/2) | ABCA | see Source of information |
| 59 | Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association | 9 November 1862-present | 1. Eunson, Jerry and Scott, Olivia D., <i>The Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, 1862-1962</i> ([Glasgow]: [The Association], 1962) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 367 EUN); 2. <i>Glasgow Orkney & Shetland Literary & Scientific Association Year Book, 1942-66</i> (ML, Mitchell (GC) 367 669976) (for full holdings, apply to staff); 3. Smith, Brian, 'Significant archive donation', <i>Unkans, The newsletter of the Shetland Heritage and Culture Community</i> , 48 (February 2015), 2 < http://www.shetland-museum.org.uk/downloads/data/unkans/Unkans_no48.pdf > [accessed 7 May 2015]; 4. Papers of Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association (almost complete records and remaining library books from association library; includes minutes, manuscript magazines, typescript magazines, copies of papers given to society, financial records, membership records, annual reports, printed year books, scrapbook, and photographs) (SA, D58) | ML, SA | (see Source of information) |
| 60 | Barony Mutual Improvement Society (later became Barony Young Men's Association) (not the same as Barony Free Church Literary Society) | 1863-1875? | <i>Barony MS Magazines</i> (1863-75), 6 vols | USA | GB 249 T-MIN/18/1 |
| 61 | Clifton Literary Society | 1864?-? | 1. 'Clifton Literary Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (19 October 1864), p. 2; 2. 'Clifton Literary Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (22 October 1864), p. 8; 3. Clifton Literary Society, <i>The third annual feed of the Clifton Literary Society ... 15th April, 1864</i> ([Glasgow], [1864]) (UGSC, Sp Coll Mu22-f.2) | UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 62 | Macaulay Literary Club | 1864?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1864-65 ('Literary and Scientific Societies'), p. 90 | | |

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| 63 | Kent Road U. P. [United Presbyterian] Church Young Men's Institute | 1 November 1865-? | 1. <i>Kent Road Quarterly</i> , issued by Kent Road U.P. Church Young Men's Institute, Vol. 3, No. 2 (April 1872) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 725431); 2. Kent Road, UP Church, UF, and C of S, Young Men's Institute Minutes, 1865-74 (GCA, CH3/1443/34); 3. 'Kent Road UP Church', <i>The Glasgow Story</i> < http://www.theglasgowstory.com/image/?inum=7GSD00542 > [accessed 13/09/17]; 4. <i>Celebration of the ministerial jubilee of the Rev. Joseph Brown, D.D., Kent Road United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow</i> (Glasgow: K. & R. Davidson, 1884) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 285.241443 KEN 109293, pp. 36+) | MLSC, GCA, ML | (see Source of information) |
| 64 | Glasgow Cowal Society, Literary Department | 1865-? | 1. Twentieth Annual Report of the Glasgow Cowal Society, 24 April 1885 (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 193); 2. (Glasgow Cowal Society, Syllabus, 1885-86', with Office Bearers for same) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 194); 3. 'The Natives of Cowal', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (17 February 1866), p. 6; 4. <i>Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century</i> (Glasgow: The Photo-Biographical Publishing Co., [1901]), p. 196 (ML, Mitchell (GC) 920.04 GLA 499009) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 65 | Kelvinside Literary Association [Kelvinside United Free Church] (later becomes The Young People's At Home) (not to be confused with Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society, Church of Scotland society) | 1865-(at least 1909) | 1. <i>Kelvinside United Free Church Glasgow: A Record of Fifty Years, 1859-1909</i> , ed. by D. S. Riddoch (Glasgow: Printed at the University Press, 1909) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC), 285.241443 KEL 499011); 2. <i>Kelvinside United Free Church Year Book 1904; Report and Financial Statement 1903; Lists of Office-Bearers and Agencies, Lists of Members and Adherents</i> (Glasgow: Printed at the University Press by Robert MacLehose and Co. Ltd., 1904) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC), 285.241443 KEL 272765); 3. (Handwritten copy of syllabus for 1870-71) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 21, p. 159); 4. Kelvinside, Free Church U.F., Literary association minutes, 1871-84 (GCA, CH3/1012/11); 5. Glasgow, Kelvinside, Free Church, U.F., Congregational committee minutes, 1867-8 (GCA, CH3/1012/9); 6. Glasgow, Kelvinside, Free Church, U.F., Literary association minutes, 1871-84 (GCA, CH3/1012/11); 7. Kelvinside United Free Church Year Book 1904; Report and Financial Statement 1903; Lists of Office-Bearers and Agencies, Lists of Members and Adherents (Glasgow: Printed at the University Press by Robert MacLehose and Co. Ltd., 1904) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 285.241443 KEL 272765) | MLSC, GCA, ML | (see Source of information) |
| 66 | Eglinton Young Men's Literary Association | 1867?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1867-68 ('Literary and Scientific Societies'), p. 102 | | |
| 67 | Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, Wellington Palace Branch (there are (at least) 25 branches of parent organisation) | 1867-? (Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society was instituted 1865) | 1. Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, <i>The Foundry Boy, the Monthly Magazine of the Wellington Palace Branch</i> (January–December 1886) (Glasgow: [The Society], 1886) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 206 98783); 2. Annual Report, Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society (Glasgow: [The Society], 1880) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC), 206 46801); 3. Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, Scripture text book, 1870-1876 (Glasgow: [The Society], [1876?]) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC), 206 437839); 4. 'Souvenir Programme' for Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society Annual Conversation of Workers and Friends, In the City Hall, Enter by Albion Street, On Thursday Evening, 15th Nov., 1900' (Note: according to 'Plan of Tea Tables and Names of Branches', there are a total of 25 branches attending. They are: Anderston Hall; St James' Hall; City Hall; Rutherglen; Renwick Hall; Gordon Hall; Clyde Street Port Dundas; Victoria Hall; Christian Institute; Spoutmouth; St Andrew's; Crossmyloof; Blackfriars; Possilpark; Church Branch; Portman Street; National Halls; St George's; Finnieston Street; Osborne Halls; Cathcart; Lorne Hall; Shettleston; Church Place; and Doncaster Street) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 212); 5. (Newspaper clipping on annual social meeting of the office-bearers and monitors) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, No. 9, p. 150-51); 6. 'Glasgow Foundry Boy's Religious Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> , (21 July 1866), p. 6; 7. 'Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society -- Hallow E'en Gathering', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (3 November 1866), p. 2; 8. (Numerous articles in <i>Glasgow Herald</i> on this and its parent society, see The British Newspaper Archive) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 68 | Free Church Students' Literary Association | 1869-1871? | Minute-book of Free Church Students' Literary Association, Glasgow, 1869-1871 (Treasurer's documents, letters, syllabuses in pocket) | UGSC | MS Gen 898 |
| 69 | Hutchesontown Free Church Young Men's Literary Society | 1869-? | (Mentioned in Minute-Book of Free Church Students' Literary Association (entry n.70, above)) | " | " |
| 70 | Bridgeton Burns Club | 1870-present | 1. Bridgeton Burns Club Minutes, January 1871-23 January 1893 (MLSC, 891421); 2. Bridgeton Burns Club Minutes, 1893-1906 (MLSC, 891707); 3. Annual general meeting [of the Bridgeton Burns Club], Tuesday, 23 March 1993, Marriott Hotel, Argyle Street, Glasgow: [agenda and minutes] (3 leaves) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) BNS24 BRI 907733); 4. (Club website) <i>Bridgeton Burns Club</i> Homepage < http://www.bridgetonburnsclub.org.uk/ > [accessed 10/05/15]; 5. <i>Glasgow and District Burns Club</i> Homepage < http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Glasgow > [accessed 23/09/15]; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 7. Glasgow and District Burns Club. Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919 (MLSC, 891709, p. 15, Minute entry for 27 March 1913); 8. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 195; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 133; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 152; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 139; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 157; 13. (Note: numerous articles in <i>Glasgow Herald</i> on this club, see The British Newspaper Archive) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 71 | Glasgow Orcadian Literary and Scientific Society | 1870?-? | 1. (Mentioned in the Ninth Annual Report of the GOSLSA, given 2 May 1872, 1870-71 session, Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association (see GOSLSA, entry n. 61); 2. [Prospectus], Glasgow Orcadian Literary and Scientific Society, Session 1872-3 [includes list of Office-Bearers, 1872-3 and Syllabus] (OLOR, 'Papers - Literary societies: miscellaneous', 800YZ); 3. [Prospectus], Glasgow Orcadian Literary and Scientific Society, Session 1873-74 (OLOR, 'Papers - Literary societies: miscellaneous', 800 YZ) | OLOR | (see Source of information) |
| 72 | Glasgow Philological and Literary Club (aka This Club of Ours or Our Club) | 1871-Present | Minutes and associated papers (includes minutes, club rules, members lists, syllabi, original poems and songs: 'A Book of Ours', Burns suppers, Christmas suppers, concerts, photos); records from 1971-present are in possession of club Archivist, D. K. Macaskill (Glasgow) | GCA | TC1896 |
| 73 | Hunterian Club | 1871-? | Terry, Charles Sanford, <i>A catalogue of the publications of Scottish historical and kindred clubs and societies, and of the volumes relative to Scottish history issued by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1780-1908, with a subject index</i> (Glasgow James MacLehose and Sons, 1909), pp. 92-3 | UGSC (also US, and USSC) | History Bibliog DV300 1909-T 1780-1908: Sp Coll MacLehose 472 |
| 74 | Glasgow Haggis Club | 1872-present | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. <i>Glasgow Haggis Club</i> < https://www.facebook.com/glasgowhaggisclub/ > [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Glasgow Haggis Club', <i>Glasgow and District Burns Association</i> < http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Haggis > [accessed 23/09/15]; 4. 'Donations', <i>Jean Armour Burns Trust</i> < http://www.jeanarmourburnstrust.co.uk/Donations.html > [accessed 23/09/15]; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 194; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 175; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 151; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 138; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 131; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), pp. 202-3 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 75 | Lansdowne Literary Association | 1872?-? | (Deputation from this society mentioned as attending social of the Kelvinside Literary Association, 19 March 1872 (GCA, Glasgow, Kelvinside, Free Church, U.F., Literary association minutes, 1871-84, minute entry, 19 March 1872)) | GCA | CH3/1012/11 |
| 76 | Western Burns Club (see also Waverly Burns Club) | March 1872-1882? | 1. Waverly/Western Burns Club, [Minute book], 2 notebooks, 1872-82 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 391559-60); 2. Robert Burns / [The Western Burns Club] (reports of Burns suppers, and excursions) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 13 WES 907654); 3. 'A natal lay: written for the anniversary of Burns birth-day, 25th January, 1875' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 12A WIN 52901) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 77 | Waverly Literary & Drama Association | 1872-? | (Programme for 'Thirty-first Dramatic Entertainment', 30 April 1880) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks No. 29, p. 82) | MLSC | Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 29 |
| 78 | Glasgow Dundee Association for Literary and Social Purposes | 1875?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1875-76 ('Literary and Scientific Institutions') p. 111 | | |
| 79 | Glasgow Bute Literary Institute | 3 October 1876-? | <i>First Annual Report of the Glasgow Bute Literary Institute</i> [1866-67](Glasgow: K. & R. Davidson, Printers, 1877) | MLSC | Mitchell (GC) 806 26180 |
| 80 | Govan Parish Young Men's Association (later became Govan Literary Association, and then Govan Parish Young Men's Literary Association) | 11 October 1876-1914? | 1. Scott, Alexander Macgregor, <i>Old Govan: lecture delivered to Govan Parish Young Men's Association</i> (ML, Mitchell (GC) LHF 941.443 GOV 594527); 2. Glasgow, Govan, Kirk Session, Govan Parish Young Men's Association Minute Book, 1876-86 (GCA, CH2/1277/49); 3. Govan Parish Young Men's Association Minute Book, 1886-92 (GCA, CH2/1277/50); 4. Govan Parish Young Men's Association Minute Book, 1892-1903 (GCA, CH2/1277/51); 5. Govan Parish Literary Association Minute Book, 1903-1913 (GCA, CH2/1277/52); 6. Govan Parish Literary Association Minute Book, 1913-1914 (GCA, CH2/1277/53); 7. Wallace, Andrew, <i>The Parish of Govan as it was and is: A lecture delivered to the Govan Young Men's Association</i> (Glasgow, 1878) (GCA, CH2/1277/54) | MLSC, GCA, ML | (see Source of information) |

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| | | | 1. (Newspaper clipping) 'The Looker-on', (annotated:) 'Evening News. 1 May 1899.' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks Vol. 2, p. 90; Glasgow Scrapbooks, Vol. 2, pp. 38-39); 2. (Newspaper clipping:) G.E.T. [George Eyre-Todd], 'Glasgow Ballad Club', (annotated:) 'The Scots Pictorial. 15 Jan. 1902. Geo. Eyre-Todd' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks Vol. 6, pp. 39-40); 3. (Newspaper clipping:) 'The Late Robert Ford. Poet and Humorist', (annotated:) 'Weekly Herald. 4 Nov. 1905' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 12, p. 5); 4. (Newspaper clipping:) (Death of Robert Ford), (annotated:) 'Herald. 4 Nov 1905. See pp. 80.81. Vol. 9' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 12, pp. 5-6); 5. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'Third Volume of Glasgow Ballad Club in the Press [...] Herald. 11 Jan. 1908' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 18, p. 20); 6. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Glasgow Ballad Club. Presentation to Mr Johnston', (annotated:) 'Herald. 19 Jan. 1914' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 37, pp. 24-5); 7. (Photograph, annotated:) 'William Freeland. Poet and Journalist' (founder of Ballad Club) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 39, p. 74); 8. Hammerton, John Alexander, <i>Literary Glasgow, Past and Present</i> (London: 1904), pp. 638-39; p.728-31; 9. <i>Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century</i> (Glasgow: The Photo-Biographical Publishing Co., [1901]), p. 186 (ML, Mitchell (GC) 920.04 GLA 499009) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 81 | Glasgow Ballad Club (see also Thirteen Club) | 11 November 1876-10 October 1987 | | | |
| 82 | Glasgow University Dumfriesshire & Galloway Literary Society | 1876-1882? | Records of Glasgow University Dumfriesshire and Galloway Literary Society, 1876-fl. 1882 (Constitution and bye-laws 1876; List of members 1881-1882; Treasurer's account book 1876-1882) | UGAS | GB 248 DC 062/2 |
| 83 | Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association (numerous branches in Glasgow during this period) (see also Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association and Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement) | 1877-present (as Ypeople, Glasgow) | 1. 'Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association. Seventy-Sixth Annual Conversazione In St. Andrew's Halls, Friday, 9th November, 1900. Chairman: W. A. Campbell, Esp., J.P. Honorary Vice-President' (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 212); 2. 'Annual Report of the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association. 1877' (in same book as <i>Annual Report of the Glasgow Young Men's Christian Association. For 1865-66.</i> (Glasgow: Aird & Coghill, 1866) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 267.3 43136); 3. <i>Catalogue of Library of the George Square Branch of the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association</i> (1882) (MLSC, G018.2 GLA); 4. <i>Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association. Catalogue of the Circulating and Reference Libraries</i> (1873) (MLSC, G018.2 GLA); 5. Library catalogue and rules (Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association), 1895 (ML, Mitchell (GC), 018.2 GLA 157770); 6. <i>Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association. Eastern Section. Library Catalogue</i> (Glasgow: K. & R. Davidson, Printers, [1888?]), (MLSC, G 018.2 GLA); 7. <i>Annual report of the Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association: 1878: adopted at annual meeting and conversazione, held in the Corporation Galleries, on 29th April, 1879</i> (Glasgow: Central Rooms, Christian Institute, 1879) (UG, Research Annex, Store HA03910) | MLSC, UG | (see Source of information) |
| 84 | Young Women's Christian Association | 1877?-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1877-88 ('Religious and Moral Institutions'), p. 103; 2. Records of the YWCA, 1855-1995, 116 boxes (92 [MSS.243], 14 [986], includes branch records) (WMRC, MSS243; 986); 3. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1902-03 ('Religious and Moral Institutions'), p. 151 | WMRC | (see Source of information) |
| 85 | Church of Scotland Students' Literary Association | 1877?-1883? | 1. Minute Book, Church of Scotland Students' Literary Association, 1877-83; 2. Minutes of Church of Scotland Students' Literary Association, 10th November 1877 to 8th February 1879; 3. Printed constitution of Literary Association, list of officers and syllabus, 1877-78 (all UGSC) | UGSC | MS Gen 945 |
| 86 | Glasgow Arbroath Association | 1877-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1886-87 ('Religious and Friendly Institutions'), p. 110 | | |
| 87 | Glasgow Western Literary Union | 1878?-? | (Mentioned in minute book of Kelvinside Literary Association, 1871-84, minute entry, 15 October 1878 (GCA, Glasgow, Kelvinside, Free Church, U.F., Literary association minutes, 1871-84, CH3/1012/1)) | GCA | CH3/1012/11 |
| 88 | Sandyford Church Literary Association (appears to be the same as Sandyford Established Association) | 1879-? | <i>Sandyford Literary Association MS Magazine</i> (1883) | MLSC | 642424 |
| 89 | Monday Shakspeare Club (new club added to this spreadsheet as of 19/09/17) | 10 April 1879-November 1882? | Glasgow Shakespeare Club, Minute Book, 1879-82 (includes printed 'Rules', various years, and printed 'Monthly Abstract of Proceedings', 9 June 1882) | MLSC | Baillie's Library, 35495 |
| 90 | Irving Club (aka Irving Literary and Dramatic Club) | 12 June 1879-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1893-94 ('Literary and Scientific Institutions'), p. 126; 2. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1886-87 ('Literary and Scientific Institutions'), p. 116 | | |
| 91 | Ruskin Society of Glasgow: Society of the Rose | 1879-? | 1. Records of the Ruskin Society of Glasgow: Society of the Rose, 1882-1909 (Minute books, library records, letter book, etc., c.1882-1909) (UGSC, MS Gen 1093 (1-10)); 2. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1902-03 ('Educational Institutions'), p. 183 | UGSC | MS Gen 1093/1-10 |
| 92 | Tam O'Shanter Club (aka the Tam O'Shanter Burns Club) | 1880-1914? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1882-83 ('Miscellaneous'), p. 124; 2. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'Citizen. 25 Nov. 1914.' (on the opening meeting for the club's session 1914, also with a musical programme) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 38, p. 55); 3. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 192; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 128; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), pp. 145-6; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 154; 8. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), pp. 171-2; 9. 'CN', BC, No. XXIV (January 1915), pp. 161-2 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 93 | Newton Place Literary Society, Partick | 1881-? (revived in 1881) | Glasgow, Newton Place UP Church, UF, and C of S, Literary Society Minutes, 1881-89 | GCA | CH3/1004/25 |
| 94 | Kinning Park Burns Club | 1881-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 3 September 1910 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 149; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 202 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 95 | Thistle Burns Club | 10 March 1882-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv; (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 192; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 149; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 155; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January, 1914), p. 200 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 96 | Glasgow Calthness Literary Association | 19 September 1882-? | 1. (See: Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Annual Report, 1897-98 (p. 3)) (See entry no. 61 above); 2. (See: Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Annual Report, 1898-99 (p. 2)) (See entry no. 61 above); 3. (See: Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Annual Report 1903-1904 (p. 3)) (See entry no. 61 above); 4. (See: Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association, Annual Report 1903-1904 (p. 3)) (See entry no. 61 above); 5. Glasgow Calthness Benevolent Association Centenary Souvenir 1836-1936 (CAC, P8/1/5); 6. Portfolios of Portraits. A Souvenir of the Opening Ceremony (CAC, P8/1/4(1-2)); 6. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Glasgow Calthness Benevolent Association', <i>Northern Ensign</i> (31 January 1905) (CAC, P8/1/1); 7. (Unsigned manuscript poem:) 'Glasgow Calthness Literary Society' (CAC, P8/1/1-2/1); 8. Glasgow Calthness Literary Society, Minute Books 1-4, 1882-1931 (CAC, P294/2/1-4) | CAC | (see Source of information) |
| 97 | Royalty Burns Club | 1882 (1893 'Directory' gives 1883 as the date of institution)-present | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv; (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. <i>Royalty Burns Club</i> Homepage <http://royaltyburnsclub.com/> [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 192; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 173; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 129; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 149; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 135; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 134; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XII (January 1903), p. 142; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 158 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 98 | Barony Free Church Literary Society (not the same as the Barony Mutual Improvement Society, later the Barony Young Men's Association) | 1883?-? | Syllabus 1883-84' (pasted into the back of the Wellpark society's 1883-84 literary magazine) (MLSC, <i>Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine</i> , 1883-84, 42897, pp. 146-47). | MLSC | 42897 |
| 99 | The Park Literary Institution (currently unknown if this is same as East Park Literary Society) | 1883?-? | (Mentioned in 'Extract from Report submitted to the Fifth Annual meeting of Sandyford Church Literary Association, 7th April 1884', last submission in <i>Sandyford Church Literary Association MS Magazine</i> (MLSC, 642424)) | MLSC | 642424 |
| 100 | Wellpark Free Church Literary Society | 1883?-? | 1. <i>Wellpark F.C. Literary Society M. S. Magazine</i> , 1883-84 (MLSC, 428697); 2. <i>Manuscript magazine of Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society</i> , 1887-88 (MLSC, 428698); 3. <i>Wellpark F. C. Literary Society Magazine</i> , 1888 (MLSC, 428699); 4. 'Syllabus' for the 1883-84 session (includes constitution and bye-laws); 5. (Programme of 1883 opening social meeting); 6. (Itinerary for 'musical entertainment and reading'); 6. (Announcement of current parliamentary election); 7. (Schedule 'conversazione' for the 1883) (Nos. 4-7 are all pasted into back of society's 1883-84 magazine (pp. 148-51)); 8. (Newspaper clipping on The Ballad Club in <i>The Scots Pictorial</i> , 15 January 1902, Alexander Lamont was a member of Wellpark society, The Ballad Club and the Sir Walter Scott Club) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks Vol. 6, pp. 39-40) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |

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| 101 | Pollokshields Free Church Literary Institute | 1883-1885? | 1. Pollokshields Free Church Literary Institute, <i>The Essayist. A M.S. Magazine</i> , No. 2, Session 1883-84; 2. 'Under the Reading Lamp', <i>Quiz</i> (April 1885), p. 40 (review of magazine) | MLSC | G97615 |
| 102 | Strathbungo Parish Literary Association (aka Strathbungo Parish Church Literary Society) | 1884?-1888? | 1. Literary society minutes (1884-88), Records of Church of Scotland synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions; Records of Glasgow, Strathbungo Kirk Session (GCA, CH2/1053/8); 2. Literary society minutes (1910-12), Records of Church of Scotland synods, presbyteries and kirk sessions; Records of Glasgow, Strathbungo Kirk Session (GCA, CH2/1053/35) | GCA | (see Source of information) |
| 103 | Glasgow Montefiore Literary and Musical Society | 1884-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1885-86 ('Musical Institutions'), p. 129 | | |
| 104 | Glasgow Sunday Society | 1884-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1884-85 ('Miscellaneous'), p. 124 | | |
| 105 | Renwick Free Church Branch Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Association | 4 October 1885-22 June 1890? | 1. Minute Book of the Renwick Free Church Branch G.U.Y.M.C.A. Cumberland Street, 1885-88 (GCA, TD 396/35/1); 2. Minute Book of the Renwick F.C. Branch G.U.Y.M.C.A., 1888-1890 (GCA, TD 396/35/2); 3. Renwick Church of Scotland, Glasgow United Young Men's Christian Associations, Renwick Branch, minutes, 1885-88, 1888-90, 1890-93, 1895-97, 1897-1914 (GCA, TD396/35/1-5) | GCA | (see Source of information) |
| 106 | Rosebery Burns Club (not same as Kilbirnie Rosebery Burns Club) | 1885-1906? | 1. Muir, Pearson M'Adam, Robert Burns : his genius and influence: address delivered to the Rosebery Burns Club, 24th January, 1902' (ML, Mitchell (AL) 6 MUI 209662); 2. Cross, Alexander, 'The Immortal Memory: a speech to the members of the Rosebery Burns Club, January 24, 1906' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 15 CRO 889859); 3. Opening of session 1897-98 (1898) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 13 ROS 154844); 4. 'Address given to the Rosebery Burns Club, Glasgow: with special reference to the centenary Burns of W. E. Henley: January 25, 1898' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 6 BEG 209616); 5. 'Poems [Rosebery Burns Club] (1898) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 154844); 6. Anniversary meeting in the Bath Hotel on Wednesday, 25th Jan. 93, at 6.45p. m., Rosebery Burns Club (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 557560); 7. Begg, F. Faithfull, 'Rosebery Burns Club, Glasgow, January 25th, 1898: speech...in proposing the toast of Caledonia and Caledonia's bard' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 6 BEG 907881a); 8. Rosebery Burns Club, Minutes 27 November 1894-1905 (MLSC, 907884); 9. Angus, James, <i>The Rosebery Burns Club. Glasgow: a short sketch of its origin and growth</i> (Glasgow: W.&R. Holmes; Stirling: E. Mackay, 1906) (NLS, General Reading Room, 1958.22); 10. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Rosebery Burns Club', (annotated:) 'Citizen. 15 March 1905' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, (unpaginated, p. 32)); 11. 'Directory', BC, No. II (January 1893), p. 190; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 194; 13. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 176; 14. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 132; 15. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 151; 16. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 138; 17. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 136; 18. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 149; 19. 'Directory', BC, No. XIX (January 1908), p. 132; 20. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 161; 21. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 161; 22. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 184; 23. <i>Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century</i> (Glasgow: The Photo-Biographical Publishing Co., [1901]), p. 159 (ML, Mitchell (GC) 920.04 GLA 499009); 24. 'Rosebery Burns Club. Gold Medal Competition for Amateurs', 28 March 1907 (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 217) | ML, MLSC, NLS | (see Source of information) |
| 107 | Glasgow Border Counties' Literary Society | 1885-1887? | <i>Glasgow Border Counties' Literary Society's Manuscript Magazine</i> , 1885-87 | HH | GB1097/SC/M/28 |
| 108 | Glasgow Society of Science, Letters, and Art | 1885?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1885-86 ('Educational Institutions'), p. 116 | | |
| 109 | Partick Burns Club | 1885-present | 1. (Member's card for John White Jr Esq; small printed advertisement for Partick Burns Club Annual Dinner, 25 January 1887) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 21, p. 136); 2. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Partick Burns Club', <i>The Press</i> , 31 January 1891 (on annual dinner of the club, 26 January 1891) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 21, pp. 178-79); 3. 'Partick Burns Club', 'Burns Clubs', <i>Wikipedia</i> < https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burns_Clubs > [accessed 21/09/15]; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 136; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 140; 7. <i>The Partick Burns Club</i> Homepage < http://thepartickburnsclub.org/about-us/ > [accessed 17/09/17] | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 110 | Springburn Burns Club | 1885?-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'The Burns Federation', <i>Grand Lodge of Scotland</i> < http://grandlodgeofscotland.com/index.php/masonic-subjects/masonic-articles/376-the-burns-federation/ > [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies for 1893', <i>Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory</i> , ed. by D. M'Naught, No. 2 (January 1893), p. 191; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 137; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 137; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 148 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 111 | Govan Fairfield Burns Club (currently unclear if this is same as Govan Burns Club) | 25 January 1886-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. II (January 1893), p. 191; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 196; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 177; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 134; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 140; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 157; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 139; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 138; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 140; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 149; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 163; 13. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 186 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 112 | Dennistoun Burns Club (not the same as Dennistoun Jolly Beggars Burns Club) | 1886-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 195; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 139 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 113 | Scottish Society of Literature and Art | 1886-? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1887-88 ('Literary and Scientific Institutions'), p. 117; 2. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1902-03 ('Artistic, Literary, and Scientific Institutions'), p. 177; 3. <i>Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century</i> (Glasgow: The Photo-Biographical Publishing Co., [1901]), p. 83 (ML, Mitchell (GC) 920.04 GLA 499009) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 114 | Gaelic Society of Glasgow (not same as Gaelic Club) | 26 October 1887-1974? | 1. Gaelic Society of Glasgow, Cash Book, 1888-1935 (1 vol.); Minute Books, 1887-1909, 1924-48, 1948-74 (3 vols.) (MLSC, 891237); 2. Gaelic Society of Glasgow, Transactions, 1887-1894; 1956/7. (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 941.15006041443 GAE 155056); 3. Gaelic Society of Glasgow, Centenary brochure, [1987](MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 941.15006041443 GAE); 4. Gaelic Society of Glasgow, Jubilee brochure, 1887-1937 (1937) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 367 767302); 5. Maclean, Magnus, Skye bards: paper read before the Gaelic Society of Glasgow (1892) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 200826) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 115 | Glasgow 'St. David's' Burns Club | 1887-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 176 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 116 | Glasgow 'Jolly Beggars' Burns Club | 1887-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130. | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 117 | Youths Reading and Recreation Club (Glasgow Foundry Boys Religious Society, South Cumberland Street Branch) (later became Renwick Halls Branch, Renwick Church of Scotland) | December 1888-(intermittently) 1897 (at least) | Renwick Church of Scotland, Glasgow Foundry Boy's Religious Society, South Cumberland Street Branch, later called Renwick Halls branch, minutes 1887-98, (Minute entry, 17 December 1888, 'Youths Club', Annual Report 1888: minute entry, 11 February 1890, 'Youths Club') | GCA | TD 396/37 |
| 118 | Mauchline Society (aka Glasgow-Mauchline Society) | 1888-1934? (uncertain: date taken from last year info, given in online catalogue) | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 30 March 1908, p. 18 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. <i>Mauchline Village</i> < http://www.mauchlinevillage.co.uk/monument.html > [accessed 24/09/15]; 3. 'Glasgow Mauchline Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (9 December 1921), p. 6; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 142; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 159; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 142; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 151; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 162; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 136; 11. 'National Burns Memorial and Cottage Homes, Mauchline, Ayrshire: Catalogue of Exhibits in the Museum Including a History of the Burns Memorial and Cottage Homes', <i>Ayrshire History</i> < http://www.ayrshirehistory.com/pdf/mauchline_catalogue_of_burns_memorial_tower_museum_1962.pdf > | MLSC | (see Source of information) |

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| 119 | Toynbee House Literary Society (University Settlement Association) | 1888-? | 1. (Newspaper clipping:) <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (24 March 1908) (article on Old Glasgow Club, but mentions this club) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 18, p. 70); 2. Toynbee House (Glasgow), <i>Report of the University Settlement Association, Toynbee House, 130 Parson Street, Glasgow, 1888-90</i> (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, [1888?]) (UGL, Research Annexe, Store MacLehose 762); 3. Toynbee House (Glasgow), <i>Report for 1901-1902 of Toynbee House, Cathedral Court, Rottenrow, Glasgow</i> ([MacLehose], [1902]) (UGL, Research Annexe, Store MacLehose 784); 4. Toynbee House (Glasgow), <i>Report for 1903-1904 of Toynbee House, Cathedral Court, Rottenrow, Glasgow</i> ([Glasgow: MacLehose], [1903]) (UGL, Research Annexe, Store MacLehose 791) | MLSC, UGL | (see Source of information) |
| 120 | Shakespeare Reading Class (Toynbee House, University Settlement Association) | 1888-? | Toynbee House (Glasgow), <i>Report of the University Settlement Association, Toynbee House, 130 Parson Street, Glasgow, 1888-90</i> (Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons, [1888?]) | UGL | Research Annexe, Store MacLehose 762 |
| 121 | Glasgow Athenaeum French Literary Club | 1888?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1888-89 ('Educational Institutions'), p. 126 | | |
| 122 | St. Rollox Burns Club | 1 November 1889-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 195; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 177; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 133; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 152; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January, 1899), p. 156; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 139; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. III (January 1904), p. 139 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 123 | Hope Street Free Gaelic Church Literary Society | 1889-? | Records of Hope Street Gaelic Free Church, Glasgow, Bundle of papers relating to Hope Street Free Church Literary Society, 1889-92 | GCA | CH16/3/11 |
| 124 | Renwick Free Church Literary Association (appears not to be same as Renwick Book Club, but part of the same Church; see listing for the RBC, founded 1859) | 9 November 1889-1913? | Renwick Church of Scotland [from GCA folder: 'from 1876 Renwick Free Church'], Literary Association, minutes, 1889-1892; 1908-1913 (Note: these records are listed under different reference numbers in GCA folder and in NRS online catalogue. Both listed here: (GCA folder) GCA, TD396/30/1-2; (NRS cat.) GCA, CH3/1650/9/3/1-2) | GCA | (see Source of information) |
| 125 | Lansdowne Young Men's Christian Association (aka L.Y.M.C.A.) | 1890?-? | Lansdowne Young Men's Christian Association, <i>Our Magazine. L.Y.M.C.A. A Monthly Journal of Literature & Art</i> (Nov. 1890, Dec. 1890, 25 Feb. 1891, 15 Apr. 1891, Nov. 1891, Art Supplement to Our Magazine, Dec. 1891, Apr. 1892) | GCA | TD864/2/1-7 |
| 126 | Literary Society of St. Ninian's Parish Church (not same as Debating and Literary Society of St. Ninian's Episcopal Church) | 1890?-? | (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'Citizen 2/12/90', in Minute Book, Renwick Free Church Literary Association, 1889-1892, minute entry, 29 November 1890, p. 58 (back) | GCA | TD 396/30/1 |
| 127 | Glasgow and West of Scotland Catholic Literary Association | 1890-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1899-1900 ('Artistic, Literary, and Scientific Institutions'), p. 174 | | |
| 128 | Pollokshields Literary and Art Circle | 1890?-? | Pollokshields Literary and Art Circle, <i>P.L.A.C. Monthly Magazine</i> (May 1890) | MLSC | 891359 |
| 129 | The Thirteen Club (aka The Glasgow Thirteen) | 20 December 1890-? | 1. (Newspaper clipping:) 'The Looker-On', (annotated:) 'Evening News. 1 May 1899.' ('The Looker-on', <i>Glasgow Evening News</i> (1 May 1899), p. 2) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks Vol. 2, p. 90; Glasgow Scrapbooks, Vol. 2, pp. 38-39); 2. Dawson, George Forbes Dawson, letter to William Young, 29 December 1890, MS (letter on 'start of "The Thirteen"' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, p. 21 j, 8a); 3. (Newspaper clipping:) 'The Glasgow Thirteen Club', (annotated:) 'Citizen, 14 May 1892.' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 1 (unpaginated, p. 35)); 4. (Two newspaper clippings, annotated:) a. (The Thirteen Club) 'News. 16 Jan. 1904', and b. (Glasgow 13) 'Citizen. 16 Jan. 1904' (Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 8, p. 34); 5. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) (Thirteen Club) 'News. 24 Mch. 1904' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 8, p. 65); 6. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) (Glasgow Thirteen Club) 'Citizen. 14 Jan. 1905' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 9, p. 75); 7. (Photograph of "The Thirteen", by William Young, members identified) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 11, p. 7); 8. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'The "Thirteen" Annual Dinner. [...] Citizen. 20 Jan. 1906' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 12, p. 82); 9. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) "The Thirteen" Annual Excursion, 30 May 1908. [...] See p. 60. Citizen. 1 June 1908' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 19, p. 9); 10. (Photograph, annotated:) The Glasgow Thirteen Club at Catrine, 30th May 1908' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 19, p. 60); 11. (Not complete list: numerous additional newspaper clippings in: MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks (various volumes)); 12. <i>Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century</i> (Glasgow: The Photo-Biographical Publishing Co., [1901]), p. 78 (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 920.04 GLA 499009) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 130 | Sir Walter Scott Club | 30 March 1891-(at least 1900) | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1896-97 ('Artistic, Literary, and Scientific Institutions'), p. 156; 2. (Menu from Annual Dinner, 25 February 1909, with list of club officers for session 1908-09) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 22, p. 76); 3. (Sir Walter Scott Club, Menu and Toast List for Annual Dinner, Grand Hotel, Charing Cross, 25 February, 1909) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 22, p. 76); 4. <i>Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century</i> (Glasgow: The Photo-Biographical Publishing Co., [1901]) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 920.04 GLA 499009) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 131 | Glencairn Burns Club, Glasgow | 1891 ('Directory for 1898, p. 141, gives 1890 as date of institution)-1909; 1914-?) | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 196; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 154 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 132 | Glasgow Northern Burns Club | 1891?-1909; 1914-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 2. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 139 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 133 | Possilpark Burns Club | 22 March 1892-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 142; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 151 | | |
| 134 | New Literary Club (later became Literary Twenty-one Club, later amalgamated with Holyrood Literary Society and took its name on 24 September 1897; name changed to The Holyrood Literary Club on 3rd October 1899; club dissolved and new club formed: The New Holyrood Club) (see Holyrood Literary Club, entry n. 145) | 9 September 1892-21 April 1896; 21 April 1896-24 September 1897 (under Literary Twenty-One Club); 24 September 1897 amalgamated with Holyrood Literary Society; later changed to The Holyrood Literary Club on 3 October 1899; dissolved and new club formed: The New Holyrood Club; The Holyrood Literary Society was formed in 1894) | (Note: records for this club are housed together with records of the Holyrood Club (MLSC, 891047) 1. New Literary Club, <i>New Literary Club Magazine</i> (Oct. 1893 (session 1893-94), Summer 1894, Spring 1895, (Spring?) 1896) (MLSC, 891047); 2. Literary Twenty-one Club, Minute Book No. II, 2 February 1897-28 April 1902 (From handwritten note on front endpaper: This volume contains the minutes of the Literary Twenty one Club from 2nd Feb 1897 To 24 Sep 1897.) The Club was then amalgamated with the Holyrood Literary Society & took its name. On 26 Mch 1898 the name was changed to The Holyrood Literary Club[.] on [sic] 3rd Oct 1899, the Holyrood Literary Club was dissolved & a new Club formed - The New Holyrood Club. The minutes of this transition period are all contained in this volume & the minutes of the New Holyrood Club to 28 Apl 1902. They are then contained at middle of volume i of the original Holyrood Literary Society.) (MLSC, 891047) | MLSC | (Records housed with the records of the Holyrood Club (891047)) |
| 135 | Berkeley Street United Presbyterian Church Literary Association | 1892?-? | (Mentioned in Wellington United Presbyterian Church Literary Association, Minute Book, 1892-96, 'Syllabus 1892-93', p. 26) | GCA | (See Fifth Minute Book for Wellington Presbyterian Church Literary Association:) CH3/1238/2 |
| 136 | St. Stephen's Literary Association | 1892?-? | 1. (Mentioned in Wellington United Presbyterian Church Literary Association, Minute Book, 1892-96, 'Syllabus 1892-93', p. 26 (GCA, CH3/1238/2)); 2. St. Stephen's Kirk Session, <i>The Lads' Own Magazine</i> (1895) (GCA, CH2/1373/12) (Note: currently not 100% certain this MS magazine belongs to this association); 3. Souvenir: St. Stephen's, 1892 (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 285.241443 STS 211754) | GCA, MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 137 | Glasgow-Ardgowan Burns Club | 8 March 1893-1909; 1914-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 143 | | |
| 138 | Spoutmouth Bible Institution (St James' Free Church) Mutual Improvement Association | (prior to) 11 September 1893-? | Glasgow, Spoutmouth Bible Institution (St James' Free Church) Mutual Improvement Association Minutes, 1893-98 | GCA | CH3/1281/15 |

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| 139 | Sandyford Burns Club | 1893-present | 1. The Sandyford Burns Club: the fortieth anniversary dinner and ball: the Ca'doro Restaurant, Union Street, Glasgow, Wednesday 25th January 1933 at 6 p.m.(MLSC, Mitchell (AL) BNS24 SAN 907992); 2. Sandyford Burns Club: annual dinner, Grand Hotel, Charing Cross, Monday, 26th January 1903 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) BNS24 SAN); 3. 'The Sandyford Burns Club', Glasgow and District Burns Association <http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Glasgow> [accessed 08/05/15]; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 179; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 136; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 154; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 142; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 159; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 152; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 152; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 167; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. XII (January 1903), p. 167; 13. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 167; 14. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 167; 15. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 167; 16. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 167; 17. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 167; 18. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 167; 19. 'Directory', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 167; 20. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 167; 21. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 167; 22. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 167; 23. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 207 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 140 | Glasgow Mossiel Burns Club | 1893-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 197; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 178; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 177; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 177; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 177; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 177; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 177; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 177; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XII (January 1903), p. 177; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 177; 13. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 177; 14. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 177; 15. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 177; 16. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 177; 17. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 177; 18. 'Directory', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 177; 19. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 177; 20. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 177 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 141 | St. Rollox Jolly Beggars | 1893-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 136; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 142 | Glasgow Carlton Burns Club | February 1894-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 179; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 135; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 152; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 142; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 159; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 152; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 152; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 167; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XII (January 1903), p. 167; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 141; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), pp. 151-2; 13. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 159; 14. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 167; 15. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 167; 16. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 167 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 143 | Scotch Girls Friendly Society | 1894?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1894-95 ('General Directory'), p. 556 | | |
| 144 | Holyrood Literary Society (later became the Holyrood Literary Club, later The New Holyrood Club; as of 7 October 1911, simply Holyrood Club) (see New Literary Club, also listed in this spreadsheet, entry no. 135) | 20 September 1894-24 September 1897; 24 September 1897-3 October 1899; 3 October 1899-1904? | (Note: the records for this club also include those of the Holyrood Club and Literary Twenty-one Club (MLSC, 891047)) 1. Holyrood Literary Society, Minutes, 1894-1904 (MLSC, 891047); 2. New Holyrood Club, Minute Book, Vol. 4, 14 January 1905-29 March 1913 (MLSC, 891047); 3. Holyrood Club Minutes, 1937-1946 (MLSC, 891047); 3. Holyrood Club, The Holyrood Magazine, Xmas, 1897 (MLSC, 891047) | MLSC | (Records are housed together with the records of the Holyrood Club (891047)) |
| 145 | Young Men's Friendly Society, St. Mary's Branch, Glasgow, Debating Society | 13 October [1894?]-? | (Syllabus for Debating Society, October-December (1894?), includes notice of Musical Society, and list of 'Improvement Classes &c' including English Literature, and 'Rules for Conduct of Lectures and Debates') (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks No. 23, p. 261) | MLSC | Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23 |
| 146 | Ye Govan Cronies Burns Club (aka Govan Ye Cronies Burns Club) | 1895-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919, minute entry, 27 March 1913, p. 15 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 185; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 208; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 227 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 147 | Free College Church Association | 1895?-? | (Mentioned in Wellington United Presbyterian Church Literary Association, Minute Book, 1892-96, brochure with Syllabus, 1895-96, minute entry, 1 November 1895) | GCA | (See Wellington United Presbyterian Church Literary Association, Minute Book, CH3/1238/2) |
| 148 | Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society (this is Church of Scotland society, not to be confused with Kelvinside Literary Association (later became the Young People's At Home), which is Free Church society) | 1895-1926? | <i>Kelvinside Old Parish Church, Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society Magazine</i> (1903-04) (GCA, CH2/1149/9/2/2) | GCA | CH2/1149/9/2/2 |
| 149 | Barns O' Clyde Burns Club, Clydebank | 1896-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'CN', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 127; 179; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 179; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 183 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 150 | Co-operative Burns Club | 1896-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 8 November 1907, p. 1 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 156; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January, 1899), pp. 160-61; 4. 'CN', BC, No. X (January 1901), pp. 106-07; 5. 'CN', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 121; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 143; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 153; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 152; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 162; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 137; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 169 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 151 | Albany Burns Club (aka Glasgow Albany Burns Club) | 1896? (listed as 1900 in 1910 'Directory')-? | 1. Roseberry [sic] Donation, Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow (Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., 1896) (MLSC, 907880) 2. 'Burns Anniversary. Celebrations in Falkirk and District. Falkirk Burns Club', <i>Falkirk Herald</i> (27 Jan. 1909), p. 6; 3. 'Burns' Anniversary. Celebrations in Falkirk and District. Falkirk Burns Club', <i>Falkirk Herald</i> (28 January 1914), p. 3; 4. 'Burns' Anniversary. Celebrations in Falkirk and District. Falkirk Burns Club', <i>Falkirk Herald</i> (31 January 1914), p. 3; 5. 'CN', BC, No. X (January 1901), pp. 107-8; 6. 'CN', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 122; 146 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 147; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 157; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 172 | MLSC | 907880 |
| 152 | Caledonian Burns Club (aka Glasgow Caledonian Burns Club) (not same as Caledonia Burns Club, Glasgow) | 1896-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 30 March 1908, p. 18 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 144; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 161; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 143; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 153; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 163; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 167 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 153 | Clydebank Burns Club | 1897?-1910; 1914-? | 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 146 | | |
| 154 | Shetleston Burns Club | 1897-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919, minute entry, 27 March 1913, p. 15 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 143; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 153; 4. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 180; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 166; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 168; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 191; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 209 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 155 | Glasgow Hutchesontown Burns Club | 1898-1909; 1912-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 163; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 148; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 170; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 211 | | |
| 156 | Dowanhill Society of Belles Lettres | 1898-? | (Society brochure with 'Objects' and 'Rules') (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, Volume 23, p. 234) | MLSC | Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23 |
| 157 | Eastpark Literary Society (currently unknown if this is same society as Park Literary Institution) | 1898?-? | (Loose flyer advertisement for lecture, in presscuttings book between p. 94 and p. 95 (Lord Provost's Office, Records of Public Events in Glasgow, Presscutting Book, General (Y.M.C.A. and other clubs, etc.) 15 Sep. 1898-4 Oct. 1901)) | GCA | G2/3/7 |
| 158 | Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society (see Queen Margaret College Reading Union) | 1898?-1905? | 1. Meeting minutes with printed syllabus; 2. Draft report (M.B.J.) | UGAS | GB 0248 DC 233/2/16/4/1; GB 0248 DC 233/2/16/4/2 |
| 159 | Caledonia Burns Club (not same as Caledonian Burns Club) | 1899?-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 148; 2. 'CN', BC, No. X (January 1901), pp. 106-7; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 145; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 155 | | |
| 160 | Glasgow Southern Burns Club | October 1899-1909; 1914-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 146; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 146 | | |

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| 161 | Clarinda Burns Club (currently unclear from listings in Burns Chronicles if this is Glasgow Clarinda Club) | 1899-1937? | I. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'McLehose (or MacLehose, M'Lehose, Meklheose), Agnes ('Clarinda'), <i>The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women</i> , ed. by Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes, and Sian Reynolds (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 237; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 223; 4. Vance, Michael E., 'Burns in the Park: A Tale of Three Monuments', in <i>Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture</i> , ed. by Sharon Alker, Leith Davis and Holly Faith Nelson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), pp. 209-232 (p. 225); 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 132 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 162 | The Debating and Literary Society, St. Ninian's Episcopal Church, Glasgow | 1899-1834? | I. (Mentioned in: Dell, Richard F., <i>The People of St. Ninian's 1872-1972: A Centenary Essay on a Congregation of the Episcopal Church, Glasgow</i> ([Glasgow]: [The Church], 1972, pp. 8-10) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 283.41443 STN)); 2. St. Ninian's Episcopal Church, 'Debating and Literary Society', <i>Monthly Magazine</i> , Vol. XI, No. 2 (February 1921) (Note: this magazine is found inside back cover of following material at Heritage Hub, Hawick: Melrose Literary Society, Melrose Literary and Debating Society Manuscript Magazine, Vol. 12, 1917-20 (HH, D/54/8/3)) | ML, HH | (see Source of information) |
| 163 | Auld Clinkum Burns Club | 1900-? | I. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919, Annual Report for Session 1913-1914, p. 60 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 231 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 164 | Glasgow Primrose Burns Club | 1901-? | I. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 191; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 182; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), pp. 223-24 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 165 | Langside (Literary) Society | 1901?-? | (Mentioned in Wellington, U.F. Church, Printed report for year ended 30 September 1901) | GCA | CH3/1238/1 |
| 166 | Overnewton Literary Club | 1901?-? | <i>The Overnewton Whisper</i> , No. 2 (26 February 1901) | MLSC | f072.91443 OVE JH |
| 167 | Gorbals Burns Club | 1902-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 148; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 159; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 143; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 173; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 171 | | |
| 168 | Partick Western Burns Club (not same as Partick Burns Club, nor the Western Burns Club) | 26 November 1903-? | 1. 'CN', and 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 111; 159; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 160; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 172; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 216 | | |
| 169 | Queen's Park, St. George's UP, UK Church Literary Institute | 1872-1927? | 1. Glasgow, Queen's Park, St. George's UP, UF Church, Latterly Camphill Queens Park, Literary Institute Minutes, 1903-09; 1909-20; 1921-27 (GCA, CH3/1471/39-41); 2. Queen's Park Literary Institute magazine, 1874, 1875, 1877-78 (GCA, CH3/1471/42-44); 3. Literary Institute syllabus, 1875-1912 (GCA, CH3/1471/45) | GCA | (see Source of information) |
| 170 | College United Free Church Literary Society | 1903?-? | (Mentioned in printed brochure: 'Wellington United Free Church, Glasgow. Supplement. March, 1903' The Missionary Record of the United Free Church of Scotland. Wellington United Free Church, Glasgow. March 1903' (joint debate between two societies, pp. 2-3) (Edinburgh and London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1903); (annotated): 'First issue G.H.M', p. 2) | UGL | Theology Pers MI700 |
| 171 | Scottish Burns Club | 25 January 1904-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), pp. 173-74; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 126; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 176; 4. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 187; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), pp. 173-74; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 177; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), pp. 199-200 | | |
| 172 | National Burns Club, Ltd, Glasgow | 1904-1932? | 1. 'CN', and 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 103, p. 160; 2. 'CN', BC, No. XV (January 1906), pp. 123-24; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 171; 4. 'CN', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), pp. 135-36; 5. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), pp. 131-32; 6. 'CN', BC, No. XX (January 1911), pp. 130-31; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 175; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 2168; 9. (9 ms vols of minutes, cash, & visitors books, receipts, etc.; Annual Summaries, share ledger, minute, cash, letter and visitors' books, 1909-1932 (MLSC, 891022)) | MLSC | 891022 |
| 173 | Glasgow Jewish Literary and Social Society (currently unknown if this is same as Glasgow Jewish Young Men's Institute) | 1904?-? | 1. Glasgow Jewish Literary and Social Society, Catalogue, Library (November 1904) (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 017.60941443 GLA 231828); 2. [Advertisements, Glasgow Jewish Literary and Social Society], <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (27 November 1895), p. 8; (For Glasgow Jewish Young Men's Institute, see Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1913-14 (Educational Institutions'), p. 1828) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 174 | Glasgow Central Burns Club (aka Glasgow Central Burns Club and Literary Society, Ltd.) | 1905-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), pp. 162-63; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 172; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 175 | | |
| 175 | The Scottish Poets' Club | 1905?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1905-06 (Miscellaneous), p. 186 | | |
| 176 | Provand's Lordship Literary Club | 1906-? | 1. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Glasgow's Oldest House', (annotated:) T.P.'s Weekly, November 8, 1907' (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, Vol. 5, p. 14); 2. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Provand's Lordship', (annotated:) Herald, 25 July 1906. (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 14, p. 26a); 3. (Prospectus for 'Proposed Provand's Lordship Literary Club') (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 14, p. 26a) 4. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'Provand's Lordship Literary Club. [...] Herald, 28 July, 1906' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 14, p. 28); 5. (Newspaper clipping:) (Provand's Lordship, with illustration, annotated:) 'News, 14 Aug. 1906' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 14, pp. 32-3); 6. (Newspaper clipping:) 'An Old Glasgow Dinner', (annotated:) Times, 10 Dec. 1906' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 14, p. 56); 7. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'Provand's Lordship. [...] Citizen, 7 Dec. 1906' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, No. 14, p. 84); 8. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Provand's Lordship Club', (annotated:) Herald, 22 Dec. 1906' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 14, p. 91); 9. (Newspaper clipping:) "Provand's Lordship". A quaint Dinner Party', (annotated:) Citizen, 22 Dec. 1906' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, No. 14, p. 92); 10. (Printed illustration of building, with Young's handwritten notes) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, No. 14, p. 99); 11. (Newspaper clipping:) "Provand's Lordship", (annotated:) The Bailie, 9 Jan. 1907. W. Young' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 15, p. 3); 12. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Glasgow Provand's Lordship Club', (annotated:) Herald, 27 May 1908' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 19, p. 6); 13. 'Provand's Lordship Literary Club. Syllabus' (1906-07) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 19, p. 66a); 14. 'Provand's Lordship Literary Club' (Certificate of Membership) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 19, p. 31); 15. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Provand's Lordship Club', (annotated:) Herald, 27 May 1909' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 23, p. 80); 16. (Brochure for application for membership, including newspaper clipping, annotated:) Herald, 4 Dec. 1909. (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 26, pp. 96A-96B); 17. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Provand's Lordship Club. The Glasgow Poets', (annotated:) Herald, 4 Dec. 1909' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 33, p. 14); (Note: list is not all-inclusive, numerous other newspaper clippings in Young's Scrapbooks) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 177 | Glasgow Dickens Society | 1906-? | 1. (Printed advertising circular, with subscription request form:) 'The Annual Treat of the Glasgow Dickens Society to A Thousand Poor Children of Glasgow', 21 December 1921 (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 23, p. 230); 2. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1908-09 (Educational Institutions), p. 1778; 4. 'Dickens Anniversary, Glasgow Celebration', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (11 February 1909), p. 12 | | |
| 178 | Govan Burns Club (not same as Govan Fairfield Burns Club) | 1906-? | (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) Times, 26 January 1909' ("The Twenty-Fifth." Ter-Jubilee Celebrations. Govan Club. Mr J. E. Christie's Speech', <i>Evening Times</i> (26 January 1909), p. 5) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 22, p. 30) | MLSC | Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 22 |
| 179 | The British Empire Shakespeare Society | 1906?-1933? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1911-12 ('Artistic, Literary, and Scientific Institutions'), p. 1821; 2. British Empire Shakespeare Society, Glasgow Branch (Dramatic Circle) 1929-1933. Minute Book (UGSC, Ref. code: GB 247 STA Mn 91; Call no: STA Mn 91); 3. Programme of the British Empire Shakespeare Society, Glasgow Branch, featuring [John/Joseph] MacDonagh as Publius and Trebonius in the Julius Caesar' recital of scenes, 1906 Oct. 19.' (NLI, Thomas MacDonagh Family Papers, 1848-1966, MS 44, 343/1/2) | UGSC, NLI | (see Source of information) |

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| 180 | Glasgow and District Burns Club (aka Glasgow and District Burns Club Association aka Glasgow and District Association of Burns Clubs and Kindred Societies) (not same as National Burns Club, Ltd., Glasgow) (this club is made up of several Burns clubs) (currently unclear if this same as Glasgow And West of Scotland Burns Club Association) | 8 November 1907-? | 1. Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919 (MLSC, 891709); 2. Macmillan, Donald, <i>Burns and the war: his message to the nation: an address delivered before the Glasgow and District Burns Association</i> (Glasgow and District Burns Association, [1917]) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 6 MCM 557275); 3. McArthur, Archie McArthur, <i>Some Connections Between the City of Glasgow and Robert Burns, compiled by Archie McArthur</i> (Glasgow and District Burns Association), [1989]) (MLSC, Robert Burns Collection, Mitchell (AL) 11 GLA MCA 907616); 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 179; 5. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 190; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 176; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 180; 8. 'Glasgow and District Burns Club', <i>Glasgow and District Burns Association</i> < http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Glasgow > [accessed 19/09/17] | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 181 | Glasgow Training College Literary Committee | 1907-c. 1923 | Glasgow Training College Literary Committee records, 1907-1914, 4 photographs | USA | JCE/23/2 |
| 182 | Reading Circle (associated with Camden Street Public School (School Board of Glasgow) Continuation Classes) | 1907-1908? | Departmental Records; Further Education; Evening Classes, Continuation Classes and Further Education; Prospectuses 1907-08; 1908-09 | GCA | D-ED 6/2/1; D-ED 2/2/2 |
| 183 | Reading Circle (associated with Napiershall Public School (School Board of Glasgow) Continuation Classes) | 1907-? | Departmental Records; Further Education; Evening Classes, Continuation Classes and Further Education; Prospectuses 1907-1908 | GCA | D-ED 6/2/1 |
| 184 | Glasgow Queen's Park (Burns Club) | 1907?-? | I. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'CN', 'Obituary', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 129 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 185 | Queen Margaret College Reading Union (see Queen Margaret College Literary and Debating Society) | 1907?-1912? | I. Queen Margaret College Reading Union, 1908-09 (MLSC, Mitchell (GC) 828 431393); 2. Queen Margaret College Reading Union, [Year Book], 1908-09 (UGAS, GB 248 DC/233/2/16/7/1/5); 3. Queen Margaret College Reading Union, Year Book, 1909-10 (UGAS, GB 248 DC/233/2/16/7/1/1); 4. Queen Margaret College Reading Union, Year Book, 1910 (UGAS, GB 248 DC/233/2/16/7/1/2); 5. Queen Margaret College Reading Union, Year Book, 1911 (UGAS, GB 248 DC/233/2/16/7/1/3); 6. Queen Margaret College Reading Union, Year Book, 1912 (UGAS, GB 248 DC/233/2/16/7/1/4) | MLSC, UGAS | (see Source of information) |
| 186 | Tollcross Burns Club | 1908-? | I. (Newspaper clipping, unattributed, annotated: '31/01/11', in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907 – 5 September 1912, p. 192 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 191; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 178; | MLSC | 891709 |
| 187 | National Home Reading Group (Oatlands Public School English Literature Branch) | 1908-? | Departmental Records; Further Education; Evening Classes, Continuation Classes and Further Education; Prospectuses 1908-1909 | GCA | D-ED 6/2/2 |
| 188 | Dennistoun Jolly Beggars Burns Club | 25 January 1911-? | 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 186 | | |
| 189 | Glasgow Daisy Burns Club | 13 September 1911-? | 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 186 | | |
| 190 | Round Table Club | 1911?-? | (Mentioned in Minute Book of New Holyrood Club, Volume 4, 14 January 1905-29 March 1913, minute entry, 15 November 1911; joint meeting of the two clubs on 15 November 1911 at the residence of Dr John Barlow, No 4 Somerset Place) | MLSC | (Records of Holyrood Club (891047)) |
| 191 | Glasgow Literary Club | Premises opened 1/5/1911 (Formal Opening 15/5/1911) -1964? | The Glasgow Literary Club (Constitution and bye-laws, 1928-51; membership records, 1911-49; magazines, 1921-35; visitors books, 1934-40; finance, 1958) | GCA | GB243 TD1858 |
| 192 | The Poetry Society | 1912?-? | Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1912-13 ('Educational Institutions'), p. 1818 | | |
| 193 | St. Andrew Society | 1912-? | (Typescript document, unsigned, annotated:)'St. Andrew Society' (brief history of the society, and history of Scottish National Theatre Society) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 28, p. 16) | MLSC | Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 28 |
| 194 | Kingston Burns Club | November 1912-? | I. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912 – 30 April 1919, minute entry, 27 March 1913, p. 15 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 229 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 195 | Mosspark Burns Club | 1914?-? | (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912 – 30 April 1919, minute entry, 3 September 1914, p. 66 (MLSC, 891709)) | MLSC | 891709 |
| Library and Archive Abbreviations | | | | | |
| | Argyll and Bute Council Archives, Lochgilphead | ABCA | | | |
| | Caitness Archives Centre, now Nucleus: The Nuclear and Caitness Archives, Wick Airport | CAC | | | |
| | Dick Institute, Kilmarnock | DI | | | |
| | Glasgow City Archives (Mitchell Library) | GCA | | | |
| | Scottish Borders Archive and Local History Centre (Heritage Hub , Hawick) | HH | | | |
| | Mitchell Library | ML | | | |
| | Mitchell Library Special Collections | MLSC | | | |
| | National Library of Ireland, Dublin | NLI | | | |
| | National Library of Scotland | NLS | | | |
| | National Records of Scotland | NRS | | | |
| | Orkney Library & Archive, Orkney Room, Kirkwall | OLOR | | | |
| | Shetland Archives, Lerwick | SA | | | |
| | University of Glasgow Archives Services | UGAS | | | |
| | University of Glasgow Library | UGL | | | |
| | University of Glasgow Special Collections | UGSC | | | |
| | University of Strathclyde Archives | USA | | | |
| | University of Strathclyde Special Collections | USSC | | | |
| | Warwick Modern Records Centre | WMRC | | | |
| Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory Abbreviations | | | | | |
| | Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory | BC | | | |
| | 'Club Notes' (in Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory) | CN | | | |
| | 'Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation' (in Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory) | Directory | | | |
| *Burns Clubs are listed both here and in Appendix II, with Appendix II providing a list of Burns clubs alone to assist researchers and to provide additional details. | | | | | |

| Appendix II: Glasgow Burns Clubs, 1844-1914* | | | | | | |
|--|---|--|---|--|---------------------|---|
| No. | Name | Date(s) of Existence** | Source of info.*** | Federated Club? | Repository/Location | Shelf Location/Web Address |
| 1 | Bank Burns Club | 1844 - 1909; 1914 - ? (listed as 'dormant' in 1910 'Directory', but listed again without 'dormant' in 1914 'Directory') | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1883-84 ('Associations Too Late For Classification'), p. 128; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 193; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 131 | 1886, No. 24 | MLSC | (Annual Burns Chronicles not listed in online catalogue, but are part of Burns Collection: apply to staff to request) |
| 2 | Pollokshaws Burns Club | 25 January 1886-? (1906 'Directory' states that this club was instituted in 1850, while 1907 'Directory' says instituted 1865) | 1. Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry 30 March 1908 (MLSC, 891709, p. 18); 2. 'Directory', BC, Vol. V (January 1896), p. 141; 3. 'Directory', BC, Vol. VIII (January 1899), p. 168; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 161 | 1905, No. 140 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 3 | Glasgow Carrick Burns Club | 25 January 1859-2005? | 1. <i>Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896</i> (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Burns Club celebrates its 113th year', <i>Carrick Gazette</i> (7 October 2005) (13 January 2006?) <http://www.carricktoday.co.uk/news/local-headlines/burns-club-celebrates-its-113th-year-1-332641> [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. II (January 1893), p. 190; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 194; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 175; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 132; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XII (January 1903), p. 145; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 138; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 148 | 1887, No. 34 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 4 | Waverley Burns Club (later became Western Burns Club) | 25 January 1860-26 March 1872 | 1. Sederunt book, Waverley Burns Club (3 notebooks), 1860-72 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 391557-59); 2. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 30 March 1908, p. 18 (MLSC, 891709); 3. [Printed papers] (Pamphlets and papers bound together) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 13 WES 644307); 4. [Minute book], (from Mitchell online catalogue: 'Handwritten records of meetings, with printed cuttings, menu cards, correspondence, obituary notices, etc., inserted Minute books nos. 3 and 4, the first two being minutes of the Waverley Burns Club. Book 3 records the change of name to the Western Burns Club in March 1872') (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 391559-60) | (No-- Burns Federation founded in 1885) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 5 | Bridgeton Burns Club | 1870-present | 1. Bridgeton Burns Club Minutes, January 1871-23 January 1893 (MLSC, 891421); 2. Bridgeton Burns Club Minutes, 1893-1906 (MLSC, 891707); 3. Annual general meeting [of the Bridgeton Burns Club], Tuesday, 23 March 1993, Marriott Hotel, Argyle Street, Glasgow: [agenda and minutes] (3 leaves) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) BNSf24 BR1907733); 4. (Club website) <i>Bridgeton Burns Club</i> Homepage <http://www.bridgetonburnsclub.org.uk/> [accessed 10/05/15]; 5. <i>Glasgow and District Burns Club</i> Homepage <http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Glasgow> [accessed 23/09/15]; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 7. Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919 (MLSC, 891709, p. 15, Minute entry for 27 March 1913); 8. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 195; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 133; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 152; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 139; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 157; 13. (Note: numerous articles in <i>Glasgow Herald</i> on this club, see <i>The British Newspaper Archive</i>) | 1891, No. 49 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 6 | Glasgow Haggis Club | 1872-present | 1. <i>Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896</i> (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. <i>Glasgow Haggis Club</i> <https://www.facebook.com/glasgowhaggisclub> [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Glasgow Haggis Club', <i>Glasgow and District Burns Association</i> <http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Haggis> [accessed 23/09/15]; 4. 'Donations', <i>Jean Armour Burns Trust</i> <http://www.jeanarmourburnstrust.co.uk/Donations.html> [accessed 23/09/15]; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 194; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 175; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 151; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 138; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 131; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), pp. 202-3 | 1886, No. 33 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 7 | Western Burns Club (see also Waverley Burns Club) | March 1872-1882? | 1. Waverley/Western Burns Club, [Minute book], 2 notebooks, 1872-82 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 391559-60); 2. Robert Burns / [The Western Burns Club] (reports of Burns suppers, and excursions) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 13 WES 907654); 3. 'A natal lay: written for the anniversary of Burns birth-day, 25th January, 1875' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 12A WIN 52901) | ? (Possibly disbanded in 1882; Burns Federation founded in 1885) | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 8 | Tam O'Shanter Club (aka the Tam O'Shanter Burns Club) | 1880-1914? | 1. Glasgow Post Office Directory, 1882-83 ('Miscellaneous'), p. 124; 2. (Newspaper clipping, annotated): 'Citizen. 25 Nov. 1914.' (on the opening meeting for the club's session 1914, also with a musical programme) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 38, p. 55); 3. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 192; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 128; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), pp. 145-6; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 154; 8. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), pp. 171-2; 9. 'CN', BC, No. XXIV (January 1915), pp. 161-2 | 1885, No. 3 | UGSC | (see Source of information) |
| 9 | Kinning Park Burns Club | 1881-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 3 September 1910 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 149; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 202 | 16 April 1907, No. 164 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 10 | Thistle Burns Club | 10 March 1882-? | 1. <i>Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896</i> (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv; (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 192; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 149; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 155; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January, 1914), p. 200 | 1885, No. 7 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |

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| 11 | Royalty Burns Club | 1882 (1893 'Directory' gives 1883 as the date of institution)-present | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv; (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. <i>Royalty Burns Club</i> Homepage < http://royaltyburnsclub.com/ > [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 192; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 173; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 129; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 149; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 135; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 134; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XII (January 1903), p. 142; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 158 | 1886, No. 9 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 12 | Rosebery Burns Club (not same as Kilmorie Rosebery Burns Club) | 1885-? | 1. Muir, Pearson M'Adam, 'Robert Burns : his genius and influence: address delivered to the Rosebery Burns Club, 24th January, 1902' (ML, Mitchell (AL) 6 MUI 209662); 2. Cross, Alexander, 'The Immortal Memory: a speech to the members of the Rosebery Burns Club, January 24, 1906' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 15 CRO 889859); 3. Opening of session 1897-98 (1898) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 13 ROS 154844); 4. 'Address given to the Rosebery Burns Club, Glasgow: with special reference to the centenary Burns of W. E. Henley: January 25, 1898' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 6 BEG 209616); 5. 'Poems' [Rosebery Burns Club] (1898) (ML, Mitchell (GC) 154844); 6. Anniversary meeting in the Bath Hotel on Wednesday, 25th Jan. 93, at 6.45p. m., Rosebery Burns Club (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 557560); 7. Begg, F. Faithfull, 'Rosebery Burns Club, Glasgow, January 25th, 1898: speech...in proposing the toast of Caledonia and Caledonia's bard' (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 6 BEG 907881a); 8. Roseberry Burns Club, Minutes 27 November 1894-1905 (MLSC, 907884); 9. Angus, James, <i>The Rosebery Burns Club, Glasgow: a short sketch of its origin and growth</i> (Glasgow: W.&R. Holmes ; Stirling : E. Mackay, 1906) (NLS, General Reading Room, 1958.22); 10. (Newspaper clipping:) 'Rosebery Burns Club', (annotated:) 'Citizen, 15 March 1905' (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 1, (unpaginated, p. 32)); 11. 'Directory', BC, No. II (January 1893), p. 190; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 194; 13. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 176; 14. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 132; 15. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 151; 16. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 138; 17. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 136; 18. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 149; 19. 'Directory', BC, No. XIX (January 1908), p. 132; 20. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 161; 21. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 161; 22. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 184; 23. <i>Glasgow Contemporaries at the Dawn of the XXth Century</i> (Glasgow: The Photo-Biographical Publishing Co., [1901]), p. 159 (ML, Mitchell (GC) 920.04 GLA 499009) | 1887, No. 36 | ML, MLSC, NLS | (see Source of information) |
| 13 | Partick Burns Club | 1885-present | 1. (Member's card for John White Jr Esq; small printed advertisement for Partick Burns Club Annual Dinner, 25th January, 1887) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, No. 21, p. 136); 2. (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'The Press, Saturday, January 31, 1891' (on annual dinner of the club, 26 January 1891) (MLSC, Glasgow Scrapbooks, No. 21, pp. 178-79); 3. 'Partick Burns Club', 'Burns Clubs', <i>Wikipedia</i> < https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burns_Clubs > [accessed 21/09/15]; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 136; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 140; 7. <i>The Partick Burns Club Homepage</i> < http://thepartickburnsclub.org/about-us/ > [accessed 17/09/17] | 1895, No. 72 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 14 | Springburn Burns Club | 1885?-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xv (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'The Burns Federation', <i>Grand Lodge of Scotland</i> < http://grandlodgescotland.com/index.php/masonic-subjects/masonic-articles/376-the-burns-federation > [accessed 23/09/15]; 3. 'Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies for 1893', <i>Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory</i> , ed. by D. M'Naught, No. 2 (January 1893), p. 191; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 137; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 137; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 148 | 1886, No. 27 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 15 | Govan Fairfield Burns Club (currently unclear if this is same as Govan Burns Club) | 25 January 1886-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. II (January 1893), p. 191; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 196; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 177; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 134; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 140; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 157; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 139; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 138; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 140; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 149; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 163; 13. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 186 | 23 September 1892, No. 53 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 16 | Dennistoun Burns Club (not the same as Dennistoun Jolly Beggars Burns Club) | 1886-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL), 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 195; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 139 | 1889, No. 41 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 17 | Glasgow 'St. David's' Burns Club | 1887-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 176 | 1889, No. 39 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 18 | Glasgow 'Jolly Beggars' Burns Club | 1887-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow, From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 130 | 1888, No. 38 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 19 | Mauchline Society (aka Glasgow-Mauchline Society) | 1888-1934? (uncertain: date taken from last year info. given in online catalogue) (Federated 1895) | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 30 March 1908, p. 18 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. <i>Mauchline Village</i> < http://www.mauchlinevillage.co.uk/monument.html > [accessed 24/09/15]; 3. 'Glasgow Mauchline Society', <i>Glasgow Herald</i> (9 December 1921), p. 6; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 142; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 159; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 142; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 151; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 162; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 136; 11. 'National Burns Memorial and Cottage Homes, Mauchline, Ayrshire: Catalogue of Exhibits in the Museum Including a History of the Burns Memorial and Cottage Homes', <i>Ayrshire History</i> < http://www.ayrshirehistory.com/pdf/mauchline_catalogue_of_burns_memorial_tower_museum_1962.pdf > | 1895, No. 74 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |

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| 20 | St. Rollox Burns Club | 1 November 1889-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 195; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 177; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 133; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 152; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January, 1899), p. 156; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 139; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. III (January 1904), p. 139 | 19 November 1891, No. 47 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 21 | Glencairn Burns Club, Glasgow | 1891 (Annual Directory for 1898, p. 141, gives 1890 as date of institution)-1909; 1914-?) | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 196; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 154 | 1893, No. 61 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 22 | Glasgow Northern Burns Club | 1891?-1909; 1914-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. I (25 January 1892), p. 131; 2. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 139 | 1891, No. 43 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 23 | Possilpark Burns Club | 22 March 1892-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 142; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 151 | No (not Federated as of 1900) | | |
| 24 | Glasgow-Ardgowan Burns Club | 8 March 1893-1909; 1914-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 143 | 1896, No. 78 | | |
| 25 | Sandyford Burns Club | 1893-present | 1. The Sandyford Burns Club: the fortieth anniversary dinner and ball: the Ca'doro Restaurant, Union Street, Glasgow, Wednesday 25th January 1933 at 6 p.m.(MLSC, Mitchell (AL) BNS24 SAN 907992); 2. Sandyford Burns Club: annual dinner, Grand Hotel, Charing Cross, Monday, 26th January 1903 (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) BNS24 SAN); 3. The Sandyford Burns Club', Glasgow and District Burns Association <http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Glasgow> [accessed 08/05/15]; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 179; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 136; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 154; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 142; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1899), p. 159; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 152; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 167; 11. 'CN', 'Obituary', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 12; 12. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January, 1914), p. 207 | 1894, No. 68 | ML | (see Source of information) |
| 26 | Glasgow Mossiel Burns Club | 1893-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. III (February 1894), p. 197; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 167; 5. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 177; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 163; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 164 | 1893, No. 63 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 27 | St. Rollox Jolly Beggars | 1893-1909; 1914-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), page xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 136; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 155 | 1894, No. 70 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 28 | Glasgow Carlton Burns Club | February 1894-? | 1. Memorial Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Held in the Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow. From 15th July till 31st October, 1896 (Glasgow: William Hodge & Company and T. & R. Annan & Sons, 1898), p. xvi (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 14A MEM 472108); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. IV (January 1895), p. 179; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. V (January 1896), p. 135; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 142; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 159; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 141; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), pp. 151-2; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1909), p. 167 | 1894, No. 67 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 29 | Ye Govan Cronies Burns Club (aka Govan Ye Cronies Burns Club) | 1895-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919, minute entry, 27 March 1913, p. 15 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 185; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 208; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 227 | 18 May 1911, No. 202 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 30 | Barns O' Clyde Burns Club, Clydebank | 1896-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'CN', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 127; 179; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 179; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 183 | 2 March 1910, No. 189 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 31 | Co-operative Burns Club | 1896-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 8 November 1907, p. 1 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VI (January 1897), p. 156; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January, 1899), pp. 160-61; 4. 'CN', BC, No. X (January 1901), pp. 106-07; 5. 'CN', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 121; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 143; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 153; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 152; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 162; 10. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 137; 11. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 169 | 1896, No. 83 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 32 | Albany Burns Club (aka Glasgow Albany Burns Club) | 1896? (listed as 1900 in 1910 Directory)-? | 1. Roseberry [sic] Donation, Catalogue of the Burns Exhibition. Galleries of the Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts, 175 Sauchiehall Street, Glasgow (Glasgow: William Hodge & Co., 1896) (MLSC, 907880) 2. 'Burns Anniversary. Celebrations in Falkirk and District. Falkirk Burns Club', <i>Falkirk Herald</i> (27 Jan. 1909), p. 6; 3. 'Burns' Anniversary. Celebrations in Falkirk and District. Falkirk Burns Club', <i>Falkirk Herald</i> (28 January 1914), p. 3; 4. 'Burns' Anniversary. Celebrations in Falkirk and District. Falkirk Burns Club', <i>Falkirk Herald</i> (31 January 1914), p. 3; 5. 'CN', BC, No. X (January 1901), pp. 107-8; 6. 'CN', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 122; 146 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 147; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 157; 9. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 172 | 1900, No. 118 | MLSC | 907880 |
| 33 | Caledonian Burns Club (aka Glasgow Caledonian Burns Club) (not same as Caledonia Burns Club, Glasgow) | 1896-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 30 March 1908, p. 18 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. VII (January 1898), p. 144; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 161; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 143; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 153; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 163; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 167 | (Federated 1896, but 1914 Directory gives 1897 as date of federation p. 209), No. 88 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 34 | Clydebank Burns Club | 1897?-1910; 1914-? | Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 146 | 1897, No. 93 | | |

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|----|---|---------------------------|--|--|------|-----------------------------|
| 35 | Shettleston Burns Club | 1897-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919, minute entry, 27 March 1913, p. 15 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XI (January 1902), p. 143; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 153; 4. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 180; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 166; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 168; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), p. 191; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 209 | 1897, No. 91 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 36 | Glasgow Hutchesontown Burns Club | 1898-1909; 1912-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. VIII (January 1899), p. 163; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 148; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 170; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 211 | 1898, No. 107 | | |
| 37 | Caledonia Burns Club (not same as Caledonian Burns Club) | 1899?-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. IX (January 1900), p. 148; 2. 'CN', BC, No. X (January 1901), pp. 106-7; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 145; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 155 | 24 March 1899, No 109 | | |
| 38 | Glasgow Southern Burns Club | October 1899-1909; 1914-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. X (January 1901), p. 146; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 146 | October 1901 (the 1904 'Directory' lists 1900 as date of Federation), No. 117 | | |
| 39 | Clarinda Burns Club (currently unclear from listings in Burns Chronicles if this is Glasgow Clarinda Club) | 1899-1937? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'McLehose (or MacLehose, M'Lehose, Meklehorse), Agnes ('Clarinda'), <i>The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women</i> , ed. by Elizabeth Ewan, Sue Innes, and Sian Reynolds (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), p. 237; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 223; 4. Vance, Michael E., 'Burns in the Park: A Tale of Three Monuments', in <i>Robert Burns and Transatlantic Culture</i> , ed. by Sharon Alker, Leith Davis and Holly Faith Nelson (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2012), pp. 209-232 (p. 225); 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 132 | (unknown) | MLSC | 891709 |
| 40 | Auld Clinkum Burns Club | 1900-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919, Annual Report for Session 1913-1914, p. 60 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 231 | 13 October 1913, No. 223 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 41 | Glasgow Primrose Burns Club | 1901 - ? (Federated 1909) | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 191; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 178; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 182; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), pp. 223-24 | 1909, No. 181 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 42 | Gorbals Burns Club | 1902-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. XIII (January 1904), p. 148; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 159; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 143; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 173; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 171 | 1903, No. 129 | | |
| 43 | Partick Western Burns Club (not same as Partick Burns Club, nor the Western Burns Club) | 26 November 1903-? | 1. 'CN', and 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 111; 159; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), p. 160; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 172; 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 216 | 1904, No 135 | | |
| 44 | Scottish Burns Club | 25 January 1904-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), pp. 173-74; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XVII (January 1908), p. 126; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 176; 4. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 187; 5. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), pp. 173-74; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 177; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXII (January 1913), pp. 199-200 | 27 February 1906, No. 153 | | |
| 45 | National Burns Club, Ltd. Glasgow | 1904-1932? | 1. 'CN', and 'Directory', BC, No. XIV (January 1905), p. 103, p. 160; 2. 'CN', BC, No. XV (January 1906), pp. 123-24; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 171; 4. 'CN', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), pp. 135-36; 5. 'CN' BC, No. XIX (January 1910), pp. 131-32; 6. 'CN', BC, No. XX (January 1911), pp. 130-31; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 175; 8. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 2168; 9. (9 ms vols of minutes, cash, & visitors books, receipts, etc.; Annual Summaries, share ledger, minute, cash, letter and visitors' books, 1909-1932 (MLSC, 891022) | 1904, No. 139 | MLSC | 891022 |
| 46 | Glasgow Central Burns Club (aka Glasgow Central Burns Club and Literary Society, Ltd.) | 1905-? | 1. 'Directory', BC, No. XV (January 1906), pp. 162-63; 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XVI (January 1907), p. 172; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 175 | 18 August 1905, No. 145 | | |
| 47 | Govan Burns Club (not same as Govan Fairfield Burns Club) | 1906-? | (Newspaper clipping, annotated:) 'Times. 26 January 1909' ("The Twenty-Fifth." Ter-Jubilee Celebrations. Govan Club. Mr J. E. Christie's Speech', <i>Evening Times</i> (26 January 1909), p. 5) (MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 22, p. 30) | (unknown) | MLSC | Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 22 |
| 48 | Glasgow and District Burns Club (aka Glasgow and District Burns Club Association aka Glasgow and District Association of Burns Clubs and Kindred Societies) (not same as National Burns Club, Ltd., Glasgow) (this club is made up of several Burns clubs) (currently unclear if this is same as Glasgow And West of Scotland Burns Club Association) | 8 November 1907-? | 1. Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912-30 April 1919 (MLSC, 891709); 2. Macmillan, Donald, <i>Burns and the war: his message to the nation: an address delivered before the Glasgow and District Burns Association</i> (Glasgow and District Burns Association, [1917]) (MLSC, Mitchell (AL) 6 MCM 557275); 3. McArthur, Archie McArthur, <i>Some Connections Between the City of Glasgow and Robert Burns, compiled by Archie McArthur</i> ([Glasgow and District Burns Association], [1989]) (MLSC, Robert Burns Collection, Mitchell (AL) 11 GLA MCA 907616); 4. 'Directory', BC, No. XVIII (January 1909), p. 179; 5. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 190; 6. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 176; 7. 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 180; 8. 'Glasgow and District Burns Club', <i>Glasgow and District Burns Association</i> < http://www.robertburns.plus.com/Association.htm#Glasgow > [accessed 19/09/17] | (Glasgow and District Association) 1908 , No. 169 | MLSC | (see Source of information) |
| 49 | Glasgow Queen's Park (Burns Club) | 1907?-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907-5 September 1912, minute entry, 11 December 1907, p. 9 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'CN', 'Obituary', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 129 | (unknown) | MLSC | 891709 |
| 50 | Tolcross Burns Club | 1908-? | 1. (Newspaper clipping, unattributed, annotated:) '31/01/11', in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 8 November 1907 – 5 September 1912, p. 192 (MLSC, 891709); 2. 'CN', BC, No. XIX (January 1910), p. 191; 3. 'Directory', BC, No. XX (January 1911), p. 178; | 13 February 1909 (the 1912 'Directory' gives 5 November 1908 as date of federation), No. 180 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 51 | Dennistoun Jolly Beggars Burns Club | 25 January 1911-? | 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 186 | 6 June 1911, No. 203 | | |
| 52 | Glasgow Daisy Burns Club | 13 September 1911-? | 'Directory', BC, No. XXI (January 1912), p. 186 | 14 October 1911, No. 206 | | |
| 53 | Kingston Burns Club | November 1912-? | 1. (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912 – 30 April 1919, minute entry, 27 March 1913, p. 15 (MLSC, 891709)); 2. 'Directory', BC, No. XXIII (January 1914), p. 229 | 1913, No. 213 | MLSC | 891709 |
| 54 | Mosspark Burns Club | 1914?-? | (Mentioned in Glasgow and District Burns Club, Minutes, 12 September 1912 – 30 April 1919, minute entry, 3 September 1914, p. 66 (MLSC, 891709)) | (unknown) | MLSC | 891709 |

| Library and Archive Abbreviations | |
|---|-----------|
| Mitchell Library | ML |
| Mitchell Library Special Collections | MLSC |
| National Library of Scotland | NLS |
| University of Glasgow Special Collections | UGSC |
| <i>Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory Abbreviations</i> | |
| <i>Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory</i> | BC |
| 'Club Notes' (in <i>Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory</i>) | CN |
| 'Directory of Burns Clubs and Scottish Societies on the Roll of the Burns Federation' (in <i>Annual Burns Chronicle and Club Directory</i>) | Directory |
| *Appendix II provides a list of Burns clubs alone to assist researchers and to provide additional details to clubs listed in Appendix I. | |
| ** Where there are breaks in the dates of a club's existence, it was the case that the 'Directories' listed them as 'dormant' during the intervening years, as shown only in case of Bank Burns Club. | |
| *** This list of Annual Burns Chronicles are only given for the years where the information listed is different from the previous year's Chronicle. | |

| Appendix III: Glasgow Literary Clubs and Societies with Manuscript or Print Magazines, 1828-1914 | | | | | | | | |
|--|---|----------------------------------|--|--|--|--|--------------------------------|--|
| No. | Name | Date(s) of Existence | Name of Magazine | Date(s) of Magazine(s) | Number of Magazines | Manuscript/Published Magazine | Repository | Reference |
| 1 | (Students of University of Glasgow) | 3 Jan. 1828-? | The College Stethoscope | 3 Jan. 1828 | 1 | Print | MLSC | Mitchell (AL) 890768 |
| 2 | (Students of University of Glasgow) | 1830 | Athenaeum: an original literary miscellany | 1830 | 1 | Print | MLSC; UGSC | Mitchell (GC) 311821; Sp Coll Mu21-d.22 (UGSC); Sp Coll Bh12-g.39 (UGSC) |
| 3 | Original Union Club | 1831?-? | (title unknown – MS scrapbook of verse) | circa 1831-32 | 1 (unknown if still extant) | Manuscript | (unknown if scrapbook extant) | (See: MLSC, Young's Scrapbooks, Vol. 21) |
| 4 | Calton Wesleyan-Methodist Congregational Young Men's Society | 1839?-140? | Calton Wesleyan-Methodist Congregational Young Men's Society Magazine | Mar. 1839-Jan. 1840 with Supplement to Dec. 1839; Mar. 1840-May 1840 | 15 | Manuscript | MLSC | NFF124/6/81, 5585510-585510a |
| 5 | Western Scientific Association | 1843-? | (title unknown) | 1849 | 1 (unknown if still extant) | Manuscript | (unknown if any copies extant) | |
| 6 | Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society (later became the Free Anderston Church Literary Society) | 1849-? | The Literary Bond of Free Anderston Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society; ALSO: The Literary Magazine | The Literary Bond: the Mitchell Library has Vol. 2 (Sept. 1862)- Vol. 22, No. 6 (Mar. 1883); The Literary Magazine: the Mitchell Library has Vol. 1, No. 1 (Jan. 1896)-Vol. 2, No. 2 (Feb. 1897) | 15 | Manuscript | MLSC | Mitchell (AL) 891310-11; Dewey Class: 820.80941443 |
| 7 | Albion Mutual Improvement Union | 13 Sept. 1860-1863? | The Albion Literary Journal: A Quarterly Magazine of Instructive and Recreative Literature | No. 2 (Apr. 1862); No. 3 (July 1862); June 1863 | 3 (extant); according to the 'Prefatory', the April 1862 number is the second) | Manuscript | MLSC | Mitchell (AL) 891260 |
| 8 | Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association | 9 Nov. 1862-present | Ultima Thule; later changed to The Manuscript Magazines of the Glasgow Orkney and Shetland Literary and Scientific Association; later changed to The Pole Star | 1 Jan. 1864-1950s | 12 (between 1864 and 1912) | Manuscript, later type-script | SA | D58/2/1-12 (within date range of this study) |
| 9 | Barony Mutual Improvement Society (later became the Barony Young Men's Association) (NOTE: this is not the same as the Barony Free Church Literary Society) | 1863-1875? | Barony MS Magazines | 1863-1875 | 6 | Manuscript | USA | GB 249 T-MIN/18/1/1-6 |
| 10 | Kelvinside Literary Association (later became the Young People's At Home) (NOTE: this is a Free Church society, not to be confused with the Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society, which is Church of Scotland) | 1865-(at least 1909) | (unknown if ever produced) | (unknown) | (unknown) | (unknown) | | |
| 11 | Glasgow Foundry Boys' Religious Society, Wellington Palace Branch | 1867-? | The Foundry Boy (duplicated MS) | Jan. 1886-Dec. 1886 | 12 | Original in manuscript, then print (lithograph?) | MLSC | 98783; Mitchell (GC) 206 98783 (see Mitchell online catalogue --> This is the same material, diff. number) |
| 12 | Our Literary and Social Club | about the Christmas of 1871' - ? | A Book of "Ours" ("Ours" Literary and Social Club. A book of "Ours." Contributions by the members. [Andrew Lyon, Editor.] | 1909 | 1 | Print | UGSC | Sp Coll Bh11-c.28 (Wylie Collection) |
| 13 | Free St. Peter's Young Men's Literary Society | 1871? - ? | Blythswood Holm M.S. Magazine 'Behind the Scenes', A special New Year's Number; also Free St Peter's Literary Society magazine | Jan. 1871; 1883 | 1 | Manuscript | MLSC; UGSC | 321129, GO52 (Mitchell); Sp Coll Robertson Bf68-b.23 (Uni. Glasgow) |
| 14 | Queen's Park U.P. Church Literary Institute (new magazine entry, 18.09.17) | 1872-1927? | The Queen's Park Literary Magazine/The Queen's Park Magazine | Vol. 1 (1874); Vol. 2 (January 1875); January 1877-78 | 3 (extant) | Manuscript, later print | GCA | CH3/1471/42-44 |
| 15 | Kent Road United Presbyterian Church Young Men's Institute | 1 Apr. 1872-? | Kent Road Quarterly | 1872 | 1 | Manuscript | MLSC | 725431 |
| 16 | Govan Parish Young Men's Association (name change to Govan Literary Association proposed many times; 1898 (?) became the Govan Parish Young Men's Literary Association) | 11 Oct. 1876-? | (title unknown) | 1906; 1907 | 2 (?) (do not appear to be extant) | (Magazine night; unknown if contributions bound into magazine) | MLSC | (MS mags do not appear to be extant) |
| 17 | Sandyford Church Literary Association | 1879-? | Sandyford Literary Association MS Magazine | 1883 | 1 | Manuscript | MLSC | 642424 |
| 18 | Pollokshields Free Church Literary Institute | 1883-84? | The Essayist | No. 2, Session 1883-84 (Carbon duplicate of MS) | 1 | Manuscript | MLSC | 97615, 285-2/G |

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|--|--|---|---|---|-------------------------|--|------|--|
| 19 | Wellpark Free Church Young Men's Literary Society | 1883?-? | Wellpark F. C. Literary Society M.S. Magazine. | 1883-84; 1887-88; 1888 | 3 | Manuscript | MLSC | 1. Shelf Location: 428697; 2. Mitchell (AL). 428698-99, Mitchell Library Inventory, Dewey Class Number: 820.80941443 (note: there are three manuscript magazines amongst these 2 listings in the online catalogue) |
| 20 | Glasgow Border Counties' Literary Society | 1885-1887? | Glasgow Border Counties' Literary Society's Manuscript Magazine | 1885-1887 (Vols. I and II, bound together) | 2 | Manuscript | HH | GB1097/SC/M/28 |
| 21 | (Currently unknown, 19/01/17) --> unknown if this is the production of a society, although a 'society' is mentioned in an article by the editor entitled '15 March, 1888', p. 19, March 1888) | 1888? | The Magnet | Feb., Mar., Apr., and May 1888 | 4 | Original in manuscript, then print (lithograph?) (see The Foundry Boy, The Overnewton Whisper) | RCP | DA 890.G5 RAD |
| 22 | Renwick Free Church Literary Association | 9 Nov. 1889-1913? | (title currently unknown) | 1889, (1890?) | 2 (possibly not extant) | (Manuscript: magazine/s appear to be no longer extant) | | |
| 23 | Lansdowne Young Men's Christian Association | 1890?-? | Our Magazine. L.Y.M.C.A. A Monthly Journal of Literature & Art | Nov. 1890; Dec. 1890; Feb. 25 1891; Apr. 15 1891; Nov. 1891. Art Supplement to Our Magazine; Dec. 1891; Apr. 1892 | 8 | Manuscript | GCA | TD864/2/1-7 |
| 24 | Pollokshields Literary and Art Circle | 1890?-? | P.L.A.C. Monthly Magazine | May 1890 | 1 | Manuscript | MLSC | 891359 |
| 25 | St. Stephen's Literary Association | 1892?-? | The Lads' Own Magazine | 1895 | 1 | Manuscript | GCA | CH2/1373/12 |
| 26 | New Literary Club (later became the Literary Twenty-one Club, and even later amalgamated with the Holyrood Literary Society and took its name on 26 March 1898. The name was changed to The Holyrood Literary Club on 3 October 1899. The Holyrood Literary Club was dissolved and a new club formed called The New Holyrood Club) | 9 Sept. 1892-21 Apr. 1896; 21 Apr. 1896-28 Apr. 1902? (under Literary Twenty-One Club); 26 Mar. 1898 amalgamated with Holyrood Literary Society; later changed to The Holyrood Literary Club on 3 Oct. 1899; club dissolved and new club formed: The New Holyrood Club (The Holyrood Literary Society formed in 1894) | New Literary Club Magazine | Oct. 1893 (session 1893-94); Summer 1894; Spring 1895; (Spring?) 1896 | 4 | Manuscript | MLSC | (NOTE: The records for this club are housed together with the records of The Holyrood Club (891047)) |
| 27 | Holyrood Literary Society (later became the Holyrood Literary Club, later The New Holyrood Club) (see New Literary Club) | 1894-26 Mar. 1898; 26 Mar. 1898-3 October 1899 | The Holyrood Magazine | Xmas 1897 | 1 | Manuscript | MLSC | (NOTE: The Literary Twenty-one Club records are housed together with the records of the Holyrood Club (891047)) |
| 28 | Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society | 1895-1926? | Kelvinside Parish Church Literary Society Magazine | 1903-04 | 1 | Type-script, with illustrations | GCA | CH2/1149/9/2/2 |
| 29 | Literary Twenty-one Club | 21 Apr. 1896-26 Mar. 1898 | (The Literary Twenty-one Club Magazine) | 1896 | 1 | Manuscript | MLSC | 891047 |
| 30 | Overnewton Literary Club | 1901?-? | The Overnewton Whisper (NOTE: this is a newspaper rather than a magazine) | 1901 | 1 | Original in manuscript, then print (lithograph?) (see The Foundry Boy, The Magnet) | MLSC | GC85380 DON; f072.91443 OVE JH |
| 31 | Queen Margaret College Reading Union | 1909?-1912? | Queen Margaret College Reading Union Year Book | 1909; 1910; 1911; 1912 | 4 | Print | UGA | GB 0248 GB 0248 DC 233/2/16/7 (4 items) |
| Abbreviations | | | | | | | | |
| Glasgow City Archives (Mitchell Library) | | GCA | | | | | | |
| Mitchell Library | | ML | | | | | | |
| Mitchell Library Special Collections | | MLSC | | | | | | |
| National Library of Scotland | | NLS | | | | | | |
| National Records of Scotland | | NRS | | | | | | |
| Royal College of Physicians, Glasgow | | RCP | | | | | | |
| Scottish Borders Archive and Local History Centre (Heritage Hub, Hawick) | | HH | | | | | | |
| Shetland Archives | | SA | | | | | | |
| University of Glasgow Archives | | UGA | | | | | | |
| University of Glasgow Library | | UGL | | | | | | |
| University of Glasgow Special Collections | | UGSC | | | | | | |
| University of Strathclyde Archives | | USA | | | | | | |

| Appendix IV: Other Scottish Literary Clubs and Societies with Manuscript or Print Magazines | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|--|--|---|---|--|---|
| No. | Name | Date(s) of Existence | Name of Magazine | Date(s) of Magazine(s) | Number of Magazines | Manuscript/Published Magazine | Repository | Reference |
| 1 | Paisley Literary and Convivial Association | 1814-1856 ('resuscitated' in 1860s until ?) | Manuscript [sic] Book of the Literary and Convivial Association | (compositions are from various dates added later) | 1 (a second, manuscript copy of this is also available in archives (Vol. 1); original is listed as Vol. 2) | Manuscript | PHC | Heritage 366 PA PC20134 Archives (Vols. 1 & 2); Heritage 651.77 PA PC22140 Archives (Minute Book) |
| 2 | (unknown) | 1823-? | The Monthly Magazine and Review | Vol. I, Nos. 1-4, July-Oct. 1823 | 4 | Manuscript | ACL | Lo 050 AB3 |
| 3 | S.L.I.G.O. | 1823?-? | The Literary Pic-nic and Re-reviewer | No. 1, 1823 | 1 | Manuscript | ACL | P 379 |
| 4 | (private distribution amongst small group of readers) | 1834?-1836? | The Wreath of Wild Flowers | 1(1)-1(3), Mar. 1834-Apr. 1836 | 3 | Manuscript | DDCL | D22011 |
| 5 | (unknown) | 1834?-1836? | Gems of Poesy | 1(1)-1(3), Mar. 1834-Mar. 1836 (produced yearly) | 3 | Manuscript | DDCL | D22012 |
| 6 | Dundee Literary and Scientific Institute | 1844 -1848 | Dundee Literary and Scientific Institute Magazine | 1844-1847 (or possibly 1855?), Vol. 1?-Vol. 2 | 2 | Manuscript | DDCL | 265(17) |
| 7 | Dundee Diagnostic Society (NOTE: this might be a different society from the Diagnostic Society (1848?-?)) | 1844-1847 | Dundee Diagnostic Society's Volume for 1846 | 1846 | 1 published (earlier MS magazine(s) not extant?) | Print (NOTE: 'Prefatory Notice' states that 'The Volume is composed partly of articles which were originally contributions to the society's M.S. Magazine...') | DDCL | D80.6 |
| 8 | Dundee Literary Society | 31 Jan. 1845-? | The Dundee Literary Society's Magazine | 1847-1854 (Vol. 1, 1847; Vol. 1, Nos. 1-6, 1849; Vol. 3, Nos. 13-18, 1850; Vol. 4, Nos. 19-24, 1850; various unbound copies, 1851-1854 (incomplete)) | 46 issues* (*while the 1850 Contents lists 6 issues, there are only 5, the last one not included) = 45 issues | Manuscript | DDCL | (Part of) Lamb Collection |
| 9 | (currently unknown if this is a formal society) | Jul. 1846?-? | Dundee Natural History and Literary Magazine (in 1848 becomes the Dundee Natural History Magazine) | Vol. I, Dundee, 1846, Jul. to Dec. 1846; Vol. II, Jan. to Jun. 1847; Vol. III, Jul. to Dec. 1847 | 18 issues (not extant?) | Manuscript | DDCL | 365(5) |
| 10 | (unknown) | 1848?-? | The Attic Journal | 1 (1)-, Jan. 1848- | 1 | Manuscript | DDCL | 266(1) |
| 11 | Diagnostic Society (NOTE: uncertain that this is group that produced this mag.) (ALSO: this might be a different society from the Diagnostic Society (1848?-?)) | 1848?-? | La Bouquet | 1(1)-, 1848- | 1 | Manuscript | DDCL | L266(2) |
| 12 | The Society for Mutual Improvement (Edinburgh) | Oct. 1846-? | The Weekly Miscellany | No. 1-No. 26, 02 Feb. 1849-25 July 1849 | 26 | Manuscript | MLSC | Mitchell (AL) 358075 |
| 13 | Lentush Club (North of Scotland mutual instruction associations) | 1850?-? | The Rural Echo | Jan.-June 1850 | (at least) 6 (handwritten note at front of magazine: 'Complete in six Nos All that were published') | Print (<https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=h2oEAAAAQAAJ&pg=PA23&dq=the+rural+echo&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKewjNt_euoqvRAhXJfRoKH Rc_DOAQ6AEIGzAA#v=onepage&q=the%20rural%20echo&f=false>) | (see Google Books website in Box F) | |
| 14 | (unknown) | 1851?-? | The Elgin Magazine and Review | No. 5, 1851 | 1 | Manuscript | EGPL | L 805, Barcode: 00369281 |
| 15 | Bristo Place Young Men's Society, later the Bristo Place Mutual Improvement Association (new magazine entry, 10/12/17) | 1852-1855; 1863-1871; 1877-1940s (mag. produced by second society) | Leaves and Blossoms | 1863-1871 | about 12 numbers' | Manuscript | (currently unknown if still extant; see article on this society by C. Lumsden) | |
| 16 | Noetic Society, Edinburgh (NOTE: unclear if this society also produced the following magazines: Noetic Magazine, Vol. 1, 1855-56 (YAP4 N77/43264); Noetic Magazine, Vol. 1, No. 1, 1855 (YAP 4 N77/16748)) | 1853?-? | Manuscript Magazine of the Noetic Society; The Noetic Magazine (New Series) | Vol. 4, No. 23, Dec. 1853 (1 issue); Vol. 1, No. 1, May 1855 (New Series) (1 issue); 1855-56 (12 issues) | 3 vols. (1 extant from first (?) series; Vols. 1-3 no longer extant); (New Series) | Manuscript | ECL | NRA(S)3563; from card catalogue at Central Library; 1853 issue: Class No. YAP4 N77; Book No. 43878; Vol. 1, No. 1, 1855 issue: Class No. YAP 4 N77; Book No. 16748; 1855-1856 issue: Class No. YAP4 N77, Book No. 43264 |

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|----|---|---|--|---|---|---|------|---|
| 17 | United Presbyterian Church Sabbath School (MSS mag of the teachers of the Church Sabbath School, Mar. 1855-Apr. 1858) (NOTE: later, the name of the MSS mag is adopted by a new society at the church --> Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society of Junction Street United Presbyterian Church (later becomes the Young Men's Literary Society?)) | Teachers' MSS mag: 1855(?) - 1858(?); Junction Street United Presbyterian Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society: 1870-1948(?) (x 2 different magazines) | The Effort (1855-1858); (different group) The Effort (1869-1892) | Teachers' MSS mag: Vol. 2, No. 5, Mar. 1855; No. 6, Oct. 1855 (in 2 parts); No. 1 New Series, Nov. 1857; No. 3, New Series, Apr. 1858 (NOTE: these are only the extant copies); Junction Street United Presbyterian Church Young Men's Mutual Improvement Society: Oct. 1869-1949 | (Total=69 dating from 1855-1948 (missing Vol. 48); only Vols. I-XLVI [46], 1869-1915 fall within the date range of this study); TOTAL for this study=46 volumes) | Manuscript | ECL | Class No. YAS 122 L53 J; Book No. C29914; C29915-C29982 |
| 18 | Kirkwall Young Men's Literary Association (later the Kirkwall Young Men's Literary and Scientific Association?) | 1857-29 Mar. 1899 | The Torch | No. 1-No. 9, Mar. 1875-Nov. 1875 | 8 (there is no extant issue of No. 2, April 1875) | Manuscript | OLS | 800 Y |
| 19 | Dufftown Mutual Instruction Society | 1859?-? | The Dufftown Magazine: A Monthly Magazine Published in MS., by the Dufftown Mutual Instruction Society | 1859 | 1 | Print (NOTE: this is a bound, print magazine. However, according to the 'Preface', the society's magazine is a manuscript magazine, and this publication contains some of the materials in the 6 magazines that had been produced as of 1859) | EGPL | L 052, Barcode: 00368629 |
| 20 | St. Paul Street Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association | 18 Sept. 1862-? | The St. Paul Street Young Men's Mutual Improvement Association Magazine | Vol. I, Nos. 1-6-Vol. II, No. 8, Oct. 1865-Mar. 1866, Nov. 1866 | 7 (the bound volume is missing Vol. II, No. 7, Oct. 1866) | Manuscript | ACL | LO 205 Sal |
| 21 | Helensburgh Young Men's Association | 1861 or 1862?-? | Our Literary Album | Jan. 1867 | 1 | (Photocopy of the manuscript original) | ABA | DR/1/200/8 |
| 22 | Newington Literary Society, Edinburgh, Newington Young Men's Association (NOTE: currently unclear if this is the same assoc. as the Young Men's Association in connection with Newington United Presbyterian Church) | 1869?-? | Newington Literary Magazine | Vol. 1, 1869 | 1 | Manuscript | ECL | NRA(S)3563; NRA catalogue reference: NRA 38890 Edinburgh CL; from the card catalogue in Central Library: Class No. YAS 122 N54; Book No. 81426 A |
| 23 | Edinburgh Collegiate Club | 1871?-? | Edinburgh Collegiate Magazine | Christmas 1871 (NOTE: does not include Vols. 1-2, 1890-91 issues in print) | 1 | Manuscript | ECL | Reference for Christmas Number: Class No. YLF 1135 E23 C; Book No. C5564 (NOTE: reference for 1890-91 print magazines: Class No. qYLF 1135 E23 C; Book No. 21311) |
| 24 | (unknown) (NOTE: see also The Sphinx 1891-93) | 1872?-1883? | The Dragon | June 1872, July 1872, Sept. 1872, Dec. 1872, Feb. 1873, June 1873, Sept. 1873, Apr. 1883 | (four from 1872, three from 1873 and one from 1883) 8 | Manuscript | DGEL | [EWK] DB151(05) (NOTE: this is also ref. for The Sphinx) |
| 25 | Airdrie Young Men's Christian Association | 7 Feb. 1872-2007? | (unknown) | 1893?-1894? | (at least) 2 (not extant) | (presumably unpublished manuscript: this society had two 'Magazine Evenings' in their 1893-94 session) | NLA | U31 2/1-3 |
| 26 | Bridge Street United Presbyterian Literary Society | 1880?-1901? | Bridge Street United Presbyterian Literary Society's Magazine | 1890-1891; 1892-1893; 1899-1901 | 3 | Manuscript | NRS | CH3/1495/12; CH3/1495/13; CH3/1495/14 |
| 27 | St. Stephen's/Stockbridge Parish Church | 1883?-1890? | (unknown) | 1883/1884; 1887/1888; 1888/1893; 1889/1890 | 4 | Manuscript | NRS | CH2/607/122; CH2/607/123; CH2/607/124; CH2/607/125/1-2 |
| 28 | Melrose Literary Society (NOTE: reformed in 1904 as Melrose Literary and Debating Society) | 1885-present | Melrose Literary Society M.S. Magazine | 1904-1958 (NOTE: 9 items total, of which only the following are within the date range of this study: Vol. 10 (1904-1911); Vol. 11 (1911-1916)) | 2 (within date range of this study) | Mostly Manuscript, with a few typescript (Vol. 10); Manuscript and typescript (Vol. 11) | HH | D/54/8 /1-9 |
| 29 | St Mary's Kirk Session (Literary Association) | 1886?-? | St Mary's MS Magazine | No. 2, (1886?), No. 3, Jun./Jul. 1886; No. 6, Feb. 1887 | 3 | Manuscript | NRS | CH2/139/72 |
| 30 | Young Men's Association in connection with Newington United Presbyterian Church (NOTE: see Newington Literary Society; currently unclear if this is the same assoc.) | 1887?-1888? | The Newingtonian | Vol. 1, 1888 | 1 | Manuscript | ECL | Class No. YAS 122 N54 S; Book No. 37904 D |
| 31 | (currently unknown) (NOTE: see also entry for The Dragon) | 1891?-1894? | The Sphinx | Vol. I, Jan. 1891-Sept. 1891 | 9 lithograph issues (with 2 copies in total of Sept. 1891 at back of bound volume); 36 issues in print (bound in 3 hardcover volumes; also 3 individual issues from 1894) | Vol. I are all lithograph copies; Vols. II-IV print | DGEL | [EWK] DB151(05) (this is also ref. for The Dragon) |

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|----------------------|---|--|---|-----------------------------------|---|---|-------------------------|---|
| 32 | Our Own Essay Club | 1892?-1899? | The Venture | Vol. 1-Vol. 7, May 1892-Apr. 1899 | 7 | Manuscript | ECL | Class No. YAS 122 V; Book No. C22812-C22818 |
| 33 | North British Railway Literary Society | 1900?-? | The North British Railway Literary Society Magazine | Feb. 1901, Dec. 1901 | 2 | Type-script (& copied to distribute?) | NRS | BR/NBR/4/282; BR/NBR/4/283 |
| 34 | Wick Literary Society | 20 Sept. 1903-11 Oct. 1909 (although one meeting was held in 1922 to decide on the use of the remaining funds) | Magazine of Wick Literary Society | Christmas 1903-Christmas 1908 | 6 | Print (NOTE: from the Editorials, we know that there were manuscript magazines (if only 'Magazine Nights') prior to this) | Caitness Archive Centre | C/P/39 |
| Abbreviations | | | | | | | | |
| | Aberdeen City Library, Central Library | ACL | | | | | | |
| | Argyll and Bute Archives (Lochgilphead) | ABA | | | | | | |
| | Caitness Archive Centre | CAC | | | | | | |
| | Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council Library Service, Ewart Library, Dumfries | DGEL | | | | | | |
| | Dundee District Central Library, The Wellgate | DDCL | | | | | | |
| | Edinburgh Central Library | ECL | | | | | | |
| | Elgin Public Library | EGPL | | | | | | |
| | Scottish Borders Archive and Local History Centre (Heritage Hub , Hawick) | HH | | | | | | |
| | Mitchell Library Special Collections | MLSC | | | | | | |
| | National Library of Scotland | NLS | | | | | | |
| | National Records of Scotland | NRS | | | | | | |
| | North Lanarkshire Archives | NLA | | | | | | |
| | Orkney Library Services, Kirkwall Public Library | OLS | | | | | | |
| | Paisley Heritage Centre (Central Library) | PHC | | | | | | |

| Appendix V: English Literary Clubs and Societies with Manuscript or Print Magazines | | | | | | | | |
|---|--|--|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| No. | Name | Date(s) of Existence | Name of Magazine | Date(s) of Magazine(s) | Number of Magazines | Manuscript/Published Magazine | Repository | Reference |
| 1 | Freethinking Christians (Church of God, St John's Square, London) | 1844?-? | The Manuscript Magazine of the Church of God at the Meeting House St John's Square, London | Vol. 4 (No. 22, 4 Aug. 1844; No. 23, 1 Sept. 1844; No. 24, 6 Oct. 1844; No. 25, 3 Nov. 1844; No. 26, 1 Dec. 1844) | 5 issues extant (all bound in one volume with Index to Volume IV ¹ in front of book) | Manuscript | LMA | CLC/197/MS02199 |
| 2 | Worship Street Sunday School (London) | 1818-1830? | The Monthly Instructor ('Three volumes of a monthly magazine, circulated in manuscript') | Vol. V (Jan.-Dec. 1827); Vol. VI (Jan.-Dec. 1828); Vol. VIII (Jan.-Dec. 1830) | 3 | Manuscript | LMA | CLC/229/MS07513A |
| 3 | Rusholme Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society (Manchester) (discussion of changing to 'Rusholme Wesleyan Literary Society' proposed on meeting of 20 Apr. 1895) | 2 June 1842-1895? | The Dickenson Road Magazine of the Rusholme Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society | (Magazine founded in 1877); extant issues: 1880-1895 | 13 | Manuscript (contributions originally read aloud at Magazine Nights; collected and issued as bound magazine) | MALS | GB127.MS f374.5 M10; see also minutes for society (GB127.MS 374.5 M11); (7 volumes of minutes spanning 50 years from 1842-1895; volumes dated as follows: 1842-1847, 1859-1864, 1874-1877, 1877-1880, 1880-1886, 1886-1891, 1891-1895) |
| 4 | St. Paul's Mutual Improvement Society (Bennett Street Sunday School, Manchester) (by 1875, became the Literary and Educational Society) | Oct. 1843-1962 | Odds and Ends | 1855-1962 (issued annually) | 102 (1855-1962) (NOTE: 60 magazines produced within the date range of this study) | Manuscript | MALS | M38/4/2/1-106 (magazines within date range of this study; GB127.M38/4/2/1-60) |
| 5 | Hackney Literary and Scientific Institution (London) (formerly the Hackney Mutual Improvement Society) | 1848-1894? | Hackney Literary and Scientific Institution Manuscript Magazine | Jan.-June 1857 (Vol. 2, No. VIII) (first issue possibly produced in June 1856) | 12 | Manuscript | HAD | D/F/TYS/70/15 |
| 6 | Todmorden Secular Society (new entry added 10/12/17) | 1852?-? | Secular Manuscript Magazine | 1852? | (currently unknown) | Manuscript | (currently unknown if still extant; see newspaper article in Reasoner, 27 April 1872; source: M.I. Watson (1989)) | |
| 7 | Park Church Literary Society (in association with Park Presbyterian Church, Grosvenor Place, Highbury, Islington, London) | 1859-1939? | The Highbury Magazine (1901-1911), later the Park Church Literary Magazine (1929-1937) | 1901-1911; 1929-1937 | The Highbury Magazine No. 2 (1901); No. 3 (1902); No. 4 (1903); No. 6 (1905); No. 8 (1907); No. 9 (1908); No. 10 (1909); No. 12 (1911); 1 vol (1926-1927); Park Church Literary Magazine, 1 vol. (1926-1927); 1 vol. (1930-1931) (within the date range of this study: 8 issues, 1901-1911) | Manuscript | LMA | LMA/4366/B/008-15 (for later magazines, see: LMA/4303/E/02/043; LMA/4303/E/02/044) |
| 8 | (Currently unknown) (added to this spreadsheet on 13/01/18) | 1860?-1862? | The Excelsior manuscript magazine | October 1860 - April 1862; nos. 1-8, 10. | 9 issues | Manuscript | Liverpool Record Office & Local Studies | 050 EXS |
| 9 | Salem Methodist Church, Baptist Mills, Bristol (see e-mail) (Still to look at! 29/07/17) (Added to this list on 14/01/18) | 1866-1891 | Mutual Improvement Society Magazine; Salem Manuscript Magazine | Mutual Improvement Society Magazine (October 1866); Salem Manuscript Magazine (1888-1890, Volume 4, numbers 19 - 24; Volume 6, numbers 31-36) | 13 issues total (this number has increased -> still to update the total number of magazines) | Manuscript | Bristol Record Office | 35123/s/p/1,2a,2b |
| 10 | Pen and Pencil Society (Sheffield) | 1867-1908 | The Pen and Pencil | 1868-1908 | 40 vols. | Manuscript | SA | LD2354 |
| 11 | Islington Presbyterian Church Young Men's Association (London) | 21 Oct. 1869-1893? | Aemulus | Vol. I, Parts IX (1866); Vol. III (1868-1869); Vol. III [sic] (1878) | 3 | Manuscript | LMA | LMA/4303/E/04/015; LMA/4303/E/04/016; LMA/4303/E/04/017 |
| 12 | St Mary's Mutual Improvement Society and St Michael's Literary Society, Hulme (Hulme, Manchester)* | 1874?-1875? | The Mutual | 1874-1875 | (at least 1; no longer extant!) | (Manuscript, possibly from magazine night? Unknown if ever collected and issued) | MALS | (Magazine mentioned in St Mary's Mutual Improvement Society and St Michael's Literary Society's syllabus for 1874-75: GB127.MISC/395) |
| 13 | Park Literary Society and Park Young Men's Association (in association with Park Congregational/United Reformed Church) | 1874?-? | Park Manuscript Magazine (included in scrapbook with other materials from other mutual improvement societies) | 1874 | 1 | Manuscript | HCL | PUR:22-23 |
| 14 | Working Women's College (London) (later became the Frances Martin College for Women) | 1874-1957 (in 1957, lease expired at 7 Fitzroy Street; moved to working men's college building in Crowndale Road, NW1) | The College News, A Quarterly Magazine (Mar. 1886); The College Magazine (Nov. 1866); [A Reminiscence of the College for Working Women, Dec. 1911, which was a printed copy of earlier mags]; Our Journal (Jan. 1913) | Mar. 1886; Nov. 1886; [Dec. 1911]; Jan. 1913 (there is another issue in 1927-1928: Chronicle of the Frances Martin College) | 4 (which includes Reminiscence...) | Manuscript, later issues in print | LMA | A/FMC/CM/001; A/FMC/CM/004; A/FMC/CM/005; A/FMC/CM/006a; (1927-28 issue: A/FMC/CM/007a) |
| 15 | Wesley Proprietary Grammar School / Wesley College Mutual Improvement Society (Sheffield) | 1875?-? | (currently unknown) | 1875 | 1 | (Manuscript?) | SA | X552/1 |
| 16 | St Thomas Institute, Stepney (London) | 1875-1881? | St Thomas' [sic] Institute Magazine | 1876-1881 | 22 | Manuscript | HAD | D/E/215/THO/1-20 |
| 17 | Longsight Wesleyan Mutual Improvement Society (Manchester)* | 1880-1904 | (currently unknown) | 1892-1893? | (at least 1; no longer extant) | (Manuscript?) | MALS | (Magazines are mentioned in Minutes of this society: GB127.M114/6/4/1 (2 Vols.)) |
| 18 | (Currently unknown) (added to this spreadsheet on 13/01/18) | 1884?-1885? | The Scribe: a manuscript magazine | volume 1, selections 1884-5 | (Currently unknown -> to confirm after viewing!) | Manuscript (Cyclostyled manuscript, with lithographed title page by C.H.H. Walker, Liverpool) | Liverpool Record Office & Local Studies | 050.8 SCR |
| 19 | Derker Congregational Mutual Improvement Society (Oldham, near Manchester) | 1886?-1887? | The Echo: Magazine of the Derker Congregational Mutual Improvement Society | 1886-1887 | 1 | Manuscript | OLSA | C-ECHO (Exercise book, containing copies of letters 'To the Editor of the Echo') |

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|---|---|------------------|--|---|---|--|----------------------------------|--|
| 20 | (Various Literary and Mutual Improvement Societies of Warrington, St Helens and the Surrounding District) | 1887?-? | Our Mutual Friend: a monthly magazine of the various Literary and Mutual Improvement Societies of Warrington, St Helens and the Surrounding District | 1887-1888 | Vol. 1 (12 issues) | Print | CALS | EMC 21/5334/149 |
| 21 | Senior Scholars' Mutual Improvement Class (Manchester, Chorlton-on-Medlock, Grosvenor Street Church and School) | 1890?-1902? | The Endeavour; The New Endeavour | 1890-1891 (Nos. 1-6, 8-9, 11-14); 1892-1893 (Nos. 15-24); 1897 (The New Endeavour) (Nos. 2-3); (The Endeavour) (1900-1902) (Vols. III-IV, Nos. 13-21) | 32 total (30 issues of The Endeavour; 2 issues of The New Endeavour) | Manuscript | MALS | GB127.M641/50 (5 boxes) |
| 22 | Eastville Free Methodist Mutual Improvement Class (new society added to this spreadsheet on 14/01/18) | 1894?-1895? | Eastville Free Methodist Mutual Improvement Class Manuscript Magazine | Oct. 1895 (No. 5 [sic]), 1895 (No. 1), | 2 | Manuscript | Bristol Atchives & Record Office | 40836/EP/95-96 |
| 23 | Abbey Foregate Congregational Church Literary Society (Shrewsbury) | 1896?-1897? | Abbey Foregate Cong. Church Literary Society's Magazine | Mar. 1896 and Apr. 1897 | 2 | Print | SAS | NO4212/7/1/1-2 |
| 24 | Wesley Guild (Bainbridge Memorial Methodist Church, Newcastle upon Tyne) | 1896-present | Wesley Guild Manuscript Magazine | 1904-05 (Vols. 24, 25); 1908-09 (Vols. 28, 29); 1909-1910 (Vol. 30); 1910-11 (Vol. 31); 1912-13; 1913-14; 1914-15; 1922-23 | 8 (within the time range of this study, 1904-1914) | Manuscript and typescript | TWA | C.NC8/19/1-8 |
| 25 | St Martin's Literary Society (London) | 1901?- 1904? | St Martin's Review, the organ of St. Martin's Literary Society | No. 1 (1901); No. 3, (1902); No. 4 (1903); No. 5 (1904) | 4 | Mostly typed, with some manuscript contributions | CWAC | Accession 1851/38 |
| 26 | (unknown) (Hertford) | 1904?-1911? | GENIL, A monthly manuscript circulating magazine edited by Osborn | Mar. 1904-May 1911 | 70 | Manuscript | HALS | DE/FJO/A11/1-70 |
| 27 | (unknown) (Hertford) | Apr.-May 1911? | What Think Ye | April-May 1911? | 2 | Manuscript | HALS | DE/FJO/A11/71-72 |
| 28 | Crescent Chapel Literary and Debating Society (W Walton, Liverpool) | 1906?-? | Crescent Chapel Literary and Debating Society magazine | 1906 | 1 | Typescript | LAP | CULL 6/54 |
| 29 | Friends' Hall Literary Society (London) (later becomes the Bethnal Green Literary Society) | 9 Feb. 1906-1916 | Friends Hall Literary Society MSS Magazine | 1907-1912 | 5 (it appears that the first couple of issues were under the Friends' Hall Literary Society, and later under Bethnal Green) | Typescript and manuscript | TH | S/BGL (S/BGL/2/1; S/BGL/2/2; S/BGL/2/6 |
| 30 | (Company staff at James Budgett and Son Limited) (London) | 1909?-1910? | Budgett's Budget | Apr.-Sept. 1909, Mar.-Apr. 1910, Apr. and June 1914, Oct. 1919 | 11 | Manuscript | LMA | CLC/B/133/MS20372 |
| Abbreviations | | | | | | | | |
| Bristol Records Office | | BRO | | | | | | |
| Cheshire Archives and Local Studies, held at Cheshire Record Office (Chester) | | CALS | | | | | | |
| City of Westminster Archives Centre | | CWAC | | | | | | |
| Hackney Archives Department | | HAD | | | | | | |
| Calderdale, West Yorkshire Archive Service (Halifax Central Library) | | HCL | | | | | | |
| Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies (Hertford) | | HALS | | | | | | |
| Lancashire Archives (Preston) | | LAP | | | | | | |
| London Metropolitan Archives | | LMA | | | | | | |
| Manchester Archives and Local Studies | | MALS | | | | | | |
| Oldham Local Studies & Archives | | OLSA | | | | | | |
| Sheffield Archives | | SA | | | | | | |
| Shropshire Archives (Shrewsbury) | | SAS | | | | | | |
| Tower Hamlets Local History Library and Archives | | TH | | | | | | |
| Tyne & Wear Archives (Newcastle) | | TWA | | | | | | |
| *I am indebted to Abigail Droge (Stanford University) for locating mentions and references to these magazines | | | | | | | | |